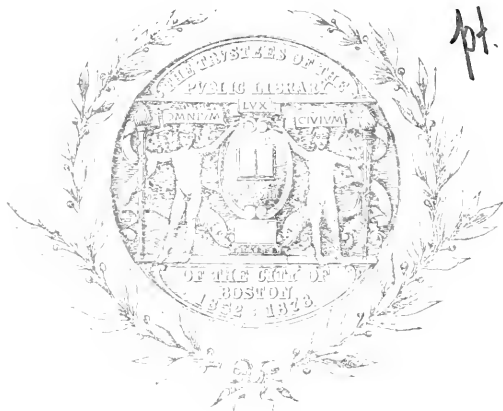
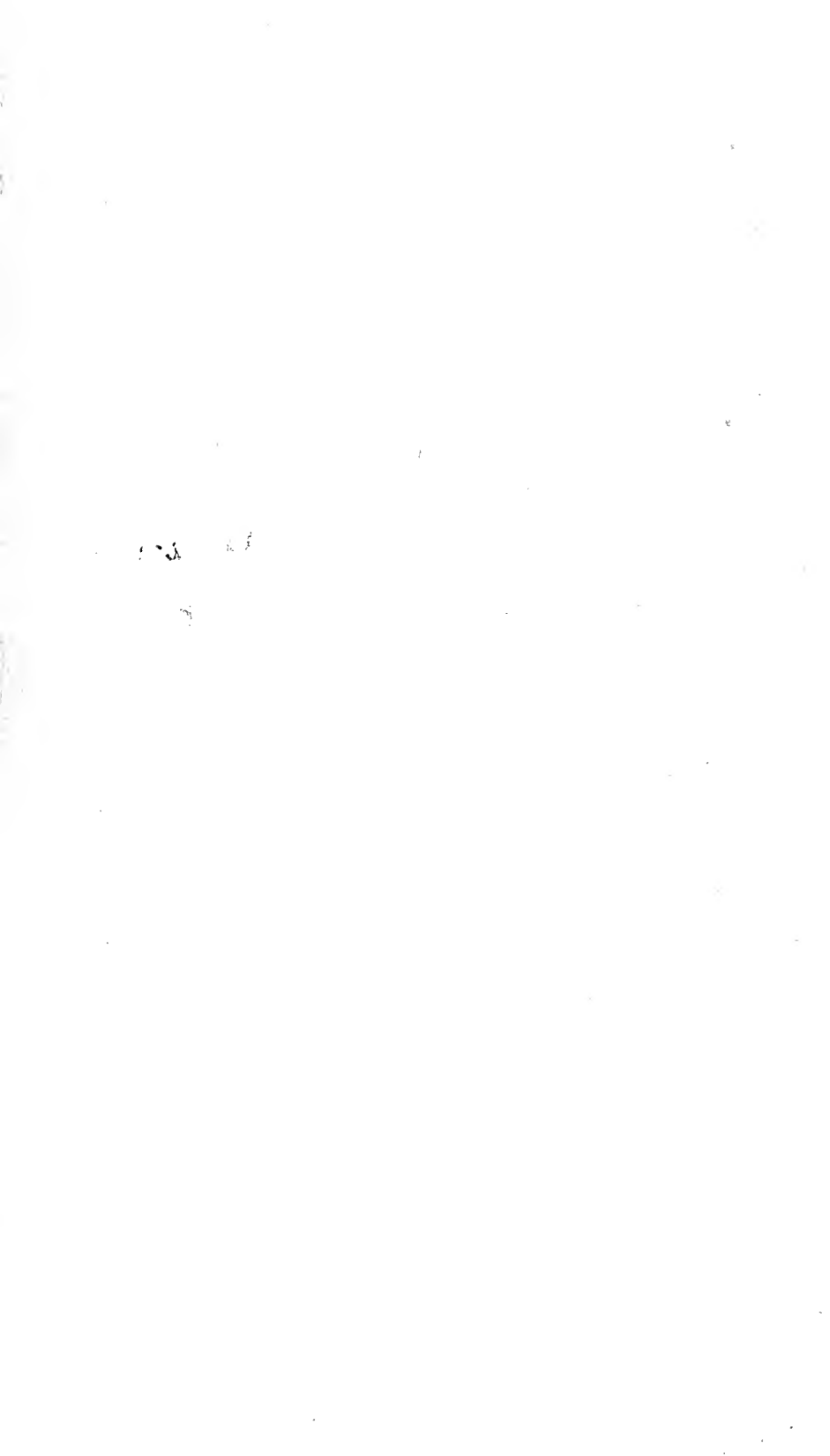


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pt. 12-14
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Blue book *51*
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
pts. 12-14

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

U.S. Congress
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

PART 12

MARCH 28, 29, 31, AND APRIL 1, 1952

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ence would indicate something as to the circumstances. As I recall, the institute moved its office from East Fifty-second Street to its present address on Fifty-fifth Street, or whatever it is, at about that time. They moved into a smaller place. And I believe they asked a number of people if they had room to store a lot of excess files that apparently were not in current use, and it finally came around to me. I had nothing to do with this. I forget who asked me, somebody in the institute who was active in the administration at that time. And I did have a private house, and it has a substantial cellar in it. It was practically empty, and I agreed. Those are the circumstances in which the files were placed there.

Mr. MORRIS. I believe that Mr. Holland testified that in 1947 the bulk of them was taken away.

Mr. FIELD. I remember at that time, if that was 1947, that I believe I wrote a letter to the then Secretary of the American Council of the IPR, Mr. Lane.

Mr. MORRIS. Clayton Lane?

Mr. FIELD. Clayton Lane, yes—requesting him to remove the files, because they at that time were cluttering up my place and I didn't want them. And after some time I thought they had been taken away. I believe I was away on the west coast or somewhere at the time they came down to remove them. And I remember not checking whether they were all removed or not, and then discovering very much later that some of them had been left there. And I think from there on—

Mr. MORRIS. What happened when you discovered there was some left?

Mr. FIELD. I telephoned Mr. Holland.

Mr. MORRIS. You went to his office and told him?

Mr. FIELD. Or went there and told him.

Mr. MORRIS. On a Saturday morning?

Mr. FIELD. Well—

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Holland come down to your home then and go through the files?

Mr. FIELD. He came down and verified them that they were there, and some days later, I forget when it was, he took them—

Mr. MORRIS. How much time did he spend in your basement at that time?

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Holland?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FIELD. I don't think longer than to verify that such and such cases were IPR files.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. He was there on two occasions, was he not?

Mr. FIELD. He came back to pick them up; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. But you cannot recall how much time he actually spent on the files?

Mr. FIELD. No; except it wasn't a long time. As I say, it was to verify the fact that these were the IPR files. I had some private stuff of my own down there.

Mr. MORRIS. And that was about a year ago?

Mr. FIELD. I guess that was; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you had some private things down in among the IPR files?

Mr. FIELD. It is my house, and I have my own stuff down there, and he naturally went to verify what he was taking out was not my private property but the institute's.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, when did you first meet Mr. Barnes, Joseph Barnes?

Mr. FIELD. In college, I suppose 19—it was my freshman year, whatever that was, 1923, I think it was.

Mr. MORRIS. And you knew him quite well during college?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I knew him quite well.

Mr. MORRIS. Who worked for the Institute of Pacific Relations first? You or he?

Mr. FIELD. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you instrumental in his coming into the organization?

Mr. FIELD. I testified to this before, I believe, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. In executive session.

Mr. FIELD. I forget whether it was in executive session or not. I think that I was instrumental in the sense that I knew him and I suppose—I can't recall the exact circumstances. I suppose I introduced him to Mr. Carter or to someone else. And I was not instrumental in the sense that I had no authority myself at that time to hire anybody or make such decisions.

Mr. MORRIS. You were both in Moscow together in 1931, were you not?

Mr. FIELD. No; we were not.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you in Moscow?

Mr. FIELD. I went through Moscow on my way to China in 1929.

Mr. MORRIS. And then the next time?

Mr. FIELD. That is the only time I have ever been there.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you and Barnes together in Shanghai?

Mr. FIELD. Can I go back to that other question?

Mr. MORRIS. By all means.

Mr. FIELD. I have only been in Moscow once. I don't think Barnes was in Moscow in 1929. It is easily verified. We only would have been there together if we both attended the IPR Conference of the Far East, which I think was at Kyoto that year. I don't think Barnes had joined yet, but I am not sure.

To go back to your last question, there was a subsequent IPR conference probably 2 years later, in 1931, in Shanghai. I think it would have had to be moved from some other city because of the Manchurian incident which had broken out at that time. I believe Barnes was at that conference, and if he was we were certainly together in Shanghai.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know if Barnes was ever an employee of the Soviet Council of the IPR?

Mr. FIELD. I certainly have no knowledge that he was. From my personal knowledge I would say he never had been.

Mr. MORRIS. You were in a position to know at that time, you were an official on the Institute of Pacific Relations at that time?

Mr. FIELD. I worked in the institute. From that experience and any other I have had my answer would be "No." I have no other way, or I have no other source of knowledge. I have no other way of knowing.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have found one paper generally in connection with one item. There were quite a few questions put to Mr. Field the last time he was here in connection with his application for an Army commission.

Senator O'CONOR. I recall that. That was dealt with quite extensively, you may recall.

Mr. FIELD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. We have made an effort and the Army has made an extensive effort to find the papers on that case, but apparently all the papers have been destroyed in connection with an Army order to clear all files. And the only thing we were able to obtain was a copy of his medical comment. Now, however, just very recently we did find a paper which throws some light on this general item, and I would like to introduce that into the record at this time.

Senator O'CONOR. The destruction of the papers was not, however, peculiar to this case? That is to say, there is no significance in the fact that they were destroyed? As I understand it, no records of that general kind are available.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, we just have no records. I would like to just say that without comment.

Senator O'CONOR. I see.

Mr. MORRIS. And Mr. Mandell is getting that now.

Did you know Mr. Lawrence Duggan?

Mr. FIELD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he in school with you, too?

Mr. FIELD. He was in college with me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever make an effort to start a Latin-American Branch of the IPR?

Mr. FIELD. No, I never made such an effort. There are probably documents on this. My offhand recollection is that it did come up for discussion, and, as I recall, I personally opposed the idea of doing it.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the reason for the opposition?

Mr. FIELD. I can't recollect, and I wouldn't be too definite about this, but I have sort of a vague recollection I thought it was a poor idea. We had plenty to do otherwise, and I didn't see very much point. The Latin-American countries had relatively little relation to the Pacific at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Lawrence Duggan was the person with whom you carried on the negotiations at this time?

Mr. FIELD. I carried on no negotiations.

Mr. MORRIS. You carried on correspondence or had conferences on the subject with him, did you not?

Mr. FIELD. Perhaps I did, I don't recall it. It is possible I did, but I don't recall it.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Corliss Lamont a class mate of yours?

Mr. FIELD. No, he was not. He was, I forget, maybe 3 or 4 years—he preceded me by 3 or 4 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Is he a close personal friend of yours?

Mr. FIELD. Yes, he is a good friend of mine.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, have you contributed money to the China Daily News or the New China Daily News?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me, and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you contribute on the 26th of March, 1948, a check for \$500 which was endorsed by Chu Tong for the New China Daily News?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. On August 10, 1948, did you contribute a sum of \$360 to the New China Daily News?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. On December 17 of the same year did you contribute \$450 to the New China Daily News with a check that bore the endorsement Hom Q Pan and Eugene Moy?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. On August 8, 1949, did you contribute \$500 to the New China Daily News with a check which bore the endorsement of Chu Tong?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the New China Daily News has come up several times in our hearings, and we are trying to determine the political nature of the New China Daily News. We have sent a subpoena to Eugene Moy and Chu Tong in order to complete this part of the examination, and we have been informed that Mr. Chu Tong is now in Red China with the Voice of China. However, Eugene Moy is believed to be in the country and he should be subpoenaed here next week.

Did you know Eugene Moy?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Chu Tong?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know if Chu Tong is now in Red China?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in Vladivostok in 1930?

Mr. FIELD. The trip to which I previously alluded took me across the Soviet Union and we were back on that Trans-Siberian Railway that normally takes you down to Manchuria. As I recall we got to the border just after the tracks had been taken up, and I guess it was the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute, and we had to be routed north of the Amur to Vladivostok and get a boat down to Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was with you at that time?

Mr. FIELD. There were a number of Americans and Englishmen, all of whom were going to this IPR conference.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Marcel Scherer in your party?

Mr. FIELD. No; he was not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Marcel Scherer?

Mr. FIELD. Do you want me to answer the question about who was there?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. I am trying to refresh your recollection.

Mr. FIELD. I am trying to recall. I remember reasonably distinctly that Prof. William Kilpatrick was there from Columbia; there was a Professor Webster from one of—from the British university called Aberystwyth; there was a woman professor from the London University whose name escapes me at the moment; I think Professor Chamberlain, Joseph P. Chamberlain, was on the trip, and I think Prof. James T. Shotwell, but I am not absolutely certain; Jerome Green was on the trip; there was a lawyer from Boston who had just worked on whatever the current reparations plan for Germany was, whether it was the Dawes plan or the Young plan, he is now dead and I forget his name, but that can be easily identified from the membership of that conference. The lady, the British woman professor, was Eileen Powers.

That is without refreshing my memory from looking at a list. That is probably as far as I can go now, and I am not perfectly certain about one or two of those.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Marcel Scherer on that trip?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question. Let me consult with my attorney.

Mr. MORRIS. By all means.

Senator O'CONOR. You may.

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. I just don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know personally Mr. Shippe who wrote under the name of Asiaticus?

Mr. FIELD. Mr. who?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Shippe—S-h-i-p-p-e.

Mr. FIELD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know the man who used the pen name Asiaticus?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have correspondence with him?

Mr. FIELD. I can't recollect any. Mr. Shippe?

Mr. MORRIS. S-h-i-p-p-e.

Mr. FIELD. Just offhand, I haven't heard the name before. I may be quite incorrect.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Herbert Bieberman?

Mr. FIELD. May I consult my counsel?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, indeed.

Mr. FIELD. At that time?

Mr. MORRIS. At any time.

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer, Mr. Morris, on the same grounds I have given previously.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have a series of questions here based on correspondence from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations about Mr. Field's associations and dealings with the Soviet Embassy, the Soviet consul here and the Amtorg Trading Corp.

I would like to ask Mr. Field a few preliminary questions, and if he declines to answer I would like simply to put the documents in the record.

Senator O'CONOR. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, what has your association with the Amtorg Trading Corp. been?

Mr. FIELD. May I again consult my counsel? Do you want to refresh my memory?

Mr. MORRIS. I will ask the question first, but I do want to say we have some letters here, and we would like to know to what extent you would be willing to testify about your dealings with the Amtorg Trading Corp.

I think the witness should answer the question first.

Senator O'CONOR. Just a moment. Repeat the question.

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Senator O'CONOR. I think the witness has a right to consult his counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. I have given him a copy of the first letter. It is possible Mr. Field in some capacity could have had a formal association that he might be willing to testify to.

Mr. FIELD. No, I will decline to answer that question on the grounds that I have previously given.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. V. F. Prosin?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to introduce into the record two letters here. One is a copy of a letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations from Mr. Field to Mr. V. F. Prosin of the Amtorg Trading Corp., and another from a Mr. Prosin who is listed as Chief Economist of the Amtorg Trading Corp.

Mr. MANDEL, will you identify those letters, please?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a carbon copy taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated November 6, 1935, addressed to Mr. V. F. Prosin, Amtorg Trading Corp., with a typed signature of Frederick V. Field. Attached thereto is an original letter on the letterhead of V. F. Prosin, 261 Fifth Avenue, signed V. Prosin, chief economist, Amtorg Trading Corp., addressed to Mr. Frederick V. Field, director, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. May they go into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes; they will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 618" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 618

NOVEMBER 6, 1935.

Mr. V. F. PROSIN,

Amtorg Trading Corp.,

261 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

DEAR MR. PROSIN: I am very glad to reply to your letter of October 31st, with the following statement, which you are free to use in the Soviet newspaper *ZA INDUSTRIALIZACIU* in connection with the forthcoming anniversary of the Soviet Republic:

Any observer of the U. S. S. R. is inevitably impressed by the tremendous strides that the Soviet Union has made in its economic development. The speed at which industrialization has been carried on, the rate at which mastering of industrial technique is being achieved, the results of this progress as evidenced in the recent abolition of food rationing, give confidence in the internal strength of the U. S. S. R. We, of our Institute, have watched especially closely the economic development of the eastern sections of the Union as an indicator of the increasing unity and balance of the internal economy of the country. The importance of this progress is most obvious in international relations as it gives weight and substance to the determined stand for peace which has been taken by the Soviet Union.

I regret that I have delayed several days in sending this to you but I trust that by dispatching it by special messenger it will reach you in time.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

V. E. PROSIN

261 Fifth Avenue

NEW YORK

OCTOBER 31, 1935.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

Director, Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East Fifty-second Street, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FIELD: In connection with the forthcoming anniversary of the Soviet Republic, the Soviet newspaper *ZA INDUSTRIALIZACIU*, organ of the Heavy Industries of the U. S. S. R., has requested me to secure expressions of opinion

from prominent leaders of science and education, for cable transmission to Moscow, on the following subjects:

1. Achievements of the U. S. S. R. in economic development;
2. The peace policy of the Soviet Union.

I hope that you will find your way clear of favoring us with a statement on this matter, and thanking you in anticipation of your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

[S] V. PROSIN,

Chief Economist, Amtorg Trading Corporation.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify these documents?

Mr. MANDEL. These are invitations to celebrate the adoption of the new Soviet constitution issued by the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and they are dated in the different years, and they cover various celebrations at the Soviet Embassy. I can give each one separately.

Mr. MORRIS. I do not think it is necessary. I would not like to take that much time. There are nine invitations to various official Soviet functions which purport to be invitations to the witness Mr. Field, and I would like to institute a line of questions to the witness on that particular subject if he would be willing to answer.

(Documents handed to Mr. Field.)

Senator O'CONNOR. All right, Mr. Morris, will you proceed?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, are you prepared to explain to us the circumstances surrounding your receiving these invitations?

Mr. FIELD. I imagine that I have no control over the mail that I receive. However those things came to me, I assume, through the mail.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember receiving these?

Mr. FIELD. No; I don't remember it.

Mr. MORRIS. How many of these functions did you attend?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Michael Gromov?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. Andrei Yumashev?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the questioning along the line of this particular subject be discontinued on the ground that we are not going to get any information from this particular witness.

Will you take into the record nine such invitations?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes; they will be admitted into the record.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 619" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 619

The Chargé d'Affaires
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
and Mrs. Oumansky
request the pleasure of your company
at a reception in honor of
Michael Gromov, Andrei Yumashev, and Sergei Danilin
on Tuesday evening the twenty-seventh of July
at nine o'clock
at the Embassy

Summer dress or black tie

Please present this card at the door

1937

R. s. v. p.

To Celebrate the Adoption of the New Soviet Constitution
 The Consul General
 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 and Mrs. Arens
 request the honor of the company of
 Mr. Frederick V. Field (penned in)
 at a reception
 Tuesday evening, the fifteenth of December
 at nine o'clock
 at the Consulate

1936

R. s. v. p.

Please present this card at the door

(Pencilled) REGRET

To Celebrate the Adoption of the New Soviet Constitution
 The Ambassador
 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 and Mrs. Troyanovsky
 request the honor of the company of
 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Field (penned in)
 at a reception
 Thursday evening the tenth of December
 at nine o'clock
 at the Embassy

1936

R. s. v. p.

Please present this card at the door

The Consul General
 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 requests the honor of the company of
 Mr. Frederick V. Field (penned in)
 at (penned in) luncheon
 on (penned in) Friday, June fifth
 at (penned in) one o'clock
 at the Consulate General
 Seven East Sixty-first Street

R.s.v.p.

1945

(Pencilled) ACCEPT

The Consul General
 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 and Mrs. Tolokonski
 request the honor of the company of
 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick V. Fields (penned in)
 at a reception
 on the occasion of the Anniversary of the October Revolution
 on Wednesday, November Seventh
 between 4 and 6:30 o'clock
 at the Consulate General
 7 East 61st Street

R.s.v.p.

1942

(Penned in) Farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Neymann.

(Pencilled) ACCEPTED

The Consul General
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
and Mrs. Arens
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Frederick Field (penned in)
at (penned in) a tea
on Monday, September thirtieth (penned in)
at (penned in) five to seven o'clock
at the Consulate General
Seven East Sixty First Street

R.s.v.p.

1940

Messrs. Michael Gromov, Andrei Yumashev
and Sergei Danilin will give the first account
of their flight from Moscow to San Jacinto, California,
across the North Pole

To Celebrate the Twentieth Anniversary
of the Great October Socialist Revolution
The Acting Consul General
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
and Mrs. Borovoy
request the honor of the company of
(Penned in) Mr. Frederick V. Field
at a reception
on Saturday, November the sixth
from five until seven o'clock
at the Consulate General
Seven East Sixty-first Street

R. s. v. p.

Please present this card at the door
1948

(Penned in) ACCEPT

The Consul General
of the U. S. S. R. and Mrs. Tolokonski
and Mr. Peter A. Bogdanov
Chairman of the Board, Amtorg Trading Corporation
request the honor of the company of
Mr. and Mrs. Frederick V. Field (penned in)
at a reception and showing of the film
Chelyuskin
on (penned in) Thursday, September twenty-seventh
at (penned in) eight-thirty o'clock p. m.
at the Consulate General
7 East 61st Street

R. S. V. P.

1945

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that letter, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a carbon copy of a letter taken from the files
of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated July 23, 1937, addressed to

the Honorable C. Oumansky, chargé d'affaires of the U. S. S. R., Washington, D. C., with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, I offer you this letter and ask you if you can recall having sent that to Mr. Oumansky.

Senator O'CONOR. That is, the original of which that is a carbon.

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer, Mr. Morris, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, on the basis of the fact it is identified by Mr. Mandel as a document taken from the files and purporting to be signed by Frederick V. Field, will you accept it into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes; it is admitted under those circumstances.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 620" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 620

JULY 23, 1937.

The Honorable C. OUMANSKY,

Chargé d' Affaires of the U. S. S. R., Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OUMANSKY: I am exceedingly sorry that I shall not be able to attend the reception you are giving in honor of the three Soviet fliers. It is impossible for me to get to Washington at that time. You can imagine how greatly pleased my colleagues and I have been over the success of the two recent flights.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter please?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here an original memorandum dated March 22, 1939, from E. C. C. with penciled notes in the corner marked "E. C. C." and "Fred."

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, can you recall having received that letter from Mr. Carter? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I don't remember, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that for us, Mr. Field, please?

Mr. FIELD (reading):

EXHIBIT No. 621

F. V. F. from E. C. C. March 22, 1939.

I assume that Mr. Oumansky sends regularly to you or Mrs. Barnes copies of speeches such as those recently made by Stalin and Molotov and communiqués such as the text of the note from Litvinov to the German Ambassador. If, however, he is not doing so, I would be glad to include you in my circulation of these.

(Penciled note:) E. C. C.: Yes; he usually does include us. FRED.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you receive that into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes; it will be admitted for the record. Of course the witness does not himself identify it.

Mr. MORRIS. I understand.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 621" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall, Mr. Field, whether or not it was the regular practice of Mr. Oumansky to send regularly to you or to Mrs. Barnes copies of speeches made such as those recently made by Stalin and Molotov?

Mr. FIELD. Excuse me a moment.

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, indeed.

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. I have no recollection of that, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter, please?

Mr. MANDEL. This is an original letter on the letterhead of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, dated January 9, 1939, addressed to Mr. Edward C. Carter, New York office, and signed "Frederick V. Field."

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall having sent that letter, Mr. Field? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. It seems to be my signature, Mr. Morris, but I do not have a personal recollection of correspondence that far back.

Mr. MORRIS. Or the meeting mentioned in the correspondence?

Mr. FIELD. I don't recall it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that go into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes; it will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 622" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 622

Officers: Carl L. Alsberg, Chairman; Wallace M. Alexander, Vice Chairman; Miss Ada Comstock, Vice Chairman; Philip C. Jessup, Vice Chairman; Benjamin H. Kizer, Vice Chairman; Ray Lyman Wilbur, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Charles J. Rhoads, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

1795 California Street, San Francisco; Telephone: Tuxedo 3114; 129 East 52nd Street, New York City; Telephone: PLaza 3-4700. Cable: Inparel

NEW YORK CITY, January 9, 1939.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,
New York Office.

DEAR MR. CARTER: This is to thank you for your note of January 7th and to say that I shall be very glad to lunch with you at the Century Club on Wednesday at one to meet Ploppin and Mr. Oumansky.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Fred,
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

f/g

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter, please?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations addressed to F. V. Field, Esq., with the signature of E. C. Carter dated December 31, 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, do you recognize that letter as a letter sent to you by Mr. Carter? [Handing witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I don't remember that letter, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, would you receive that into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. It will be admitted as a part of the records of the IPR. That is a part of the records of the IPR?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 623" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 623

129 EAST FIFTY-SECOND STREET,
New York, December 31, 1939.

F. V. FIELD, Esq.

DEAR FRED: Last night at a workers meeting I described the need of the American Council. Ten gifts of one dollar each were immediately made. They were made on condition that they be anonymous. Here are the ten gifts. Will

you at your convenience request the Treasurer to make out ten receipts each bearing the designation anonymous.

Sincerely yours,

E. C. CARTER.

12/30/39. (Not clear) B. M. #3994 to #4003.

I will pass on the receipts to their destinations.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, in this letter Mr. Carter sent to you:

DEAR FRED: Last night at a workers meeting I described the need of the American council. Ten gifts of \$1 each were immediately made.

Do you know what the reference there is to the workers' meeting the night before?

Mr. FIELD. No; I don't know, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. You could not give us any information?

Mr. FIELD. I am afraid not.

Mr. MORRIS. That is December 31, 1939.

Mr. FIELD. It doesn't recall anything specific to my mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have here from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations what purports to be a memorandum prepared by Mr. Field concerning his application for a commission with the United States Army. I would like Mr. Mandel to identify that as a letter taken from the files of the institute.

Mr. MANDEL. This is a memorandum taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations headed "Frederick V. Field: Events Leading Up to Disapproval of My Application for United States Army Commission and for United States Civil-Service Appointment." It is undated and unsigned.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, I wonder if you would look at that and tell us if you can recall having written that.

Mr. FIELD. May I have time to read this, please, sir?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, certainly.

(Mr. Field consults document.)

Senator O'CONOR. The witness has inspected the paper, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that for us, please, Mr. Field?

Mr. FIELD. Do you want me to read it aloud?

Mr. MORRIS. Would you, please?

Mr. FIELD (reading):

EXHIBIT No. 624

FREDERICK V. FIELD: EVENTS LEADING UP TO DISAPPROVAL OF MY APPLICATION FOR UNITED STATES ARMY COMMISSION AND FOR UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE APPOINTMENT

1. During December 1941 I made numerous inquiries regarding places where a far eastern specialist could be useful in the war effort. Early in January I had a long interview with Colonel Sharp of the Army Intelligence office in New York City. During this interview (as in all subsequent interviews) I brought me the question of my having been associated with the American Peace Mobilization and the consequent unfavorable report which the FBI would unquestionably give on me. Colonel Sharp assured me that appointments for specialist jobs were made on a basis of "common sense," not political prejudice.

Colonel Sharp informed me that he did not at that time have a staff appointment to offer me, but that if I were willing to work for a few weeks on a volunteer basis he would later recommend me for an official position provided the arrangement had by then turned out to be mutually satisfactory. I accepted this offer, and Colonel Sharp sent my credentials on to Washington for approval as a volunteer.

2. It appears that these credentials came to the attention of another branch of the Army, for a few days later Capt. Malcolm W. Moss, of the Army Air Corps

Intelligence, asked me if I would be interested in a position as Far East specialist in Air Intelligence. The job described was one of extraordinary interest to me, and I told Captain Moss of my eagerness for an official appointment. He asked me to go to Washington for further interviews.

My first interview with Captain Moss took place on January 5 or 6.

I could insert for the record here, on the basis of my recollection, this would have been January of 1942.

On January 8 I had interviews in Washington with other officers of the Air Intelligence: Maj. William Ball, chief of the particular section in which I was to work; Captain Barr, administrative officer of that section, and a number of officers and civilians engaged in research on other geographical divisions.

I was accepted by the officers of that section, Major Ball himself taking me around to the personnel division to start the process of securing a commission as a captain. Captain Moss took me to the division in charge of handling civilian appointments. In their opinion a civilian appointment could be put through much quicker than the commission, which would take a month or two, and as they were in a hurry for me to start work they wished me to apply for a temporary civilian appointment pending the commission.

3. During the next few days I filled out all the questionnaires, application forms, etc., for both the commission and civilian appointment (the latter being described as "economic analyst, P-4, \$3,800 per annum"). On January 10 I took my Army physical examination at 30 Church Street, New York City.

4. On Tuesday, February 10, Captain Moss telephoned me from Washington to say that he regretted to inform me that the applications for both civilian and military appointments had been disapproved in "higher quarters." He suggested that I try to locate the cause and place of the disapproval and see if I could do anything to reverse it. In that telephone call, as well as in conversation in Washington 3 days later, he informed me that he was not authorized to tell me the reasons for the disapproval; that, as a matter of fact, his section knew very little about it. I have been unable to get any further information myself.

5. Finally, a brief word as to the job itself. It is concerned with developing a theory for bombing Far Eastern objectives. My part of the job would be largely economic-industrial research designed to determine key objectives in the Japanese economy.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, 16 WEST TWELFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY
(GRAMERCY 7-8265)

Born: April 14, 1905, New York City

Education:

Hotchkiss, 1922

Harvard A. B., 1927

London School of Economics and Political Science, 1927-28

Activities:

Staff of Institute of Pacific Relations, 1928-40

Secretary-treasurer, American Cooperating Committee for Chinese Mass Education Movement, 1928 to date

Served as secretary to Chinese Mass Education Movement, director, Dr. Y. C. James Yen, during his tour of United States, 1928-29

Assistant to Edward C. Carter, 1928-35

Member, Economic Mission to Far East (Hon. Cameron Forbes, chairman) 1935

Secretary, American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1935-40; trustee and member, executive committee, 1935 to date.

Chairman, editorial board, Amerasia (monthly journal on Far East). 1937 to date

Executive secretary, American Peace Mobilization, September 1940 to July 1941

Attended international conferences of Institute of Pacific Relations as follows: Kyoto, 1929; Shanghai, 1931; Banff, 1933; Yosemite, 1936, Virginia Beach, 1939

Travel in Far East:

Trans-Siberian Railway to Vladivostok, 1929

Japan, September through November, 1929

Travel through Luzon, P. I., December through February 1929-30

Hongkong, Canton, Pakhoi, Tongking, Yunnan, March-April 1930

Shanghai, Nanking, Hangchow, June 1930

Tientsin, Peiping, Paotingfu, July-September 1930

Returned to Far East (Japan, Manchuria, Peiping, Shanghai) for 4 months in 1931

Worked in Honolulu, winter 1932-33

Five months in London, working at Royal Institute of International Affairs, winter 1933-34

Returned to Japan and China as member American Economic Mission in 1935

Author:

American Participation in the China Consortiums (University of Chicago Press, 1932)

Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area (Doubleday-Doran, 1935)

General editor, Economic Survey of the Pacific Area, 1939-42

Numerous articles in Far Eastern Survey, Asia, Amerasia, Pacific Affairs, Current History, etc.

Miscellaneous:

Married, three children

Member, Century Association, Harvard Club, Council on Foreign Relations, Public Affairs Committee

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Field, I think we have covered the substance. May it go into the record?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes; it may be admitted into the record in toto.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Unless, of course, the witness feels there is anything important that in fairness to himself ought to be mentioned.

Mr. FIELD. I think almost all of it has been testified to previously, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. All right.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 624" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. All the circumstances?

Mr. FIELD. I say most of it. In general, I think exactly the same picture was presented in the last session.

Mr. MORRIS. We have an executive session here with Colonel Church. In connection with this, Colonel Church of the Army had sent a man over here and we were going to have him read this into the record, but he seems to have gone. Suppose we have another session on that.

Senator O'CONNOR. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, did you know Vladimir Romm?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. He was the representative of the Soviet Council at an IPR Council in the United States; was he not?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just before you take up a new subject, have you concluded the line of questioning on the commission?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, unless there is something else.

Senator O'CONNOR. Mr. Field, in the period which has intervened since you were asked about the application for the commission and the endorsement of others in your behalf, is there anything that you can add to what you previously testified to?

Mr. FIELD. No, sir; I think not. I reread the record of my testimony in open session the other day, and I don't think I have any amendments to it.

Senator O'CONNOR. At that time I think you said that—

Mr. FIELD. There are names in here which I couldn't then recall and I am glad to testify to as far as I can recollect as to the accuracy of those names. I think those are the people that I saw.

Senator O'CONOR. It occurred to me that possibly, in the exchange of correspondence or communications or in the questioning of persons mentioned, you might have thought of something else that would bear upon the subject-matter.

Mr. FIELD. I have had no opportunity to read the proceedings of your committee since I last appeared except my own.

Senator O'CONOR. In that testimony there was mentioned the name of Lauchlin Currie, you recall.

Mr. FIELD. Yes.

Senator O'CONOR. And also the name of Owen Lattimore.

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I do.

Senator O'CONOR. In connection with either of those parties, is there anything further that has occurred to you, or anything that might be added by way of additional information as to their interest or their activities in regard to the proposed application?

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Chairman, as I recall the gist of my testimony at that time, this is what I would repeat again: It was that with respect to Mr. Lattimore my recollection was that I probably did go to him to act for me. It was likely that I did under the circumstances. With respect to Mr. Currie, I was then, and I am now, almost certain that I did not go to him, but I conceded the possibility that some other friend of mine might have involved him indirectly.

That is as concrete as I could possibly be on this question.

Senator O'CONOR. I see. There is no other bit of information that you could give that might help us?

Mr. FIELD. No; I have no other information on that.

Senator O'CONOR. Just one question further before you leave this. Have you concluded the questions with regard to the contributions made in the name of Mr. Field for the time being?

Mr. MORRIS. They may come up again.

Senator O'CONOR. There was one question about it. You previously have declined to respond to questions, and what I am about to ask is of course not for the purpose of asking you to reopen that except on another angle of it. Apart from the question of fact of whether you did make such contributions, I would like to ask you whether you made any request of the Internal Revenue for exemption for any contributions made to any of the organizations or parties referred to in the previous questions?

Mr. FIELD. I would answer you, sir, if I may, in a very limited fashion, that in previous sessions my contributions to the Institute of Pacific Relations have been raised, and I acknowledged such contributions, and I did claim and was granted the usual exemption on those contributions.

With respect to the others I would have to decline as I did previously.

Senator O'CONOR. I would like to ask the question with respect to the organizations mentioned by Mr. Morris in the previous questions.

Mr. FIELD. At today's session?

Senator O'CONOR. At today's session, as to whether or not you made a request of the Treasury of the United States, or the Bureau of In-

ternal Revenue for exemption of any contributions made to any of those organizations or parties.

Mr. FIELD. May I consult my counsel?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, indeed.

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. Sir, without acknowledging such contributions or admitting them, I might state that I did not make such application.

Senator O'CONOR. That is all I wanted to know. I was not attacking the fact of a contribution, but only as to anything on your part in connection with the Treasury Department.

Mr. MORRIS. You said a while ago that you had not seen the transcript of our open hearings?

Mr. FIELD. Except for my own testimony. That is the only one I have read.

Mr. MORRIS. The committee has been sending you, as it sends all witnesses, Mr. Field, one or I think maybe two copies of all transcripts that are published. You have not been getting those?

Mr. FIELD. I have not been receiving my mail regularly because I have been in prison until recently.

Mr. MORRIS. You had access to them, though?

Mr. FIELD. I had access to nothing whatsoever. I haven't caught up. I don't know if these things are in my mail. I haven't run into them since I have been back.

Mr. MORRIS. They would be sent to you at the address you gave the reporter.

Mr. FIELD. I suppose so. I haven't run into them. I do have this one which contains my own testimony, but I have only read my own testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, it is the practice of the committee to send to all witnesses, I believe, two copies of all public testimony, so Mr. Field should have that. At least it has been sent to him at his home address.

Will you identify that last letter, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a handwritten note from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations on the stationery of the Cunard-White Star liner *Queen Mary* dated November 5, 1936. In the upper right-hand corner is written "Foreign Department, Yzvestia Moscow." It is addressed to "Dear Mr. Field" and signed "V. Romm."

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall having received that letter? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I have no recollection of it, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you read that letter?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

EXHIBIT No. 625

DEAR MR. FIELD: I am very sorry I missed you when I left, but I hope we will meet again somewhere. It has been very pleasant to know you and to cooperate with you on some problems.

My plans are not very certain as my paper wants me to go to London. I will see clearer when I am in Moscow, as I feel a little worn-out for the moment and need a rest.

Very truly yours,

V. ROMM.

Mr. FIELD. May I ask whether there is a date on that letter?

Mr. MANDEL. November 5, 1936.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Romm get the rest he mentioned there, Mr. Field?

Mr. FIELD. I am afraid I can't help you out on that.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you mean by that, Mr. Field? Is it that you do not know or you refuse to?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know what happened to Mr. Romm?

Mr. FIELD. I have no idea.

Mr. MORRIS. He was purged, was he not?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't know first-hand?

Mr. FIELD. I don't really know second-hand.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember reading anything about Mr. Romm?

Mr. FIELD. I don't remember anything specific. I have a general impression that he was one of the people who got into trouble there, and what happened to him I haven't the slightest idea or never heard.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you receive that into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes; it will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 625" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the witness has declined to answer in connection with the name of Herbert Biberman. I have here a telegram and an exchange of correspondence, or, rather, it is not an exchange of correspondence, but one is a telegram from Herbert Biberman to Edward C. Carter and the other is a telegram from the witness, Frederick Field, to Edward C. Carter, and they seem to be related each with the other.

Mr. Mandel, will you identify those letters, please?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here two telegrams from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations. One is addressed to Edward C. Carter, dated "September 3, 1940," signed "Herbert Biberman," and the other is addressed to Edward C. Carter, dated "September 3, 1940," signed "Fred."

Senator O'CONOR. Mr. Morris, what is the source of those?

Mr. MANDEL. They both come from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. The one telegram from Herbert Biberman, addressed to Edward C. Carter on September 3, 1940, says:

EXHIBIT No. 626

Beg you to make it easy for Fred Field to accept new position with American Peace Mobilization. Warmest personal regards.

It is signed "Herbert Biberman."

The other telegram, signed "Fred," reads:

Have accepted job but sincerely trust no publicity. Going Washington today address Washington Hotel. Hope see you New York, Thursday.

Mr. Field, will you look at those two telegrams and answer whether the second telegram was in fact sent by you? [Handing to witness.]

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. As to whether or not this telegram was sent by you?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the first telegram is the telegram from Biberman to Carter but it relates to the second telegram. I was wondering if you will, under the circumstances, accept both of those into the record.

Senator O'CONOR. Well, as to the probative force of it, I do not think it is quite clear. Certainly there is nothing as yet bearing on the witness, but as coming from the records of the Institute of Pacific Relations it will be admitted to that extent.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 626" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. I would like, ordinarily, Mr. Chairman, since there is an indication here that Mr. Biberman was influential or instrumental in having Mr. Field accept the position with the American Peace Mobilization, to institute a series of questions on that, but if Mr. Field declines to answer anything about Mr. Biberman, I think we have to discontinue that.

Senator O'CONOR. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that correct, that you will not answer any questions in connection with Mr. Biberman?

Mr. FIELD. I have already claimed the privilege with respect to Mr. Biberman.

Senator O'CONOR. You are entitled to know what the questions are, if you so desire.

Mr. FIELD. I don't like to make a blanket statement, but I have so far used the privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Mr. Biberman instrumental in causing you to take a position with the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. FIELD. I do decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us the circumstances surrounding whatever effort Mr. Biberman did make to have you go to the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, will you tell us your recollection of what the people in the Institute of Pacific Relations did when it became known to them that you were going to accept a position with the American Peace Mobilization? I mean, presenting to the world and to the council the news of your being a member of the American Peace Mobilization presented a problem to them, did it not?

Mr. FIELD. May I have a moment, Mr. Chairman?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, indeed.

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, what I am looking for is the record which is appended to the proceedings of my previous appearance here which contains certain statements relating to the question you have just asked.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. And, Mr. Field, in that connection here is a letter apparently from Mr. Jessup to Mr. Carter which discusses a statement you may have made at that time. That may aid you in your recollection. [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, I feel that the records with respect to this matter have already been made public, and I have read them, and it seems to me that they do describe the circumstances——

Mr. MORRIS. This one is not in the record yet, Mr. Field, the one I handed you. This is a letter from Philip Jessup to Edward C. Carter and it says:

I don't really think we can use Fred's statement as it is, much as I would be glad to help him with his cause. How about a combination of the two, something like this.

Apparently that indicates that you did make a statement for the institute, that you suggested that they release, and apparently Mr. Jessup didn't like that one and wanted to make a compromise on that. I was wondering whether you could give us any testimony along those lines?

Mr. FIELD. I cannot give you any testimony as to what Mr. Jessup did or what he wrote Mr. Carter, no, Mr. Morris.

I do agree that the circumstances, insofar as I know them with respect to this question, are indicated in these documents that have been made public already and are appended to my own appearance here at page 122 and I guess 123, too.

Mr. MORRIS. So you can give no testimony bearing on this letter?

Mr. FIELD. No, I cannot.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have here the difficulty of whether or not we should accept this into the record at this time or whether we should have Mr. Jessup or Mr. Carter acknowledge the authenticity of it.

Senator O'CONNOR. Of course I do not think the groundwork has been laid sufficiently for its introduction at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. If the witness had recalled that he had ever seen it, it might be. So Mr. Chairman, may this be submitted to the attorney for Mr. Carter who has appeared before this committee and has indicated that he would acknowledge the authenticity of things addressed to Mr. Carter or written by Mr. Carter together with Mr. Holland and other witnesses?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes, that would be in order, but its introduction at this time is not.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, in that connection, I offer you this next letter and ask you if that recalls any particular episode to you? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, I have claimed the privilege with respect to questions related to the American Peace Mobilization, and I must continue to do so. I have, however, just a moment ago endeavored to go as far as I felt I could in discussing surrounding circumstances.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this letter, please?

Mr. MANDEL. This is an original letter on the letterhead of the American Peace Mobilization, 1116 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D. C., dated December 19, 1940, addressed to Edward C. Carter, Institute of Pacific Relations, and signed "Fred" with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field. The document is taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember having written that article?

Mr. FIELD. No, I have no recollection.

Senator O'CONNOR. That letter?

Mr. FIELD. I haven't heard the letter, I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. I showed it to you a minute ago. [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I have already claimed the privilege on this.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, under the circumstances, will you receive that into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, it will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 627" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 627

Rev. John B. Thompson, Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Executive Secretary; Marion Briggs, Administrative Secretary

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

1116 Vermont Avenue NW. Washington, D. C. Republic 7965

DECEMBER 19, 1940.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52nd Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. CARTER: Thank you for sending me the copy of your December 14th letter to Phil Jessup in which you suggest that ways should be found for using his ten-point program presented at the end of our Princeton discussion. Without at the moment making any suggestions as to how the document can be used, I should like to make two comments regarding my own degree of support of the program outlined.

One of the points calls for an immediate armistice between China and Japan. I gathered from the few remarks that were made a number of those present at Princeton interpreted this as meaning that a status quo arrangement would be made, with the Japanese armies and other officials remaining in their present positions in occupied China pending the negotiations of a permanent arrangement. I would not agree to this. The program at this point would have my support only if it specifically called for an armistice based on a complete withdrawal of Japanese troops and other pressure groups from China, including Manchuria. Or, if you prefer, I would base the terms of the armistice with respect to the degree of Japanese withdrawal on whatever arrangement was acceptable to the Chinese government.

The second point has to do with the part of Jessup's program calling for immediate steps in the direction of liberating the colonial possessions in Eastern Asia. To have my support this point would have to be made more specific so as to include certain conditions regarding time, rate of liberation, circumstance under which the liberation would take place, etc. I should also like it to be perfectly clear whether the phrase "colonies" used in Jessup's recommendations includes Korea and Formosa, and particularly whether it included Singapore, Hongkong, Guam, Samoa, and other military outposts.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Fred,
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Hilda Austern?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I do know her.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Nat Bretholtz?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, in the summer of 1938, turn over your apartment to the use of Mr. and Mrs. Nat Bretholtz—that is, in 1938?

Mr. FIELD. Yes. What was the address of my apartment? Do you remember?

(Document handed to M. Field.)

M. FIELD. I apparently did; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that Hilda Austern?

Mr. FIELD. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember writing this letter to Mr. Gibbs?

Mr. FIELD. I haven't read it, but I am perfectly willing to acknowledge the likelihood. That apparently is my letter.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that letter, Mr. Field?

Mr. FIELD (reading):

EXHIBIT No. 628

(Attention Mr. Gibbs.)

24 WEST 55TH STREET,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GIBBS: I have invited friends—

This is written from San Francisco, June 20, 1938—

to occupy my apartment No. 11-F during the summer, as I shall unfortunately have to remain in San Francisco. I have already given them a key to the apartment, and I am sending them a copy of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Nat Bretholtz is Hilda Austern?

Mr. FIELD. She was.

Mr. MORRIS. She was an official of the IPR, was she not?

Mr. FIELD. She was on the staff.

Mr. MORRIS. She was treasurer or assistant treasurer?

Mr. FIELD. Assistant treasurer. She was the bookkeeper.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a carbon copy from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, dated June 20, 1948, air mail, addressed "Attention Mr. Gibbs," 24 West Fifty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y., with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you receive that into the record?

Senator O'CONNOR. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 628" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter, please?

Mr. MANDEL. This is an original of a memorandum from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated December 3, 1936, headed "FVF from ECC."

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, can you tell us what your dealings have been with the following people: Colonel Stimson, Fred Osborn, Russell Leflingwell, Frank McCoy? You will testify about those people, will you not?

Mr. FIELD. I believe; yes; I think—I would like to see the list again. Colonel Stimson is obviously the former Secretary of State.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would read that whole letter for us.

Mr. FIELD (reading):

EXHIBIT No. 629

FVF from ECC.

This is addressed to me, apparently a memorandum, not a letter.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

Mr. FIELD. It is dated December 3, 1936 [reading]:

Herewith I return Chamberlain's letter. My recommendations are as follows:

1. That you refrain from pressing Chamberlain.
2. That we drop the idea at this time of roping in Colonel Stimson, but that at the right time, if he has not already contributed, you make a financial appeal to him.

3. That in the last fortnight of December, either at your instance or mine, I have a long talk with Fred Osborn to follow up your initial approach. Please let me know which of us should take the initiative.

4. That if we get Osborn moving along a little further we reconsider the possibility of a Leflingwell, McCoy, Osborn meeting with or without Stimson. It might be better to have Baker present instead of Stimson.

Mr. Chairman, this obviously is a memorandum referring to persistent efforts at that time to raise funds for the organization and refers to one of these plots that are concocted in an office to get certain people together and get contributions from them.

Mr. MORRIS. Does it not indicate to you that you were trying to influence their political thinking?

Mr. FIELD. It most certainly does not. This is most obviously a letter to endeavor to rope Colonel Stimson in, to make a financial appeal to him.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the next sentence, please?

Mr. FIELD (reading) :

That in the last fortnight of December, either at your instance or mine, I have a long talk with Fred Osborn to follow up your initial approach.

Mr. MORRIS. Continue, please.

Mr. FIELD (reading) :

Please let me know which of us should take the initiative.

Mr. MORRIS. Continue, please.

Mr. FIELD (reading) :

That if we get Osborn moving along a little further we reconsider the possibility of a Leffingwell, McCoy, Osborn meeting with or without Stimson. It might be better to have Baker present instead of Stimson.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that that is in connection with the fund-raising and not with the——

Mr. FIELD. Very clearly and obviously, and I would like to make that clearer to your original question, what my relations to those men were. Mr. Leffingwell is or was a partner in J. P. Morgan. I believe at the time he was chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. He is chairman of the board now.

Mr. FIELD. I think he is now chairman of the board. And McCoy is General McCoy, obviously. Fred Osborn was formerly a member, American member, of the U. N. Atomic Commission. I had known Mr. Osborn because he is related to me, and I approached him to try and get his interest in the institute. General McCoy, I had known for a long time because of his own responsibilities in the Far East and his membership in the League of Nations mission that went to Manchuria, the name of which escapes me at the moment. He was the American member of that.

I don't believe I knew Mr. Leffingwell myself, and I don't believe I ever met Mr. Stimson except, perhaps, at some public gathering.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will that memorandum be received into the record?

Senator O'Connor. Yes; that will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 629" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, was it a practice of yours when you were Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations to send IPR material to people high in Government?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the purpose of that practice?

Mr. FIELD. It was inherent in the purpose of the organization itself, as a research and educational body which tried to spread its findings as widely among the American people as it could, and did so as

far as it was able in all groups, all kinds of levels of the American population.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify these three letters.

Mr. MANDEL. These are photostats of documents from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations. First we have a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter dated October 27, 1938, addressed to Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field.

Next we have a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter dated October 27, 1938, addressed to Hon. J. C. Grew, with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field.

Then we have a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter dated October 27, 1938, addressed to Hon. Nelson T. Johnson, with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field. In each case the title of secretary is below the name of Frederick V. Field.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, can you remember sending those three letters? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, I don't recall. I don't have a real recollection of any correspondence dating that far back. It seems to me clear that these are letters, and I certainly would acknowledge that they are the kind of letters that I most likely sent out, and these probably were or are copies of such letters.

Mr. MORRIS. And it was in line with the practice of sending, in this case, reports to high officials in the United States Government.

Mr. FIELD. And all others. It is quite clear a selection here has been made to pick out certain Government officials. You will find similar letters in the files to non-Government officials.

Mr. MORRIS. Does this represent a selection, or were these three letters found together, Mr. Mandel? Do you recall?

Mr. MANDEL. These were found together. You will notice they are all of the same date. It is evidently a circular letter that was sent to the three individuals, and perhaps others.

Mr. MORRIS. But that was not a selection on your part from the group?

Mr. MANDEL. No; it was not a selection on our part.

Mr. MORRIS. May these go into the record?

Senator O'CONNOR. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 630" and are as follows:)

(Pencilled:) Farley-Amco, Far Eastern Policy
NEW YORK, N. Y., October 27, 1938.

Mr. HENRY MORGENTHAU,

Secretary of the Treasury Department,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MORGENTHAU: We are sending you a copy of "American Far Eastern Policy and the Sino-Japanese War," a report of the seven discussion conferences held under the auspices of the American Council in the spring of 1938. A similar series of meetings is to be held during the winter on "The United States and the Post-War Situation in the Pacific."

We should appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have regarding this report.

Very sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD, *Secretary.*

(Pencilled :) Farley-Amco, Far Eastern Policy
NEW YORK, N. Y., October 27, 1938.

HON. NELSON T. JOHNSON,
*The Embassy of the United States,
Peiping, China.*

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR: We are sending you a copy of "American Far Eastern Policy and the Sino-Japanese War," a report of the seven discussion conferences held under the auspices of the American Council in the spring of 1938. A similar series of meetings is to be held during the winter on "The United States and the Post-War Situation in the Pacific."

We should appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have regarding this report.

Very sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, N. Y., October 27, 1938.

HON. J. C. GREW,
American Embassy, Tokyo, Japan.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR: We are sending you a copy of "American Far Eastern Policy and the Sino-Japanese War," a report of the seven discussion conferences held under the auspices of the American Council in the spring of 1938. A similar series of meetings is to be held during the winter on "The United States and the Post-War Situation in the Pacific."

We should appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have regarding this report.

Very sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD, *Secretary.*

MR. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Chen Han-seng, Mr. Field?

MR. FIELD. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the grounds previously employed.

MR. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Chen Han-seng when he was at the Institute of Pacific Relations?

MR. FIELD. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this letter, please?

MR. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is addressed from 57 Post Street, October 19, 1937, addressed to Mr. Chen Han-seng, Institute of Pacific Relations, and is signed with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field, this being a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Field, I offer you this letter and ask you if you can recall having written that to Mr. Chen Han-seng? [Handing to witness.]

MR. FIELD. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the grounds previously stated.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you receive this into the record?

SENATOR O'CONOR. Yes, as a part of the records of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 631," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 631

(Written in) (CHEN)

57 POST STREET, October 19, 1937.

MR. CHEN HAN-SENG,
*Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East Fifty-second Street, New York City.*

DEAR HAN-SENG: Your analysis of the Japanese super-Cabinet is very excellent indeed and a great help to me who did not know the background of all the people

involved. You are, of course, quite right as to trends in that country. I cannot make up my mind whether Japan is a great deal stronger than we like to believe or not. It seems to me that historically people have always been inclined to underestimate the toughness of countries in that situation. This was certainly true of Germany in 1914. My guess is that unless we blockade Japan's trade, we shall not find any crack-up of her social or economic structure taking place for a very long time.

I wonder what your thoughts are on the conduct of the Chinese defense? I am still greatly disturbed by the absence of any drastic shakeup in the Nanking Government. I am afraid that if this war lasts a long time, we are in for a great deal of internal difficulty in China. This is always what happens when you have at the head people who do not have the guts or conviction to clean out their opponents in a crisis. I am also worried about the enormous effort the Chinese are putting into positional warfare in Shanghai. In view of the fact that the trade of Shanghai and therefore the customs receipts have presumably stopped anyway, it does not seem to me that it is very much to fight for. While it is quite true that had Japan taken Shanghai easily and then marched up the Yangtze River to Nanking in the first few weeks of the war Chinese morale might have collapsed all over the country. The first defense of the Shanghai positions was, therefore, an essential political move on the part of the Chinese Government. I wonder, though, if this defense has not gone much too far and whether it is not now merely a waste of men and war materials, the latter being so difficult to replace. Personally, I should like to see much more efficient Chinese troop movement in the North to support the 8th Route Army in its guerrilla tactics. I am not at all certain about my views on Shanghai, though, and if you have a spare moment or two sometime I wish you would straighten me out.

I have sent Bill Lockwood by the same mail a long letter regarding our research program and I should be grateful if you would take a look at it. It may, I think, be possible for us to organize a fairly large study into the whole war situation. We could, I think, make a sufficiently penetrating analysis of the internal scenes in both China and Japan to provide a large part of the explanation as to why this war has occurred. The disturbing thing is that once we make that sort of an analysis—it has, after all, been made repeatedly although not exhaustively with respect to both countries—nobody acts upon it. I should say, for instance, that it was perfectly clear what has been happening in Germany or Italy, as well as in Japan, but this seems to me to have very little effect on the policies of foreign countries.

Thank you, also, for a copy of the original draft of the review of Harry Gannes' book. I am sorry that Jaffe refused to use it in AMERASIA. If I had been there, I should have been inclined to argue the point, although I think I understand why he felt it would not be good policy. My point of argument would have been that if our friends write bad books, we should expose them. Nothing can hurt the things in which we are interested so much as sloppy work.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

FVF:rb

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, just so that you will know what some of these are about I would like to say this. I know it must be an awfully dull hearing under the circumstances, but I assure you it is very difficult to conduct an examination under these circumstances.

This reads:

Your analysis of the Japanese supercabinet is very excellent indeed and a great help to me who did not know the background of all the people involved. You are, of course, quite right as to the trends in that country. I cannot make up my mind whether Japan is a great deal stronger than we like to believe or not. It seems to me that historically the people have always been inclined to underestimate the toughness of countries in that situation.

The purpose of introducing this into the record would be to ask Mr. Field to testify as to the source of the information and the practice in which he engaged at the time of exchanging information with Chen Han-seng, but apparently we can get nowhere on that line of questioning, Mr. Chairman.

Senator O'CONOR. It is obvious that the witness will not testify in regard to this, and I do not see any purpose in pursuing that line of inquiry any further.

Mr. MORRIS. In the exchange of correspondence between Mr. Field and Mr. Chen Han-seng a letter from Chen Han-seng reads:

DEAR FRED: Herewith I enclose a copy of an interesting document, which please share with Owen. I don't think it is advisable to show it to anyone else.

The document was mailed to me in Chinese from Hankow. It was originally presented to Chiang Kai-shek confidentially, and as I understand it, Chiang has accepted many major points for decisive reform in the light of this presentation. Even in abstract form it is interesting because it shows both China's strength, which is potential, and China's weakness which we have reason to believe is transitory.

Then the related document is marked "Private and confidential," dated the 17th of June 1938.

I will ask the witness if he can recall having seen the letter from Chen Han-seng to him or the accompanying report. [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Senator O'CONOR. Would you identify, or are you disposed to make any reference at all to the word "Owen" in here or as to the inclusion of that reference?

Mr. FIELD. I am willing to do so in the abstract, but not with reference to that letter.

Senator O'CONOR. In the abstract.

Mr. FIELD. In the abstract, if I employed the word "Owen" it was most likely to relate to Owen Lattimore.

Senator O'CONOR. I meant to refer to it without reference to its being embodied in that communication.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that last document, please, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of an original letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations on a letterhead marked 129 East Fifty-second Street. It is dated July 20, 1938, addressed to Mr. Frederick V. Field and signed Chen Han-seng. Attached thereto is a memorandum marked "Private and confidential," dated June 17, 1938. Chen Han-seng's name is in the upper right-hand corner. It is headed "Abstract from a joint-report of the Chinese journalists on the Tientsin-Pukow war front, regarding the points of weakness of the Chinese Army at present."

Mr. MORRIS. Will you receive that into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, it will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 632" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 632

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York, 20th July, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
1795 California Street, San Francisco.

DEAR FRED: Herewith I enclose a copy of an interesting document, which please share with Owen. I don't think that it is advisable to show it to anyone else.

The document was mailed to me in Chinese from Hankow. It was originally presented to Chiang Kai-shek confidentially, and as I understand it, Chiang has accepted many major points for decisive reform in the light of this presentation. Even in abstract form it is interesting because it shows both China's strength,

which is potential, and China's weakness, which we have reason to believe is transitory.

The people in China are laboring under a tremendous amount of corruption and inefficiency, similar to that of the Czaristic regime. But considering their poor heritage they are really doing well both politically and militarily. Chiang Kai-shek is now very friendly to both the Chinese people and the Soviet Government.

If you see Owen, you may tell him that his friend Freda Utley has excited immense interest among my Chinese friends in Hong Kong and Hankow where she arrived by plane on July 9th. She will return to England two months from now.

Sincerely yours,

[s] HAN-SENG
CHEN HAN-SENG.

[Private and confidential]

(Written in:) CHEN, Han-seng
17TH JUNE 1938.

ABSTRACT FROM A JOINT REPORT OF THE CHINESE JOURNALISTS ON THE TIENSIN-PUKOW WAR FRONT, REGARDING THE POINTS OF WEAKNESS OF THE CHINESE ARMY AT PRESENT

1. RELATING TO THE MILITARY PROBLEM IN GENERAL

1. Relating to strategic matters

(a) Overrespect for public opinion. Some commanding officers try to win the support of public opinion to the extent that they often neglect what is really advantageous from military viewpoints. To this end, the desire for popularity exceeds the realisation of the necessity for general cooperation and often leads to unnecessary sacrifices.

(b) The inadequate application of the scorched-earth policy. Some troops try to hold an obviously untenable position; and, when they finally have to withdraw, they have no time to destroy what may be utilised by the enemy. The Tsa-chuang coal mine in Shantung and the railway tracks near Hsuechow are two cases in point.

2. Relating to the troops themselves

(a) The bogging of commanding officers in administrative affairs. In the majority of cases the organisation of staff people is incomplete, hence the commanding officer is bogged down by miscellaneous administrative affairs. Military mistakes are often due to lack of preparation and thought.

(b) The commanding officers do not have the spirit of learning from experience. The high commanding officers are still indifferent to learning lessons from the most precious and costly experience of their subordinate officers on the battlefield.

(c) Lack of encouragement to the soldiers and lower officers. Rewards and promotions are far from being sufficient for this purpose.

(d) The commanding officers do not adequately realise their responsibilities. There is a strong tendency on the part of some commanding officers to fight to the finish at critical moments, instead of obeying their superior's orders to carry out other instructions. There is a general idea of glory in fighting to the death, which is not a true realisation of carrying out their responsibilities.

(e) Poor intelligence service. The intelligence work itself is incomplete, partly because of material insufficiency but also partly because of the poor personnel. The crucial point is that the troops have not sufficiently utilized the people in general for intelligence service—a point which the Japanese cannot take advantage of and of which the Chinese have not fully done.

(f) Poor political training among the troops. Generally speaking, the political workers in the troops (the 8th Route Army excepted) are still puppets of the commanding officers. Among the troops there are heaps of dry-cut military orders, but educational measures are still very rare. In some troops there has not been a single lecture given since the beginning of the fighting.

3. Relating to recruiting

(a) In numerous cases able-bodied peasants have been illegally bound with ropes and thus forced into military service. There is still, therefore, a lot of resentment among the new soldiers.

(b) The organizations for training new soldiers need to be completely reformed; otherwise the training of new soldiers will always remain poor.

(c) The treatment of the new soldiers is of the most miserable kind. The Szechwan soldiers fighting in the Hsuehchow area still wear padded cotton uniforms, and their monthly allowance is several months in arrears. The constant change of commanding officers and the squeeze system from one layer to another still operates to crush the spirit of the new soldiers.

4. Relating to the problem of blockhouses

(a) During the years of the anti-Communist campaigns, many provincial authorities have built up numerous blockhouses originally designed by General Von Seckt. It was useful to the Nanking troops whose weapons were superior to the Red Army to set-up such blockhouses, but now these same blockhouses are useful only to the Japanese whose weapons are superior. Once the Japanese get hold of them, it is advantageous to the Japanese, both in offensive and on the defensive. The Chinese troops could have reached Tsinan after their victory in Taiehrehuang had it not been for the blockhouses in the southern part of Shantung, which had been occupied by the Japanese. It is obvious, therefore, that the blockhouses must be destroyed before the enemy captures them.

II. RELATING TO THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL MOBILISATION

1. Relating to civil administration in the war area

There is a lack of unity of administration in the war area around Hsuehchow. While General Li Tsung-jen was the commanding officer of the fifth war area—Hsuehchow is its center—his orders to the civilians never took effect. The old system of local "pao chia" simply cannot cope with wartime political functions.

2. Relating to mass mobilisation

(a) Mass mobilisation committees (the territory covered by the 8th Route army excepted) so far only exist in name. Party prejudices have worked against the actual functioning. Those appointed by the authorities simply have no idea whatsoever of mass mobilisation.

(b) The real masses still remain untouched as far as mobilisation goes. For instance, there are 30,000 to 40,000 railway workers on the Tsiensu and Kiaotsi lines, 40,000 to 50,000 coal miners in Shantung, and numerous peasants in the war zone eager to participate, but so far without any direction.

III. RELATING TO THE PROBLEMS IN THE REAR

1. War refugees

Until now the war refugees have not been taken care of, and their free and unregulated movements cannot but affect the people both on the war front and behind the lines, and furthermore create an additional burden for the government. Any relief of a passive and negative nature cannot cope with this problem and must ultimately disappoint the refugees. If this problem is not properly handled, therefore, it will objectively be giving the enemy a good chance to utilize the situation. From now on a positive policy must be adopted which must demand as its maxim that the refugees should return to their home places. Before they are sent back, however, they must be given an adequate training, both political and technical, so that when they return they will be organized to take up activities against the enemy. The present relief funds can be used for sending them back.

2. Wounded soldiers

The miserable treatment of the wounded soldiers at present is partly due to inadequate supply of medicine and medical workers but is also partly due to the inefficiency and corruption among governmental officials whose duties are for public health administration.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based upon common and accurate observations described above, the following four items are deemed to be of immediate necessity:

1. Intensification of the spirit of national resistance. Everybody should be told and have explained that there is no possibility of halfway measures in the matter of war and that before the final victory it is impossible to hope for one's

individual future. Only in this way can opportunism, indifference, and factional strife be eliminated.

2. Thorough mobilisation of the masses. The power of the masses is unlimited, but they must be organised. Mere decrees and posters will not do. Without real strength for organisation, there will be no result.

3. Further and better organisation of political and military administrations. (a) The relations between political parties must be legalised and systematised to avoid unnecessary frictions. (b) the existing "pao chia" system for local defense must be improved by increasing its finance and by improvements in staff work. This can easily be achieved by reducing the number of higher officials and also by appointing new and efficient workers. (c) More emphasis should be laid on the organisation of general staff work in the troops.

4. More emphasis on political work. As political work is the basic soul of all organisation, both civil and military activities, especially under emergency, require discipline and resoluteness. This can only be achieved by intensifying and widening political work everywhere. Without such political work it is difficult to eradicate the present corruption in officialdom.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, did you make any effort to amalgamate your activities in the Institute of Pacific Relations with those of the movie industry in any way?

Mr. FIELD. I guess the word "amalgamate" is a little confusing.

Mr. MORRIS. Integrate.

Mr. FIELD. I have no doubt that I made every effort to try and raise some funds in Hollywood in any connection that we may have had.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this document, please?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated September 25, 1939, addressed to Miss Margaret R. Taylor, care of Miss Eloise Requa, Library of International Relations, 86 East Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., and it has a typed signature of Frederick V. Field.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, can you recall having written that letter? Here is an extra copy that I think will be easier to read. [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I do not recall the letter, Mr. Morris, but generally it does refresh my memory as to the kind of thing we were trying to do.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. FIELD. From the evidence itself, or the letter, I managed to reach Mr. Frederick March on the long-distance telephone, and he seems to have made a very favorable impression on me, at the same time not making it possible for me to visit him. And I convey to Miss Taylor certain suggestions he made of people who should be seen on the west coast.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Marion Sister?

Mr. FIELD. Her name means nothing to me. She is here described as of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League?

Mr. FIELD. No; I wasn't. I have heard about it, but I knew nothing personally about it.

Mr. MORRIS. You will notice down in the next paragraph—go ahead, Mr. Field.

Mr. FIELD. I would like to continue. In this letter I probably conveyed to Miss Taylor that Mr. March had suggested trying to get in touch with Mr. Melvyn Douglas, who was the active secretary or director of something that sounded over the phone like the Motion

Picture Democratic Committee, about which I know nothing at all. He suggested the Motion Picture Artists Committee, in connection with which I seemed to have written down two names, John Stewart and Charles Page. At the moment, Mr. Morris, neither of those names means anything to me at all. All through the conversation he kept mentioning the name of Biberman, but in what connection I cannot recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the Biberman we have been talking about?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know, but from the evidence here I didn't know his name, and I say here, which is very familiar, but in what connection I cannot recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know any man by that name?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated. Apparently I didn't at that time know any such person, as it would seem to be clear.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the next sentence?

Mr. FIELD (reading) :

According to March, Biberman is mixed up in every organization in Hollywood, so that it is quite likely that he is Joe Stalin's personal representative.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the same Mr. Biberman that you refused to testify about?

Mr. FIELD. I haven't the slightest idea, and obviously that is not a sentence which is of careful political formulation.

Had I been talking face to face with March, I would have told him that it was unwise for organizations like ours to work exclusively through these left-wing Hollywood groups.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you mean by "left-wing Hollywood groups"?

Mr. FIELD. Do you want me to read that sentence, Mr. Morris?

Senator O'Connor. Yes. I think it is only fair.

Mr. FIELD (reading) :

Had I been talking face to face with March, I would have told him that it was unwise for organizations like ours to work exclusively through the left-wing Hollywood groups. It is quite possible that he would have replied that you have to work through them or not work at all, because they represent the only socially active people out there. You will have to find out about this on the spot. It has just occurred to me that my cousin Shirley Burden, Bill Burden's brother, is married to Douglas Fairbanks' niece—a marriage, I may say, on which the Fairbanks family frowned but which was greeted from my end in the hopes that it would revitalize the palpably growing decadence. In any case, this may be a way by which to get in touch with the Fairbanks family. Burden himself has a show of his own, doing educational pictures. I am told that he is a really first-rate cameraman (incidentally, he did his apprenticeship under Marion Cooper, to whom you have a letter). I have never met his wife, but I am told that she is a right nice gal. I doubt if you can get money from Shirley, but you might try. I imagine that his business runs at a big deficit.

And I give the address. Do you want me to go on?

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to ask a few questions.

Mr. FIELD. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you mean when you said that it would be unwise for organizations like yours, the Institute of Pacific Relations, to work exclusively through the left-wing Hollywood groups?

Mr. FIELD. I didn't say that. The letter states—

Mr. MORRIS. It is your letter, is it not?

MR. FIELD. I told you earlier, I have no recollection of it, but I certainly don't deny that it might have been and probably was. The letter states:

Had I been talking face to face with March, I would have told him that it was unwise for organizations like ours to work exclusively through these left-wing Hollywood groups.

I engaged in a hypothetical conversation which never took place between March and myself.

MR. MORRIS. You did refer, however, to these left-wing Hollywood groups clearly in reference to the groups that you have been talking about?

MR. FIELD. In the context it would seem that way.

MR. MORRIS. Is there anything else you can tell us about that letter, Mr. Field?

MR. FIELD. No; there isn't. One thing is that, as I recall, we got practically nothing out of these efforts.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Mr. Field, there is mentioned parenthetically there the name of Marion Cooper.

MR. FIELD. Yes.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. I recall that that name was mentioned in connection with your application for a commission in the Army, and I wondered whether it was the same person.

MR. FIELD. I remember reading that. Wasn't it his brother who had interviewed me? His brother was in some academic connection. I believe it was in that connection.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. There is a letter signed "Fred" and addressed to E. C. Connor of February 18, 1942, stating, "Someone suggested the other day that Marion Cooper, our friend John Cooper's brother, was fairly high up in the Army Intelligence."

MR. FIELD. It is the other way around; yes. I don't think that is the same——

SENATOR O'CONNOR. I was wondering whether there was a connection between the two.

MR. MORRIS. It is a different name.

MR. FIELD. It is a different one. This Marion Cooper was a movie director who was a brother of a John Cooper who was associated with the institute who is a businessman; he was president of a company.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. I wondered whether there was any relation, either family or otherwise.

MR. FIELD. I must say I don't know, but I don't think it is the same person.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Field, did you know E. Herbert Norman?

MR. FIELD. Yes; I did.

MR. MORRIS. What were your associations with E. Herbert Norman?

MR. FIELD. I knew him—he was a member or perhaps at some time a staff member of the corresponding body in Canada, which I believe was called the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, and I knew him in that capacity, and in this way I would have known him in the Royalist School of International Affairs in England or other corresponding bodies.

MR. MORRIS. Did you meet him in connection with your association with the American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer on the premise previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether he was a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. FIELDS. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this letter, please, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is an original letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations on the letterhead of the American council, Institute of Pacific Relations, dated April 19, 1938, addressed to Mr. Edward C. Carter and signed "Fred" with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, I offer you that letter and ask you if you can recall having seen that? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I am sorry. What was your question? Whether this was my letter?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FIELD. As in the case of these other letters, Mr. Morris, I don't recall it, but it seems to be my signature.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the letter, Mr. Field?

Mr. FIELD. It is a letter that I might well have written [reading]:

EXHIBIT No. 633

SAN FRANCISCO, April 19, 1938.

DEAR MR. CARTER: I am delighted to learn that the Rockefeller Foundation has given E. H. Norman a third year on his fellowship and that they have assigned him to your secretariat inquiry. He is an excellent man. You will perhaps have noticed from the very first issue of Amerasia up to the next to the last issue that Jaffe, Chi, and I have been making all possible use of him. You could not have made a better choice.

Sincerely yours,

FRED.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you instrumental at all in securing the Rockefeller Foundation grant?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know, I might have been. This was a period when I was secretary on the American council. No, come to think of it, I wouldn't have been, because he didn't come under our jurisdiction, being a Canadian, and I imagine that they handled it themselves.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the Association of American Friends of the Chinese People, did it have an affiliate, the Canadian Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how active was Mr. Norman in the publication Amerasia?

Mr. FIELD. I would acknowledge any article you have listed in the files. From this it seems that he wrote some articles. To answer your question more precisely, if he did write some articles, and I assume he did, that would be the limit of his association. I don't believe he was at any time a member of the board, but again I would stand by the masthead.

Mr. MORRIS. You say "He is an excellent man. You will perhaps have noticed from the very first issue of Amerasia up to the next to the last issue that Jaffe, Chi, and I have been making all possible use of him."

Mr. FIELD. That is the reason I say that I assume he had been writing articles.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether he used a pseudonym at all?

Mr. FIELD. I do not. I can't testify for Mr. Norman.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know as a matter of fact whether or not he did?

Mr. FIELD. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You were the editor of the publication, were you not?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know, I assume he didn't. You probably have the files. Let's look it up.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the Margaret R. Taylor letter go into the record?

Senator O'Connor. Yes; the original.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; the original.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 633 and 634." No. 633 was read in full; and 634 is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 634

[Air mail]

NEW YORK CITY, September 25, 1939.

MISS MARGARET R. TAYLOR,

% Miss Eloise McQua,

Library of International Relations,

86 East Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MARGARET: For your information you will find enclosed a brief report in which I have tried to note the progress or lack of it made in various lines we have been trying to promote during the last few weeks.

I am sorry to say that the best I was able to do with Frederic March was a very lengthy long-distance telephone conversation. He could not have been more cordial but I naturally regret that I did not have a chance to sit down and tell him in a great deal more detail than I could over the telephone what we were driving at. It turned out that he was leaving with his wife on a motor trip to the South yesterday and, incidentally that I could not have seen him at the theater if I had stayed over on Friday evening. Over the telephone he suggested that we get in touch with Miss Marian Sister of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. As my end of the conversation was held from my famous New Hartford party line, I had a hell of a time getting names straight in spite of the fact that he spelled each of them out. When you are in Hollywood, therefore, you will have to garble names like Sister and see if you can get a precise reaction from any informant you can find. March told me to use his name in approaching this lady, that she was a close personal friend of his wife and himself, and that she knew all the progressive people in the movie industry. He gave the impression that we could count very heavily on her. I suggest, therefore, that you call on her and find out what she has to suggest.

March also suggested that we get in touch with Melvin Douglas who, he tells me, is the active secretary or director of something that sounded over the phone like the Motion Picture Democratic Committee. He also suggested the Motion Picture Artists Committee in connection with which I seem to have written down two names, John Stewart and Charles Page. All through the conversation he kept mentioning the name of Biberman—which is very familiar but in what connection, I cannot recall. According to March, Biberman is mixed up in every organization in Hollywood, so that it is quite likely that he is Joe Stalin's personal representative. Had I been talking face to face with March I would have told him that it was unwise for organizations like ours to work exclusively through these left-wing Hollywood groups. It is quite possible that he would have replied that you have to work through them or not work at all, because they represent the only socially active people out there. You will have to find out about this on the spot. It has just occurred to me that my cousin Shirley Burden, Bill Burden's brother, is married to Douglas Fairbanks' niece—a marriage, I may say, on which the Fairbanks family frowned but which was greeted from my end in the hopes that it would revitalize the palpably growing decadence. In any case, this may be a way by which to get in touch with the Fairbanks family.

Burden himself has a show of his own, doing educational pictures. I am told that he is a really first-rate cameraman (incidentally, he did his apprenticeship under Marion Cooper to whom you have a letter). I have never met his wife but I am told that she is a right nice gal. I doubt if you can get money from Shirley but you might try. I imagine that his business runs at a big deficit. Their address is 939 Seward Avenue, Hollywood. Use my name freely in trying to get after him. I haven't seen him in 10 years but my brother Osgood sees him quite frequently. You will find him a very nice, unintellectual guy and beautiful to look at.

I am sending a copy of this letter on to Scott in the hope that he may run across a few of these names and addresses for you before you reach Los Angeles and thus help you get started a little faster.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Copy to Mr. Scott.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Chao Ting Chi?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this?

Mr. FIELD. Could I have just a moment on that last question?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes, indeed.

Mr. FIELD. Which name did you ask me there?

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Chi. Dr. Chao Ting Chi.

Mr. FIELD. What I want to do is, I think you asked me the same question on my last appearance here.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FIELD. And I believe I acknowledged knowing him. If I did then, I would certainly do so again at this time, but I would like to verify whether I did. Do you remember from your personal knowledge whether I did?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, you discussed him at length.

Mr. FIELD. All right, so I knew him.

Mr. MORRIS. From some recent contact you had with him.

Mr. FIELD. So I knew him then. I won't use the privilege.

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a photostat of two documents from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations. One is a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter dated April 20, 1938, air mail, addressed to Mr. Edward C. Carter with the typed signature of Frederick V. Field. The other is a Western Union telegram, a photostat of an original, addressed to Frederick V. Field, signed Edward C. Carter, dated April 19, 1938.

Mr. MORRIS. Are these taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. MANDEL. They are.

Mr. MORRIS. The telegram signed by Mr. Edward C. Carter was directed to Mr. Frederick V. Field and it reads:

EXHIBIT No. 635

Confidential if we should decide to send Chi to China for 5 months for inquiry air mail me what topics in China outline you feel he could most usefully tackle.

Do you remember Mr. Carter sending you this telegram?

Mr. FIELD. No, I don't have any recollection of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you make use of Mr. Chi in your work in the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FIELD. He was never on the staff of the American council. On that the answer to that is "No, I did not."

Mr. MORRIS. What is the reference to that Mr. Carter makes there?

Mr. FIELD. He asked for my advice, apparently, on the use to which he in his capacity in the international organization presumably would put Mr. Chi.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, this other letter is from you to Mr. Carter dated April 20, 1938. I wonder if you will read the first few paragraphs of that, Mr. Field?

Mr. FIELD. It is from San Francisco, April 20, 1938 [reading]:

DEAR MR. CARTER: I am very glad indeed to learn from your nice letter received this morning that you are considering sending Chi to China for 5 months on behalf of the secretariat's inquiry.

That would be the International Secretariat—

I shall keep this matter confidential until you have made a decision, with the exception, however, that I shall reveal it to Lattimore who has recently asked me what Chi's plans were for the summer.

It happens that I can give you fairly definite suggestions as to the topics which Chi could most usefully tackle because in another connection he has very recently outlined three subjects which he is particularly interested to investigate and with regard to which he feels qualified.

One of these subjects is a study of the economic and political process of development of the southwestern provinces (Szechuan, Kweichow, and Yunnan) from a regional entity into a part of a united China. As Chi describes it "this will involve an investigation of the historical developments of this region, the part it plays in the present war, and the inevitable transformation of the economy and politics of that region that is bound to occur as a result of the war." You would, I imagine, want to cut down the historical aspect of this subject and ask him to concentrate on very recent and current developments.

The second subject is a study of the socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions in the Northwest with special reference to the prosecution and the aftermath of the war.

The third subject involves a study of the changes in Chinese foreign trade resulting from the war and a discussion of foreign trade policy from the point of view of the interest of foreign traders as well as that of China's future economic development.

All three of these subjects, it seems to me, fall within the scope of our staff memorandum entitled "Outline for a Proposed Study of Chinese Political Unification and Economic Reconstruction, 1931-38." If I had not had these specific interests of Chi's before me I would have replied to your telegram simply that Chi should be asked to document the project on nearly all the subjects contained in the outline. That is, indeed, what his own three suggestions amount to, stated, however, in a more concrete form than I would have been able to do.

I hope most sincerely that this plan goes through and that, if it does, you can arrange to have Chi stop over in San Francisco for at least a week on his way out. I could then arrange to have him pick up information and documents for the Economic Handbook project which we may have considerable difficulty in securing in this country. I would, of course, undertake not to put such a load on him that it would interfere with whatever instructions you give him.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that refresh your recollection on your dealings with Mr. Chi?

Mr. FIELD. On my dealings with Mr. Chi?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FIELD. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Chi help you in your Economic Handbook?

Mr. FIELD. No; I don't believe he did. I don't believe anything ever came of that. I had another Chinese associate on the Handbook.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was that?

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Liu Yu-wen.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you this extract from the New Masses, this review in the New Masses, and ask you if you can recall that particular review?

Mr. FIELD. I don't recall the review itself, Mr. Morris. I had a file of all the reviews of this book, because I edited the book and naturally kept all of the files with reviews I could find myself, but I don't remember this particular one.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was that review by?

Mr. FIELD. I don't know. It says John Phillips. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't know who John Phillips is?

Mr. FIELD. No; I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you receive this letter of Mr. Field's to Mr. Chen Han-seng, the telegram, and the one to E. C. Carter into the record?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes; they will be admitted.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 635", read in full above, "and 636," as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 636

1795 CALIFORNIA STREET,
San Francisco, March 28, 1938.

Mr. CHEN HAN-SENG,
129 East Fifty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR HAN-SENG: It was very good of you indeed, in reply to my wire of March 12th, to prepare an article for Amerasia on the present military situation in China. I had great pleasure in reading it and was particularly interested to see your supplementary comments on the information you received from Hongkong.

Thank you for sending me the translation of the Eighth Route Army's oath of loyalty. I agree with you that the developments which are taking place in China are hastening a London-Tokyo rapprochement. As we all know, when a united front of liberal elements in any country (whether it be Spain, France, or China) is organized, the tendency is for this united front to move to the left. This is an inevitable development in that in each case the united front has been led by the Communist Party which has, also in each case, furnished the most able leadership. The result, naturally, is to crystallize the opposition. British policy, if it has tried to do anything in the last several years, has been directed, first, against the successful defense of Spain by the Government, second, in an effort to break up the popular front in France and, third and most recently, it is becoming alarmed at the success of the very processes which a year ago it was advocating in China.

I have no inside dope on the London-Tokyo rapprochement, unless some elementary knowledge of the course of modern history can be regarded as inside dope. Judging from the extraordinary ignorance of most of our statesmen regarding the almost inevitable developments in the world, I am beginning to think that this elementary knowledge is privileged information. In any case, it is quite clear from all the evidence that the British Government wants to make a deal with Japan for the mutual exploitation of China and for mutual protection against a left-wing government being successful in emerging after the far eastern war. I learned only today (although this has very likely been in the New York papers) that the British Counselor of Embassy in China has spent the last two weeks in Tokyo. I doubt if he is on vacation.

Just as Great Britain has been absolutely powerless to curb Japan, I rather imagine that it will not be very effective in now supporting her. Though I think that a London-Tokyo rapprochement emphasizes the danger to China I doubt very much if it will materially weaken the present efforts of the Chinese Government or strengthen those of the Japanese.

A more alarming international development which, I fear, may possibly have eventual implications in the United States policy towards fascism and aggression is the recent development in Mexico. The expropriation of American oil interests puts the question squarely up to the State Department whether or not

it is actually going to support free and independent developments in Latin-American republics or whether it is to return to the more obvious phases of Monroe Doctrine imperialism. Judging from the Government's first reaction, namely the Treasury Department's move on silver, I am afraid that we are going to interfere very seriously with what should be a purely domestic question in Mexico. As I understand it, the Mexican Government has been entirely legal in expropriating its own oil lands, that is so long as they compensate the foreign interests. Our Government may criticize the methods employed, they may regard it as too drastic, but it should be left at that, merely at the point of disagreement. It should not be allowed to pass on to active intervention in the form adopted by the Treasury Department. The reason that I fear this Mexican development may have repercussions in other regions is that up to this time the United States has been able to oppose fascism because it was taking place in regions fairly remote from our borders. When the question is brought directly to our back door we may, in what is supposed to be self-interest, take an opposite course and oppose a fairly left-wing people's government with the result that we shall gradually have to extend this attitude in your relations to other regions.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you receive this into the record, Mr. Chairman? Senator O'CONNOR. Which is this?

Mr. MORRIS. This is a review in the *New Masses*.

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes, this will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 637" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 637

[*New Masses*, August 14, 1934: Review of *Economic Handbook of the Pacific*]

DEAD FIGURES ON THE PACIFIC

(*Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area*, edited for IPR by Frederick V. Field, Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$5)

Here is a book of 650 pages closely printed with innumerable tables, figures, and data on the economic factors underlying the structure of the many countries touching the Pacific Ocean totalling half the population of the world. In addition to the so-called Far East with its nations, colonies and territories, there are also included such countries as the United States, the U. S. S. R., Australia, Canada, etc. There is no question that the vast quantity of information gathered in this handbook is very valuable to students of the Far East. Many subjects are dealt with: Population, Land Utilization, Food, Transportation, Finance, Capital Movements, Trade, Minerals, Agriculture, and Textiles. The bibliography itself is very useful.

But what is the purpose of this compilation? Frederick V. Field who edited it for the Institute of Pacific Relations writes in the preface that "the volume may now be defined as concerned entirely with the material aspects of the vastly complicated and increasingly important economic problems of the peoples of the Pacific area." So far so good. But, then the next sentence reads: "Among these problems the elemental factors of population and the use people make of the land on which they live are of first importance." They are of first importance only in liberated peoples. Facts of real first importance are unfortunately omitted from the book. Does not Mr. Field know that the "use people make of land" is entirely dependent upon their power and freedom to use it. Especially is this an important point in the Far Eastern colonies where imperialists are rampant. What have the Chinese or the Philippine masses of their own accord to do with using land?

Newton D. Baker in a foreword gives us the answer. He says: "They (the statistics in this book) are addressed to no existing controversy and are not aimed to support or combat any thesis. They are just facts without emotion." Yes, facts do not need emotion, but facts need a lot of explanation and analysis before they can take on any meaning. Otherwise, facts become dead, as indeed the facts and statistics in this handbook are dead and meaningless. This review is not an attempt to belittle the importance of the book, but it is precisely those facts and explanations which are omitted which would bring this book

to life and stir people to action against a small group of imperialists and financiers who are impoverishing a world of plenty.

A few illustrations will help to clarify the point. In the chapter on "Land Utilization" there appears the following statement: "The utilization of land depends upon such factors as temperature, rainfall, topography, the quality of soils, etc." True enough, but what about the land that was destroyed by Japanese bombs around the area of the Great Wall of China which made twenty million Chinese homeless last year. What about the 108,813,115 famine victims in China from "natural and human calamities" reported last year by the Investigation of International Relief Commission? If the money spent for civil warfare against the Chinese masses were used instead for defense against floods and drought, there would be no "natural calamities." What about the vast acres of the most arable land in China which are converted to opium growing so that the militarists and imperialist lackeys can draw large funds for the support of their armies. What about Soviet China (one-fourth of China proper) and the remarkable progress it has been making toward building up a plentiful food supply? Where are these figures? Why are they omitted? The answer is easy. These omitted facts and figures would prove a "thesis" that would endanger the power of the imperialists and bankers.

In the same chapter there is a table giving the remarkable increase in productivity on the collective farms of the U. S. S. R. Doesn't it seem important to the editor to explain the reasons and the economic philosophy behind this amazing growth? And when the Roosevelt A. A. A. program of taking acreage out of production is discussed, isn't it a vital statistic to show that while wheat and cotton are plowed under, millions are starving and nearly naked?

In the chapter on "Transportation," the editor apparently is not aware that only 30 percent of the railways Japan is building in Manchuria is warranted on economic grounds. That 70 percent is planned for military reasons, for the preparations of an attack against the U. S. S. R. Certainly such clarification belongs to an economic handbook.

In the chapter on "Public Finance" there appears the figure of over 300 million dollars (50 percent of total expenditure) in the Chinese figures for military expenditures. Does not Mr. Field know that every cent of it is spent to fight the Chinese people in the Soviet territory? Who covers the Nanking government's deficit? Who supplies the Nanking government with military aeroplanes, pilots, and instructors? Where are these facts and figures?

Such omissions are so numerous that they become conspicuous by their absence. Their inclusion would light up the figures into a "thesis" that Newton Baker and his colleagues fear so much.

JOHN PHILLIPS.

MR. FIELD. May I point out that this book was reviewed by every newspaper and journal in all the academic publications. It received quite favorable reviews, even if I say so myself. And simply because one of a very many reviews happens to come from the New Masses is no reflection whatsoever on the book itself or the work of the institute.

MR. MORRIS. May we have a short recess? I have some urgent business that calls me outside.

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes.

MR. MORRIS. I think 10 minutes will do.

Senator O'CONNOR. We will recess for 10 minutes.

MR. FIELD. Could I ask roughly how much longer it is going to take?

MR. MORRIS. I think another half hour.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

Senator O'CONNOR. The hearing will please be in order.

MR. MORRIS. Will you proceed?

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have a representative of the War Department here. I wish he would identify himself. Colonel, will you identify yourself, please?

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you come around, please?

STATEMENT OF LT. COL. ROWLAND H. RENWANZ, PERSONNEL
SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SECURITY DIVISION, OFFICE OF THE
ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2 (INTELLIGENCE), DEPART-
MENT OF THE ARMY

Colonel RENWANZ. I am Colonel Renwanz.

Senator O'CONNOR. And your first name?

Colonel RENWANZ. Rowland—R-o-w-l-a-n-d.

Mr. MORRIS. Colonel, have I shown you a copy of the executive ses-
sion testimony of Colonel Church of Friday, January 11, 1952, pre-
sided over by Senator Ferguson?

Colonel RENWANZ. You have.

Mr. MORRIS. Have we the permission of the War Department to
introduce that into our public record?

Colonel RENWANZ. Yes, sir; you have.

Mr. MORRIS. This is an examination of Colonel Church in connection
with terminating the questions about the efforts made on the part of
the Army to find the papers connected with Mr. Field's application
for a commission. We have a statement from an Army representative.
If there is no objection on the part of the Army to introducing this
into the record, may it therefore be introduced into the public record?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes, sir; it will be received.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much.

(The record referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 638" and is as
follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 638

[Executive session—confidential]

INTERNAL SECURITY

United States Senate, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the
Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on
the Judiciary, Washington, D. C., Friday, January 11, 1952

The subcommittee met at 10:45 a. m., pursuant to call in room 139 Senate
Office Building, Senator Homer Ferguson presiding.

Present: Senator Ferguson.

Also present: Subcommittee Counsel Robert Morris.

Senator FERGUSON. You have been sworn, Colonel?

Colonel CHURCH. Yes, I think that was the first of August.

TESTIMONY OF GERALD L. CHURCH, COLONEL, ARMY GENERAL'S STAFF, ROOM 2E-519,
THE PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Senator FERGUSON. You have been sworn, Colonel, but for the record please
state your full name.

Colonel CHURCH. Gerald L. Church.

Senator FERGUSON. And you came in this morning to give us a memorandum.
Would you explain what it is and where you obtained it.

Colonel CHURCH. This is a record that was discovered as a result of a search,
a further search, of The Adjutant General's files that I agreed to you that we
would make at the time I testified on August 1, 1951. A great number of files
have been searched, and this was discovered in The Adjutant General's files at
Alexandria, Va.; and came to me on the 5th of December. At that time, of
course, Congress was not in session, and this is the first opportunity that I
have had to bring it over. Do you wish me to read this for the record?

Senator FERGUSON. I don't think he ought to read it, but I think the stenog-
rapher ought to keep a copy of it. We will receive the whole thing in evidence
and he can make a copy for our record.

Colonel CHURCH. Very well. I would like to draw attention to the fact that the document is classified confidential.

(The memorandum referred to follows:)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF THE ARMY AIR FORCES,
Washington, February 14, 1942.

Memorandum to: The Assistant Secretary of War for Air.

Subject: Mr. Frederick V. Field.

1. On or about January 5, 1942, the attention of this office, Operations Unit, A-2, was directed to the above individual by the New York office of G-2 (Col. Frederick D. Sharp), as being qualified for employment in the Operations Unit, on either a civilian or commissioned status. Mr. Field was at that time interviewed in New York by an officer of the Operations Unit who was there at the time on other business. The results of the interview indicated that he was a candidate of sufficient promise to justify further interviews by the chief and other officers of the Operations Unit.

2. Mr. Field, accordingly, was interviewed in Washington by several officers of the Operations Unit on or about January 8, 1942. It was suggested that he make application for civil-service appointment in order that his services might become available at as early a date as possible, and also apply for a commission, in which capacity his services would be of greater value later on.

3. About January 25, Colonel Sharp of the G-2 New York office informed one of the officers of the Operations Unit by telephone that he had received an adverse report on Mr. Field from an ONI investigator (Mr. Peterkin). Mr. Peterkin was put on the phone and stated that Mr. Field's connections were unfavorable; that his contacts with the Japanese in New York, with Mr. Joseph Lash, and with the Communist Party were such as to render his employment in intelligence activities undesirable. The Civilian Personnel Division was, accordingly, requested to withdraw Mr. Field's application.

4. Mr. Field inquired by telephone on about February 10, 1942, as to the status of his application and was informed that it had been disapproved by higher authority. He appeared in person at the Operations Unit on February 13, 1942, and was informed that this office was not in a position to give out any information; that if he wished further information it would be necessary for him to investigate the matter himself. He stated that he would make an effort to see Mr. Lovett and Mr. Curry and try to get the matter straightened out.

For the Chief of the Army Air Forces:

[s] E. P. CURTIS,
Lieutenant Colonel, Air Corps,
Secretary of the Air Staff.

Senator FERGUSON. There is a name mentioned there, the name of Currie. From your knowledge of all of the facts, who would you say that was?

Colonel CHURCH. It appears to me from a perusal of all of the files pertaining to Field that the Currie mentioned here is Laughlin Currie.

Senator FERGUSON. And he was attached to the White House.

Colonel CHURCH. Attached to the White House.

Mr. MORRIS. Colonel Church, will you make an effort to have that declassified? The reason I say that is that the confidential aspect of that report has now been outworn, I think you will grant that, in view of all of the publicity. Will you try to get a declassification?

Colonel CHURCH. I will request authority. I do not have the authority myself.

Mr. MORRIS. I understand that. And, Colonel, is it your opinion that the Army or the Air Force would like more time to continue the search for these papers that are missing, particularly the application of Field, the application itself of Field, from this committee?

Colonel CHURCH. We are continuing to make inquiry and are making every effort to discover anything more pertaining to the subject.

Mr. MORRIS. So your answer, then, Colonel, would be that you do want more time to continue the search?

Colonel CHURCH. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And it indicates now clearly from this memorandum that he had made an application.

Colonel CHURCH. This so states, in effect.

Senator FERGUSON. And apparently when he was turned down he said that he was going to Lovett, that is, Bob Lovett, who was then Under Secretary of Air.

Colonel CHURCH. Then Under Secretary of War for Air.

Senator FERGUSON. He is now Secretary of Defense.

Colonel CHURCH. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. And Laughlin Currie at the White House. That is what it indicates.

Colonel CHURCH. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. But yet, as far as the files are concerned, the only thing that you had prior to this was a medical examination?

Colonel CHURCH. That is the only thing that we could find. Now, I want to tell you this; it is possible that we will not be able to find any more, for the reason that the files of the Army, particularly The Adjutant General's files, are periodically reviewed and papers which have no apparent present or future value are destroyed. That may have been done to any further papers in this. That, I don't know. I couldn't say. There wouldn't be any record in that case.

Senator FERGUSON. I am wondering why they would destroy the application and not the medical examination.

Colonel CHURCH. If it was a question of destruction, it might be that they were in two separate files, and one was destroyed and one wasn't. It would be a question, again, of misfiling. During the war, of course, they had many incompetent file clerks.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you look through the Currie file, let Mr. Morris see the Currie file, the 201 or any other file you have on it?

Colonel CHURCH. Intelligence files?

Senator FERGUSON. Any file you have on Laughlin Currie.

Colonel CHURCH. We wouldn't normally have a 201 file.

Senator FERGUSON. No; because he wasn't in the military service. But how about the intelligence file? You may find this whole Field thing in the Currie file.

Colonel CHURCH. We will search that file.

Mr. MORRIS. One other thing, and I have spoken to some of the Senators on this. Will you give us a report on your search in about 30 days? Don't let it go much longer than that. We will have to come to some sort of a conclusion, and you have been given as much time as possible. But maybe 30 days more would be helpful.

Colonel CHURCH. All right. Say by the 10th of February.

Mr. MORRIS. That would be fine.

Senator FERGUSON. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 10:55 a. m., the subcommittee recessed subject to call.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I ask you if you will identify this letter for us, please.

Mr. MANDEL. This is a carbon copy of a letter which was taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated August 1, 1940, addressed to Frederick V. Field, Esq., with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Field, can you recall having received that letter? Here are extra copies [handling to witness]. Will you read it aloud, Mr. Field?

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK V. FIELD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD CAMMER—Resumed

Mr. FIELD (reading):

EXHIBIT No. 639

SUNSET FARM,

Lee, Mass., October 1, 1940.

DEAR FRED: I have been wondering how your resignation and your new job can be announced both constructively to the board and membership of the American Council and most constructively for the purposes of you yourself and your new enterprise.

There is much in your new program that should appeal to the vast majority of the members of the American Council. I wonder whether it isn't better for Jessup or me to consider an announcement which will put your new work in its appropriate setting instead of having the American Council members one by one get garbled, prejudiced, and hostile accounts.

You have doubtless seen the very stimulating proposal that Robert S. Lynd has made to the Earle Committee for a study of the potentialities of democratic process in a period of mobilization. You yourself, either in your former or your new capacity, might have drafted a very similar outline. You are probably familiar with a somewhat similar but less ambitious proposal being worked on by Raymond Gram Swing, Arthur Upham Pope, and others, proposing that for the stupid morale work carried on in the American Army during the last war, a totally different program be adopted in the Army for maintaining and deepening democratic process.

Would you care to draft something for an announcement, or would you prefer to send me samples of all the mimeographed and printed material that APM has issued and have us prepare something? Naturally, I would prefer that you make the first draft if you approve of the idea at all.

If we do something along this line it might refer to you alone, or your change might be included in a circular to the board describing a number of staff changes. This could include a description of Lockwood's work, of Lasker's, of far eastern journeys of Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, the coming of Miss Jorgenson and Miss Howie—in fact, a record of all staff changes. Which do you think would be the best procedure?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

MR. MORRIS. Do you recall receiving that letter?

MR. FIELD. No, I don't, Mr. Morris.

MR. MORRIS. Will that be received into the record?

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Yes.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 639" and was read in full.)

MR. MORRIS. Did you, as a matter of fact, in connection with the fourth paragraph there reading:

Would you care to draft something for an announcement, or would you prefer to send me samples of all the mimeographed and printed material that APM has issued and have us prepare something?

Send samples of all APM material into Mr. Carter in connection with that suggestion?

MR. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that, please?

MR. MANDEL. This is an original of a memorandum from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated December 2, 1940, headed "C. P. from E. C. C." and it is signed "C. P. and the initial "F."

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Field, is that your initial on that letter? [Handing to witness.]

MR. FIELD. It is just the penciled initial "F." I haven't the slightest idea.

MR. MORRIS. Does the memorandum look familiar to you?

MR. FIELD. No, there is nothing familiar in it whatsoever. It doesn't look like it. Actually I make an "F" the other way around. I don't know what this is. I don't think it is my initial.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest we not accept that into the record under the circumstances.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. No.

MR. MORRIS. I have a batch of letters here—

MR. FIELD. I would like to assert for the record that C. P. refers doubtless to the initials of the staff member in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

MR. MORRIS. I was making reference to the P. S. That was Catherine Porter, was it not?

MR. FIELD. It must be.

Mr. MORRIS. But we are making reference here to the P. S. on the letter with the initial "F."

Mr. Chairman, we have about 40 letters which all relate to the particular witness before us today. They are letters either sent by him or sent to him. In order to save time, I would like to have counsel and the witness look over that stack of letters, and if he will acknowledge either that he was the author, or in reverse, that they were sent to him, I would like them to go into the record, Mr. Chairman.

I think that if the witness and his attorney would look at them we will be able to save some time and not go through each individual letter.

Senator O'CONNOR. May I suggest that in looking over them, if this will expedite matters, that they put in different piles, as to those which may be readily identified, and just judging from what has transpired, it may be that they will not be remembered by you, or otherwise they may.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one in particular I would like to ask you about.

Mr. Chairman, I would like this inserted into the record.

Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a telegram taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, addressed to Frederick V. Field and signed "Hilda." It is dated October 20, 1937.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember receiving that telegram, Mr. Field? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FIELD. I don't recall it specifically, no, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, it reads:

EXHIBIT No. 640

Carter asks reprint his October Amerasia article, distribution editors, Congressmen, Cabinet ministers, institute countries. Suggest reprinting pamphlet form survey as is. Out today preparedness China-Japan rather than Amerasia. Not replacing pamphlet series. Please wire opinion and how finance 3,000 copies costing \$170. Thanks. Wired agenda also. China manuscript excellent.

Signed "Hilda."

Mr. Field, was it the practice of sending certain manuscripts and certain articles that appeared in Amerasia to various Congressmen and Cabinet ministers? Was it the practice of the IPR as far as you knew?

Mr. FIELD. Just speaking generally on the question, the practice as far as I was concerned, what I could testify to, would have to do only with this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FIELD. And I just would refer to the testimony I gave on that subject a little while ago—that we did on occasion circularize members of the Government and Members of the Congress, as well as persons in all other walks of life in this country whom we could reach.

Senator O'CONNOR. It will be inserted into the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 640" and was read in full above.)

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. David Drucker?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously employed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know his wife, Esther Drucker?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether or not he has been an attorney for the Amtorg Corp.?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he an attorney for the corporation in which you had an interest?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Adam Von Trott?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a host of Adam Von Trott in this country?

Mr. FIELD. A host in what sense?

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, did you have him at your home for dinner? Did you take him to lunch? What were your dealings with Adam Von Trott?

Mr. FIELD. He attended one of the institute conferences, and I believe the one that was held at Virginia Beach, in whatever year that was. It was during the early part of the war, wasn't it? You've got the year; I forget.

Mr. MORRIS. At Virginia Beach was the early part of the war.

Mr. FIELD. It was before this country was in the war. It must have been late 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. How often did you see him?

Mr. FIELD. I saw him primarily at that conference, and I imagine I saw him a few times in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you his host at luncheon or dinner?

Mr. FIELD. I might have been. I couldn't possibly remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Ludwig Rajchmann?

Mr. FIELD. Before I answer that, could I identify him? Had he been a League of Nations adviser in China?

Mr. MORRIS. That is the one.

Mr. FIELD. Yes, I did know him.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your dealings with Ludwig Rajchmann?

Mr. FIELD. He was simply a man that I met on one of my trips to China. I had no dealings with him in any sense that I can remember. I remember sitting in a conversation, I have heard him talk, but I never had any personal dealings.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the occasions of your sitting in conversations with him and talking?

Mr. FIELD. I have no clear recollection. At Shanghai, at the time I was there, a great deal of talk went on in the middle of the night at night clubs. I think he was working with Soong, T. V. Soong. I remember it was the custom of Mr. Soong and other Chinese officials to have late meetings in night clubs. I think it is possible at one of those sessions I was on. I don't have a clear recollection.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see him?

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Rajchmann? I don't think I ever saw him except in China, which would have been in the early thirties.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Anthony Jenkinson?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I did. He stayed at my place.

Mr. MORRIS. For what period of time?

Mr. FIELD. I don't remember how long a period of time. In the question of the housing shortage there was a period when he couldn't find an apartment of his own. He stayed at my place.

Mr. MORRIS. For what duration?

Mr. FIELD. I don't remember how long.

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately?

Mr. FIELD. Well, it was a good many weeks. I know that, and I don't remember exactly how long.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he associated with the Allied Labor News?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris, on the same grounds previously used.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did the Gellhorns, Walter and Kitty Gellhorn, stay at your place at all?

Mr. FIELD. It is possible that they used it, did use the house on occasion. I couldn't identify when. I knew them well.

Mr. MORRIS. Did they register from your place at all? Do you know that?

Mr. FIELD. No, I couldn't speak for myself on that. I couldn't tell you accurately there. There was a period when—I was trying to think why I wasn't using the house myself. I think they did. I just haven't got a clear recollection of that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever collaborate with Archibald MacLeish in writing an article?

Mr. FIELD. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know George C. Eltenton, the husband of Dolly Eltenton? Do you know Dolly Eltenton?

Mr. FIELD. Well, that name strikes some recollection, but I cannot identify her at the moment. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. She was a staff worker in the IPR office in San Francisco.

Mr. FIELD. Not at the time I was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know George Eltenton?

Mr. FIELD. I don't think so. I don't believe I met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Abraham Chapman?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously employed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Colonel Faymonville?

Mr. FIELD. I don't think I ever met him.

Mr. MORRIS. You never met Colonel Faymonville?

Mr. FIELD. I don't think so. If I did it would have been at such a large public gathering that I would have no recollection of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Charlotte Honig?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously employed.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you ever meet Mr. Louis Budenz?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever met Vincente Lombard Tolidano?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever make an effort to create an interest on the part of Mr. Tolidano in the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FIELD. May I consult with my attorney?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes, indeed.

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. I have no recollection, Mr. Morris. It is possible that I did, but I have no recollection of anything.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Harry Gannes?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously employed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mildred Price?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever make a contribution to the China Aid Council?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you contribute \$63,950 to the publication Soviet Russia Today between October 3, 1946, and April 28, 1950?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. It is not that I am giving you a figure and taxing your memory.

Mr. FIELD. No, I decline to answer on the grounds to do so might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a stockholder of the Trade Union Service?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever contribute to the Chinese Laundrymen's Association?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether the Chinese Laundrymen's Association was connected with the New China Daily News?

Mr. FIELD. No; I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no knowledge of that. Are you acquainted with the North American Trade Consultants, of 150 Broadway, which shares office space with AVCO? Are you acquainted with the AVCO International Corp.?

Mr. FIELD. What was the first name there? The North American Trading—

Mr. MORRIS. Let me put it this way: Were you vice president and treasurer of the AVCO International, Inc.?

Mr. FIELD. May I consult?

(Mr. Field confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. That first, that North American whatever it was, I don't recall at all. With the second one I did have such an association.

Mr. MORRIS. You were vice president and treasurer?

Mr. FIELD. If those were the offices on record. I am sure I was an officer of it.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the purpose of that company?

Mr. FIELD. A trading company.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you trade in?

Mr. FIELD. We did no business whatsoever, as I recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Who organized the company?

Mr. FIELD. That I don't remember the details of.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember who the incorporators were, Mr. Field?

Mr. FIELD. The actual incorporators? No; I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the stockholders?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the directors of the corporation?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. You will testify you were the vice president and treasurer of the company?

Mr. FIELD. I was an officer of it; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Ernest Thornton in Australia?

Mr. FIELD. May I identify him? His name came up here in the testimony in the last week or so. I have read the name in the——

Mr. MORRIS. I don't think so.

Mr. FIELD. Ernest Thornton?

Mr. MORRIS. Ernest Thornton.

Mr. FIELD. This is somebody quite different, then. From Australia?

Mr. MORRIS. Australia.

Mr. FIELD. I will have to decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man named Carlos Contreros Labarea?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with him on July 6, 1945, at 16 West Twelfth Street?

Mr. FIELD. Who is this? Carlos——

Mr. MORRIS. Carlos Contreros Labarea.

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Tung Pi Wu?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Chang Han Fu and Chen Chia Kang, assistants to Tung Pi Wu?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Y. Y. Hsu?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Hsu have dinner at the home of Mrs. Selali Chamberlain on April 30, 1945?

Mr. FIELD. Mrs. who?

Mr. MORRIS. Chamberlain; the first name is S-e-l-a-l-i.

Mr. FIELD. It is S-e-l-l-a-h, Sellah.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Hsu have dinner at the home of Mrs. Chamberlain on April 30, 1945, in your company?

Mr. FIELD. I don't recall that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Max Yergan?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, Dr. Yergan, Chen, and Kang, assistants to Tung Pi Wu, have dinner together at the home of Charlotte Honig in New York City, 320 West Eighty-third Street, in 1945?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you associated with the organization, Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you and Eugene Dennis propose that Grace Granich pinch-hit and run the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern

Policy until such time as they would get more respectable names to run that organization?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give checks in the amount totaling \$610 to Mr. Y. Y. Hsu on March 19, 1946, and July 19, 1946?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know where Mr. Hsu is now?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you connected with the American Chinese Export Co., of 51 Pine Street?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Charlotte Honig vice president of that corporation?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Saul Mills?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Saul Mills associated with you in the American Chinese Export Co.?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give Saul Mills on March 22, 1950, \$4,000?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give him \$2,000 on May 15, 1950?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question also on the the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Martin Popper the secretary of the American Chinese Export Co.?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mr. Popper a member of the Sunnyside branch of the Communist Party in Queens?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet a man by the name of J-u-a-n, the next part of the name is M-a-r-i-v-e-i-l-l-i, and the next name is V-i-d, and the last part of his name is A-u-r-i-e-a, who is president of the Chuman Communist Party? I will read that again. The first name is J-u-a-n, the next part of his name is M-a-r-i-v-e-i-l-l-i, the next part of his name is V-i-d, and the next part A-u-r-i-e-a.

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with him on April 10, 1946?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. Chairman, may I just say a word, that I have endeavored, and I wish to continue, to answer as fully as I can any questions pertaining to the Institute of Pacific Relations, but I feel that in self-protection I must decline to answer questions that go far astray from this particular matter.

Senator O'CONOR. Mr. Field, let me ask you just a few questions along that line that might be a little closer, and they pertain to the library. I think that was located at 26 West Twenty-sixth Street, was it?

Mr. FIELD. Of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Senator O'CONOR. No; of yours.

Mr. FIELD. My own library?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes.

Mr. FIELD. Yes; that is right; 23 West Twenty-sixth Street.

Senator O'CONOR. 23 West Twenty-sixth Street. Did you know Israel Epstein?

Mr. FIELD. May I confer?

Senator O'CONOR. Yes, indeed.

(Mr. Field conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator O'CONOR. Did you know Edgar Snow?

Mr. FIELD. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator O'CONOR. And you have previously testified concerning Owen Lattimore?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I knew him.

Senator O'CONOR. Now, with regard to the publications of each of those three individuals, I would like to just ask you a few questions. One, the book entitled "Unfinished Revolution in China" by Israel Epstein. Do you know of such a book?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I did know of such a book.

Senator O'CONOR. And do you know of Red Star Over China by Edgar Snow?

Mr. FIELD. Yes.

Senator O'CONOR. Third, Solution in Asia by Owen Lattimore?

Mr. FIELD. Yes; I know of such a book.

Senator O'CONOR. I would not expect you to know all the books in the library, but do you know whether those books were included in the library?

Mr. FIELD. Well, in other words, whether I own those books? Is that your question?

Senator O'CONOR. Well, if you desire.

Mr. FIELD. I should like to explain, sir, that the library at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street is my personal library.

Senator O'CONOR. That is right.

Mr. FIELD. I own the books there. So your question is whether I own these three books you have mentioned.

Senator O'CONOR. Well, you may answer, if that is your desire, on that question. Mine was not directed to that particularly, but I will ask the question as long as you put it that way.

Mr. FIELD. I have. I do own Lattimore's book, and I think I have Snow's. I offhand don't think I happen to have the other one, Epstein's book.

Senator O'CONOR. The point to which I was directing the question was as to whether or not a library as such was made available to any particular groups or to the public generally, or was it restricted in its use?

Mr. FIELD. No; it is a library which adjoins my office in a large—just adjoining my personal office, which is a personal office. And I simply had a policy of leaving the door open, and I don't think I have ever thrown anybody out of the place. I have never gone into any special efforts to get anybody into it, but anyone who wanted to consult the books on the premises could do so. I have had a policy of not permitting people to take books out.

Senator O'CONNOR. I see. Was there any standing arrangements, to your knowledge, whereby members of any particular groups would have access to it and would be admitted and have the run of it?

Mr. FIELD. No; no groups as distinguished from any other groups.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with this line of questions, I grant you that some of these questions and the association with some of these people with the Institute of Pacific Relations are at best marginal, but under ideal conditions the purpose of this investigation would be to find out whether or not these people were actually connected with Mr. Field's work in the Institute of Pacific Relations. I grant you in some cases that may not be the case, but we should have answers from Mr. Field to find out whether in fact they are or not.

Certainly, Mr. Y. Y. Hsu, about whom we have been talking, was connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, and Mr. Adam Von Trott was connected with the institute.

Mr. FIELD. I replied with respect to him.

Mr. MORRIS. I have a series of questions; the next five are connected with Mr. Von Trott. I grant you that it may be unfair to the Institute of Pacific Relations to continue this line of inquiry, but since we have a witness here we would like to find out whether or not there is any connection with these people. It may well be that the answer is "No," but we do not always get that answer from a witness.

Mr. FIELD. The problem, Mr. Chairman, for the witness, or a witness, at least, in my position, is that, while wanting to answer all questions possible, to protect myself from opening up a particular line and waiving the privilege, I have had that disastrous experience, and I have suffered from it, and I don't want to repeat it, and therefore I am somewhat zealous in attempting to protect myself. This is the problem: If I was assured of the complete line of questioning on any particular person or line that Mr. Morris wanted to open up, it certainly would be something to consider.

Senator O'CONNOR. It does occur to me that it might be desirable for you to indicate the scope of the inquiry; and, if it is in a limited area in which the witness feels that he may go without jeopardizing any rights, it may be that it would be productive of results if it is indicated that it is just to be encompassed within a certain area.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the matter that we have gone over, Senator, we have the episode of Tung Pi Wu's visit to the United States, which is important to this inquiry, who met Tung Pi Wu while he was in New York, and then whether or not any people associated with you in the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. Field, were in the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Mr. FIELD. In that case, that would be a case where I clearly would feel it might tend to incriminate me, and I would have to invoke the privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. How about any questions in connection with the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Affairs?

Mr. FIELD. On that also I feel it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with Charlotte Honig, was she associated with you in the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FIELD. Let me consult with my counsel.

(Mr. Field conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FIELD. Let me answer that this way, Mr. Morris: To the best of my recollection, this person was in no way associated with me in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. There we have an answer, Mr. Chairman.

Now, did you have cocktails with Adam Von Trott on November 28, 1939?

Mr. FIELD. I have no idea whatsoever.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember having cocktails with him?

Mr. FIELD. How could I possibly remember? It is 13 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you remember his having cocktails with you?

Mr. FIELD. I can't. I told you that it is very likely that I knew him. I had seen him in New York. Whether we had cocktails or steaks or what, I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it consistent with your recollection that you met him five time in New York in 1939?

Mr. FIELD. I will grant you that it is quite conceivable.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last hear of Mr. Von Trott?

Mr. FIELD. When did I last hear of him? The last I heard of him was when he was executed in Germany.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Harrison George?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. I cite that as an example of the difficulty that we have.

Mr. FIELD. May I say on this point, I think perhaps I could anticipate. I can give the same reply that I did with respect to the other person.

Mr. MORRIS. Charlotte Honig?

Mr. FIELD. That is right, that I recall no association that I had with this person in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have had evidence that Harrison George in 1931 did have a discussion with Mr. Browder in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations, and therefore it would be only plausible if we know that Mr. Field did know Mr. Harrison George that we should ask him if he had any connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations, and he has answered that he had not.

Mr. FIELD. And I repeat the answer in light of what you have said.

Senator O'CONNOR. You want to repeat the question?

Mr. FIELD. I repeat the answer after the additional remarks that Mr. Morris has made.

Mr. MORRIS. You appreciate the difficulty of conducting examination into an area where you do not know whether or not the people are going to be connected with the institute, people whom you do as a matter of fact know that he was associated with.

You understand that, Mr. Field, and you appreciate the difficulty. We want to be fair here to the institute.

Mr. FIELD. On the question of Mr. Harrison?

Mr. MORRIS. Harrison George.

Mr. FIELD. Harrison George. It seems to me I have been responsive insofar as stating definitely, categorically, that I had no association with him in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. We appreciate that, and yet at the same time, Mr. Field, you must know that if we have evidence before this committee that there was a connection between Harrison George and the institute and at the same time we have reason to believe that you knew Harrison

George, it is only a fair question and we should ask you if there is any connection there.

Mr. FIELD. I don't deny your absolute right to any question. I am not appraising that issue.

Mr. MORRIS. We have had a conflict, Mr. Field, in the evidence before this committee as to whether or not you used the name Frederick Spencer or Lawrence Hearn in writing for China Today. Would you clear up that conflict for us?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously used.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. T. A. Bisson?

Mr. FIELD. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he associated with the publication China Today?

Mr. FIELD. I decline to answer that question—I will take that back and reply to you differently. I think the publication itself will show whether or not he wrote articles for the magazine. I think it is likely that he did, but I couldn't possibly recall a specific article.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recall—

Mr. FIELD. As a matter of fact, he may have been on the editorial board at a certain period. Again the masthead will show it and I will stand by it.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not know whether he used a pseudonym on that publication?

Mr. FIELD. I have no knowledge of that, that he ever did.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that he ever used the name Frederick Spencer?

Mr. FIELD. No, I cannot testify to anything Mr. Bisson did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever hear that he did?

Mr. FIELD. I have no reason—I have no knowledge of this.

Senator O'CONNOR. May I ask how much more you have?

Mr. MORRIS. I am finished now.

Senator O'CONNOR. There does remain the one matter of the identification of the letters in the interrogation. I was wondering whether that will probably take some time.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator O'CONNOR. At this point the hearing will be recessed.

Mr. MORRIS. We will have a short session this afternoon.

Senator O'CONNOR. We will recess this hearing until then.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the committee was recessed, to be reconvened at 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator O'CONNOR. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Let the record show that this is an open hearing and that Mr. Field has come back, having gone through all of the exhibits that we presented to him at the termination of the last session which closed at about 12:30.

Mr. Field, have you gone through the exhibits that I have presented to you?

Mr. FIELD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do they appear to you to be copies of letters that were written to you and written by you in connection with your duties in the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FIELD. In your absence, Mr. Morris, I dictated, or, rather, I will put it this way: I divided these documents into four groups, and then dictated my evidence with respect to each of the four groups, and I would suggest that what I have already dictated be incorporated now as my evidence with respect to them.

Mr. MORRIS. He has explained it on the record, Senator.

Senator O'Connor. That is what I had originally intended after you had seen the letters, to suggest such a course as that, because I felt they might fall into several categories, and by segregating them according to whether or not they were certain or doubtful or otherwise it might simplify the handling of it.

Mr. FIELD. Could I just add that I did this in the presence of your associate counsel?

Senator O'Connor. Good.

(The testimony dictated that was above referred to is as follows:)

Mr. FIELD. Mr. Morris, I have reviewed the batch of letters and memoranda which you gave to me and divided them into four groups. The first group purports to be memoranda signed by me as follows: A carbon of a letter dated October 11, 1938, from San Francisco, to Miss Nettie Duskis. A carbon of a letter dated July 26, 1937, to Miss Susan T. Smith, attached to which is a letter from Susan T. Smith to me dated July 12, 1937, and a list of books.

A letter dated June 16, 1937, to Mr. T. A. Bisson. A letter dated October 11, 1938, to Miss Margaret R. Taylor. A letter dated November 9, 1937, to Miss Catherine Porter. A letter dated March 29, 1938, to Edward C. Carter. A letter dated November 15, 1937, to Mr. Theodore Draper, attached to which is data concerning Mr. Draper's application for a Guggenheim Fellowship, and a letter of November 9, 1937, to Mr. Draper.

A letter dated March 10, 1938, to Mr. Edward C. Carter. A memorandum dated July 24, 1939, to "RS, MSP, KB, MRT, HA, WWL."

Letter dated March 23, 1942, to Mr. Edward C. Carter attached to which is a letter dated March 3, 1942, from Edward C. Carter to Frederick V. Field and a letter dated March 12, 1942, from Edward C. Carter to Mr. John A. Pollard.

Letter dated May 4, 1933, to Mrs. Ruth Young. Telegram dated November 23—no year but bearing the notation "Estimated 1942" to Edward C. Carter.

Memorandum to "CP from FVF" dated February 23, 1937, and "FVF from CP" being probably Catherine Porter.

Letter dated August 23, 1934 to Newton D. Baker. Letter dated April 20, 1933, to Mr. Loomis, attached to which is a memorandum dated May 2, 1933, to Mr. Loomis from an unidentified person, apparently other than myself.

Memorandum dated January 22, 1940, to "BL."

Letter dated July 26, 1937, to Nathaniel Peffer.

Letter dated September 4, 1935, to Mr. Owen Lattimore.

Letter dated April 22, 1940, to Mr. Owen Lattimore.

Letter dated March 17, 1938, to Mr. Edward C. Carter.

Letter dated March 17, 1938, to Mr. Carter.

Letter dated January 31, 1938, to Miss Catherine Porter.

Letter dated December 17, 1934, to Mr. E. C. Carter.

Letter dated October 4, 1934, to Mr. Lawrence Duggan.

Letter dated October 9, 1939, to Mr. Edward C. Carter.

Letter dated May 15, 1940, to Mr. Owen Lattimore.

Letter dated April 25, 1939, to Mr. Carter.

Letter dated May 31, 1940, to Mr. John H. Oakie.

Letter dated April 9, 1940, to Mr. Philo W. Parker.

Letter dated December 20, 1938, to the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Memorandum dated April 11, 1939, to "AB," attached to which is a letter to the State Department from Annette Blumenthal.

Letter dated November 10, 1936, to General Victor Yakhontoff, attached to which is a letter dated November 3, 1936, from Robert T. Crane to Frederick V. Field, attached to which is a letter to Dr. Robert T. Crane from Frederick V. Field dated November 2, 1936.

Almost all of the foregoing letters are carbons or photostats of carbons of letters. I do not have any present recollection of having sent these letters,

although from their contents I would assume that they were sent as they appear to have been to the persons whose names appear thereon, but I do not presently remember them. Except where I have indicated otherwise each of the letters and memoranda referred to in the first group appear to have been sent by me.

The second group of letters and memoranda appear or purport to be letters or memoranda to me from other persons as follows:

Memorandum dated November 6, 1939, to FVF from ECC.

Letter dated September 7, 1937, from Edward C. Carter to which is attached a cable dated August 25, 1937, from Carter to INPAREL, New York.

Letter dated March 4, 1936, from Edward C. Carter, to which is attached a telegram from "Fred" to Edward C. Carter dated March 2, 1936.

Memorandum from Liu Yu-wan to F. V. Field, E. C. Carter, E. J. Tarr, P. C. Jessup, dated November 21, 1939.

Letter dated January 4, 1935, from Edward C. Carter.

Memorandum dated October 27, 1944, from Raymond Dennett to Philip C. Jessup, William C. Johnstone, Frederick V. Field, and Rose Yardumian.

Letter dated January 12, 1937, from Owen Lattimore.

Memorandum or letter dated March 9, 1943, from Edward C. Carter.

Letter dated May 2, 1940, from Charles F. Loomis.

Memorandum dated March 20, 1939, from "ECC."

Letter dated July 2, 1937, from Charles F. Loomis.

Letter dated December 4, 1934, from Everett Case.

Letter dated October 7, 1937, from William W. Lockwood, Jr.

Letter dated July 16, 1934, from Edward C. Carter.

Memorandum entitled "Excerpts From Letter to Frederick V. Field From Newton D. Baker, Dated August 6, 1934 (Cleveland, Ohio)."

Letter dated April 29, 1939, from Edward C. Carter.

Letter dated March 20, 1939, from Earl H. Leaf, to which is attached by clipping an onionskin report entitled "The Attached Report, Compiled and Written by the Shanghai Branch of the British Army Intelligence Service, Is Strictly Confidential."

Letter dated August 12, 1938, from Kathleen Barnes.

An onionskin copy of what appears to be a resolution unanimously adopted by the American Council in appreciation of the work of Frederick V. Field, undated.

Letter dated October 11, 1938, from Owen Lattimore.

Almost all of the foregoing are unsigned carbons or photostats of unsigned carbons of letters purporting to have been sent by the persons whose names appear thereon to me except where indicated otherwise, and except that the letter which the confidential report of the British Army Intelligence Service is now attached by clip does not contain any reference to such confidential report. Except for such confidential report I have no present recollection of ever having received the letters referred to in this second group. However, I am entirely willing to assume that they were sent by the persons indicated thereon and received by me. As to the confidential report, I am quite sure that I have never previously seen it, and am unwilling to make that assumption.

The third group of communications which I have examined—and I have examined all of them hastily and within limited time, as you know—purport to be letters sent by me as follows:

Letter dated March 4, 1943.

Letter dated July 3, 1940.

Letter dated August 27, 1938, to which attached a letter dated August 22, 1938.

A letter dated September 1, 1938, to which is attached a letter dated August 25, 1938.

A letter dated April 12, 1938.

A letter dated December 5, 1940.

A telegram dated March 11, 1938.

A memorandum dated January 12, 1938.

The foregoing letters which I have examined appear to be in substantially the same form as the other letters, that is, photostats or carbons in the main. As to these letters I must respectfully decline to answer in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination.

The fourth group of letters purport to be letters sent to me, or memoranda sent to me by various persons bearing the following dates:

March 9, 1937; March 16, 1936; March 23, 1935; July 1, 1940; March 30, 1937, attached to which purports to be a letter from me dated March 9, 1937, and a letter dated March 6, 1937; March 30, 1938, to which it attached another letter dated March 30, 1938; letter dated April 26, 1938, to which is attached a memorandum dated April 26, 1938; a letter dated October 15, 1937; a letter dated March 24, 1938; a letter dated September 22, 1937, to which is attached a memorandum of four pages undated; a letter dated June 4, 1938.

As to the fourth group of letters and memoranda I respectfully decline to answer in the exercise of my privilege against possible self-incrimination.

Senator O'CONOR. I might also say just for the record that all of the proceedings, including, of course, this hearing as well as the examination and segregation of the papers all happened in the presence of Mr. Field's counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; and Mr. Haaser.

Do you have any objection to introducing any of these in the public record?

Mr. FIELD. There is a group of those I claim the privilege on.

Senator O'CONOR. It would be understood that any in respect to which you claim the privilege would, of course, not therefore be chargeable to you.

Mr. FIELD. I have nothing to do with those.

Senator O'CONOR. Of course, they will be received in evidence if they are originally records from the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. The question was directed more to: Do you have any reason to believe that they are not authentic records?

Mr. FIELD. I have claimed the privilege on those particular documents, and therefore I don't think I can make any comments.

Senator O'CONOR. With regard to that particular class there would be nothing imputed to Mr. Field in regard to that one group in connection with which he does claim his privilege. The rest of them, I understand, are authenticated.

Mr. FIELD. We divided them into four groups. Two groups were divided as to whether they were addressed to me or whether I addressed them to others, in which I had no specific recollection of a document but was willing to assume that they were documents so addressed to me or sent by me. And the third and fourth groups were documents similarly divided to which I claim the privilege.

Senator O'CONOR. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may all of these documents be received into the record?

Senator O'CONOR. They will be, if, as I understand is the case, they are all part of the records taken from the Institute of Pacific Relations files or records.

Mr. MORRIS. That will be subject to Mr. Mandel's identification.

Senator O'CONOR. That is right. I want to attach that condition so as to be sure they are traceable to that source.

(For Mr. Mandel's identification see p. 4158.)

(The documents referred to are as follows and were marked with exhibit numbers, as follows:)

Group I: Nos. 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672.

Group II: Nos. 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692.

Group III: Nos. 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699.

Group IV: Nos. 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710.

EXHIBIT No. 641

(Handwritten:) Duskis

SAN FRANCISCO, *October 11, 1938.*

Miss NETTIE DUSKIS,

*Science and Society, 30 East 20th Street,
New York City.*

DEAR MISS DUSKIS: I have just returned to my office and find your letter of September 16th. As my secretary wrote you, I have already reviewed Bisson's *JAPAN IN CHINA*. I happen to think it is the most important single book which has appeared on the war and very much hope that you will find a first-rate reviewer and give it good space. The only suggestion which comes to me off-hand is Nathaniel Peffer at Columbia. I happened to discuss the book with him at luncheon last week when I was East and thought that his comments were very interesting. Perhaps I suggest him because his impression of the book is very much the same as mine.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

f/g

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SCIENCE & SOCIETY

A Marxian Quarterly

30 East 20th Street

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Gramercy 7-1021

SEPTEMBER 16, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK FIELD,

1795 California Street, San Francisco, California.

DEAR MR. FIELD: We are very eager to have you review Bisson's book on *Japan in China*. If by any chance you have reviewed it for another periodical will you please recommend a person who will do an adequate job as we are anxious to see it well reviewed.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Nettie Duskis,

NETTIE DUSKIS, *Secretary.*SAN FRANCISCO, *September 20, 1938.*

Miss NETTIE DUSKIS,

*Science and Society, 30 East 20th Street,
New York City.*

DEAR MISS DUSKIS: This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 16th to Mr. Field. Unfortunately, this has arrived during Mr. Field's absence from San Francisco. Upon his return in about ten days it will be brought to his attention promptly.

For your information I may add that Mr. Field's review of *JAPAN IN CHINA* has appeared in the current number of *PACIFIC AFFAIRS*.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Mr. Field.

g.

EXHIBIT No. 642

JULY 26, 1937.

Miss SUSAN T. SMITH,
Berkeley Public Library, Berkeley, Calif.

DEAR MISS SMITH: I have heard from Mrs. Barnes that she was able to discuss with you your book list on Soviet Russia when she passed through the Bay Region two weeks ago. I have therefore consulted Miss Harriet Moore, who had already heard from Mrs. Barnes, regarding her own recommendations. I am enclosing the memorandum which Miss Moore has sent me rather than trying to paraphrase it. I hope that these comments will be of some help to you.

There is only one point which I do not find included in Miss Moore's memorandum which I know she would like to have me pass on. We both feel, as do some of the others whom I have consulted, that Harry Stekoll's HUMANITY MADE TO ORDER should be omitted from the list as it seems to so truly fall into the category of straight propaganda. I do not by any means want to suggest that we should not include in the book list critical references to what is going on in the Soviet Union, but it seems to me that the list includes plenty along that line without Stekoll's book, which seems to go a good deal further than merely being critical.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

BERKELEY PUBLIC LIBRARY,
Berkeley, Calif., July 12, 1937.

Mr. FREDERICK K. FIELD,
*Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52d Street,
 New York City.*

DEAR MR. FIELD: The Library Committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Institute has been working for some time on a list on Russia for use in Libraries, similar to the ones we compiled on China and Japan.

This has been much more difficult. We first planned to make a general list including old and new Russia. Our purpose is to select material that is in print, not too expensive, readily available for purchase and suited to the mind of the average reader. We were unable to choose twenty-five titles to cover the whole subject of Russia with any degree of comprehension.

We then decided to concentrate on Soviet Russia, eliminating, if possible, books that were too markedly propagandist, for or against. The books we finally selected from about fifty read, are on the enclosed list.

We are not satisfied with it and we didn't agree as a committee on some that were included, and some omitted. The list to me lacks balance and continuity. I talked with Mrs. McLaughlin yesterday and she suggested I write to you and ask you to submit the list to Mrs. Katherine Barnes and Miss Harriet Moore for criticism and suggestions as to titles to be included.

Will you return it so the committee may have your comments before August first.

Yours sincerely,

[S] SUSAN T. SMITH, *Librarian.*

P. S.—I have just heard that Mrs. Barnes is here in California and will be in my office Wednesday. I am sending the list just the same. (The P. S. is handwritten.)

S. T. S.

STS:M
 Enc.

(Handwritten :) HM to FVF
 (Handwritten :) July 24, 1937

COMMENTS ON THE BOOK LIST, LIBRARY COMMITTEE, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC
 RELATIONS

I agree with Mrs. Barnes suggestion that the following be included in the list:
 John Reed—Ten Days that Shook the World
 General Graves—American Intervention in Siberia
 Zostchenko—Russia Laughs
 Duranty—Reports Russia

These are to be substituted for :

Skariatina—Little Era in Old Russia

The works of Alexander Pushkin

Feval—Tovarich

Duranty—I Write as I please

There are several aspects of Soviet life which are not covered in this list. I would suggest that there be added: M. S. Callott—Russian Justice, or if you want a more academic account, add: Zelitch—Soviet Administration of Criminal Law.

There is also no book on Soviet medicine. The only comprehensive report on this at present is: Newsholme and Kingsbury—Red Medicine. This account is, perhaps, too uncritical to be included in your list. However, in the fall, a new book is to be published by Dr. Henry Sigerist of Johns Hopkins. This might be more suitable.

The list omits all reference to foreign affairs. There are several good books on this subject:

Louis Fischer—Soviets in World Affairs

The Soviet Union in World Problems, edited by Samuel Harper

Yakhontoff—Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East

Lobanov-Rostovsky—Russia and Asia

Also these books may be heavier than most of those on your list, nevertheless, it seems essential to include something on foreign relations.

There are also one or two other books of a general nature which might be interesting:

Louis Fischer—Soviet Journey, a well-written and interesting travel book by a sympathetic observer

Sholokhov—Soil Upturned (Seeds of Tomorrow), sequel to "And Quiet Flows the Don"

Anyone of a number of the Maurice Hindus books on Soviet agriculture would be an addition, as your list is very weak in regard to agriculture, as well as industry. Unfortunately there is no book on Soviet industry which would meet your requirements, although there are several Soviet novels picturing industrial development. These however, might seem to you to be too biased.

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Cable Address: Amruscult

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JULY 23, 1937.

MR. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East 52d Street, New York City.

DEAR FRED: I just noticed that your Library Committee wants this list returned for the first, so I am sending it to you post haste.

Kathleen has sent me in detail her corrections and additions with which I agree. I will make a few other suggestions on this list.

I find it a little difficult to be civil about the list because it is so obviously biased under the cloak of being unbiased, but under the circumstances I suppose I should be glad that the books which the branded "propaganda" are included in the list at all. Therefore I will make no comment on the list which you can forward to Miss Smith. But if you have any way of influencing Miss Smith, I would suggest that you get the Stekoll book removed as it is by far the worst.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Harriet Moore
HARRIET MOORE.

HM: KB

EXHIBIT No. 643

JUNE 16, 1937.

Mr. T. A. Bisson,
c/o North China Language School, Peiping.

DEAR ART: Many thanks indeed for your letter, which I have shared with Chi. What you have to say is of very great help and has strengthened Chi in his decision to delay his acceptance of the job in China for a few months. He had after all definitely agreed to assist in the editing of a large study of the economic history of China and he could not very well go away without first obtaining a release from that job. This he cannot look into for another two or three months.

How are things going with you and your family? You don't know how much I envy your being in the Far East. Your article, which as you doubtless have already seen we published in the last issue of AMERASIA, was a swell job, particularly as it was written before the Diet elections. It is going to be difficult to get as good analyses of the Konoye Cabinet because it does not lend itself to such clear-cut interpretation as did the Hayashi group. Nevertheless we are looking around for what we can find. I hope you will be sending us a piece on China pretty soon. Through printing first-hand reports we can perform a pretty important job in keeping people accurately informed and their minds working along fruitful channels.

With best regards,
 Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

280 Chin Yo Hutang—(Handwritten).

 EXHIBIT No. 644

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AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

1795 California Street, San Francisco; Telephone: Tuxedo 3114—129 East 52d Street,
 New York City; Telephone: Plaza 3-4700
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SAN FRANCISCO, October 11, 1938.

(Handwritten:)

Miss MARGARET R. TAYLOR,
 129 East 52d Street, New York City.

DEAR MARGARET: Here is a letter to Marion Paschal, Doris Duke Cromwell's secretary. The Cromwell *entourage* arrived in New York, as I recall, by plane shortly before I left for the West and, restless as Doris is reputed to be, I should think there was a fairly good chance that they were still there. Will you be so good as to fill in Paschal's address which can be found in my files and mail the letter along with the Farley pamphlet? There should also be in my files her office telephone number which cost me six or seven cocktails to obtain but which is now somewhere in our records.

I really don't know what technique to suggest if you and Carter are able to get an appointment. Paschal is terrific over cocktails but whether that is the way to do business with her I don't know. It is apparently essential to get by her before Doris herself can be approached because she acts not only as secretary and financial advisor on gifts but also as companion and best friend. Both gals are evidently restless and romantic and are under the impression that they delve deep into American life by making occasional visits to boys' clubs, slums and settlements. I have talked with Paschal a good deal about Doris' terrible money problems, the problem being knowing what to do with her income and giving enough of it away to exactly balance the income tax schedules. I know that about two years ago they were seriously considering setting up a foundation but I don't think anything has come of that. At that time their main adviser was Edwin Embree, president of the Rosenwald Fund. Carter knows him and his peculiarities better than I do. He too, I should say, was a somewhat romantic figure but then so is the IPR so I don't see why we can't all get together.

Finally, my own advice is to make a perfectly frank and direct approach on this money question and to completely avoid maneuvering. I should also sug-

gest, if you get a hearing, hitting at a figure of about five thousand dollars for the first year on some specific project. I am glad to give you full authority to invent new projects as the occasion warrants.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Fred
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 645

Officers of San Francisco Bay Region Committee: Ray Lyman Wilbur, Chairman; Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, Vice Chairman; Robert Gordon Sproul, Vice Chairman; William F. Morrish, Treasurer; John H. Oakes, Secretary

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AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

57 Post Street

SAN FRANCISCO

Telephone ExBrook 5089

Cable Address: INPAREL

(Handwritten:) CONFIDENTIAL.

NOVEMBER 9, 1937.

MISS CATHERINE PORTER,

Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East 52nd Street, New York City, New York.

DEAR CATHERINE: I failed, I believe, to report to you a part of the conversation which Carter and I had with Miss Walker of the Rockefeller Foundation two weeks ago. Miss Walker informed me that the Foundation was now prepared to appoint some of the recipients of its international fellowships through the Foreign Policy Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, and ourselves. She wishes each of these organizations to find and call to the attention of the Foundation persons who they believe will be promising and in return the Foundation will permit the holder of the fellowship to work on the staff. I gathered that we could probably have two such persons.

Coming west on the train, I ran over what I considered to be the best possibilities. These included Walter Radies of San Francisco, Norman Hanwell who is now an instructor at the University of Minnesota, Theodore Draper who is now on the staff of the *New Masses*, Ernest Hauser, and Lawrence K. Rosinger. In my own mind I have eliminated Rosinger from immediate consideration because I do not think he has developed sufficiently to work successfully with a staff and because, in any case, he should be encouraged to continue his concentration in languages (including an American pronunciation of English). Hanwell already being provided for, and the importance of having young persons of his ability in our universities, could also be temporarily eliminated. Perhaps we could consider him in another year. The other three, however, seem to me to be good candidates.

I should add a few comments on Theodore Draper, whom none of the staff knows. The fact that he is on the board of the *New Masses* indicates that he is a Communist. Whether he is a member of the party or not I haven't the least idea and I don't care. However, whether because of this connection he would not be well received by the Foundation is another matter. If you or Lockwood or someone else will look over the last eight or ten issues of the *New Masses* you will find a number of articles by Draper on the Far East. In several instances he has naturally overgeneralized in order to make his argument suitable for the magazine for which he was writing. Other articles, however, are more carefully written and represent, to my mind, a pretty shrewd interpretation. However, I don't think it is quite fair to judge a person from articles which he has to write for a popular magazine any more than I should like to have my candidacy for the honorary degree from the University of Hawaii, which I am still looking for, judged on the basis of my AMERASIA pieces.

I know Draper fairly well and have had a number of long talks with him. He is a little too aggressive and a little too dogmatic for many people's taste. On the

other hand he strikes me as having a first class mind and as being seriously interested in leaving journalism and concentrating on a long term study of the Far East, particularly as it ties up with the United States. He has recently written me as follows:

"I have been in a quandary for some months now on my future course. For the past three years I have worked at some form of journalism which, while very productive and fruitful, became more and more irksome and undesirable. I am not altogether cut out for journalism in the sense that I cannot resist going into questions more deeply and extensively than a journalist can afford. The work requires a dispersion of efforts rather than a concentration. * * * Right now, I should like to spend a few years digging deeply."

I am writing to Draper suggesting that he get in touch with either you or Lockwood so that you can meet each other. I am not telling him definitely about the availability of these Rockefeller fellowships because for one thing I am not at all sure that he can qualify academically and for another I am not sure that you and Lockwood would support my interest in him. I am writing him merely that I should like him to know some of my colleagues so that if some opportunity arises, we can help him find the sort of opportunity he is looking for. He and Lockwood will probably not agree on a single point with regard to the Far East, but the main point I would like from you both is your general impression of him.

Radius seems to me in every respect a suitable candidate, in fact I have from the beginning put him at the top of this list. I find that he is anxious to return to more academic work after two years' experience with an investment firm and his academic record being excellent and his personality unusually favorable, there is no question in my mind but that we can secure the fellowship for him. I shall try, in his case, to obtain sufficient traveling expenses in the fellowship to permit his remaining for part of the time in the New York office and the remainder here.

This leaves Hauser and here I find myself in a rather complicated position. I need your advice badly. The job I put up to him and hired him for in September was definite and concrete. It was (a) to make an occupational analysis of the American Council members; (b) to take charge of Carter's itinerary for November and December; (c) to bring American Council work to the attention of persons whom we could later approach for money; (d) to continue preparing our press releases, and (e) to cooperate in general staff work wherever possible. The only job available in our budget was the financial one and it was therefore necessary to make it clear that he had to justify his presence on the staff with respect to that aspect of his work.

Although I didn't go into this fully in New York, it was quite apparent to me that Hauser was not making himself useful with regard to (a), (b), and (c) of the above list. The work on Carter's itinerary had almost completely fallen on Hilda's shoulders and very little that I could see had been done in the direction of the other two items.

I am not blaming Hauser entirely for this because it was clear from the beginning that he was not the most suitable person in the world to find for this sort of work. I thought, however, that in order to insure his own place on the staff he would break his neck in making good on these tasks.

In view of the terms of his job, which I quite clearly described to him in conversation, I would have no hesitancy in telling him that the arrangement had not worked out satisfactorily and that therefore we would have to drop him from the staff at the end of December. If you and the others agree with my analysis of what he has done, I would be perfectly justified in doing this. If I do so, I should, of course, give him plenty of time to look around for something else. It is very hard for me in planning next year's budget to see how I can possibly justify adding his salary to our research expenses. I am afraid that his presence on the staff has to be in large part justified by his ability to advance our business connections. In that case, I would feel justified in putting him under the provisions of a finance secretary. I am fully aware of the fact that we need all the good people we can have on the research side, but here, unfortunately, we are strictly limited by the possibilities of our budget and these possibilities, I am afraid, we have already overreached. Please, therefore, take this up with others on the staff and send me at your early convenience your joint recommendations.

Sincerely yours,

[S] Fred.
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

FVFrb

P. S.—Please include Kate Barnes in any meeting with Draper.—FVF.

EXHIBIT No. 646

SAN FRANCISCO, *March 29, 1938.*

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York, New York.

DEAR MR. CARTER: My interest in Chi's career is so great that I feel somewhat responsible for seeing to it that he gets some sort of employment, at least during the summer months when the lecture season, off which he has managed to live this year, is at low ebb. I wonder therefore if you have considered the suggestion I made to you in a letter some weeks ago that Chi be connected with your International Secretariat inquiry. I have not heard of your plans but recall that in the original application to the Rockefeller Foundation there was some mention of an augmented staff. I write now simply in order to keep Chi's name prominently before you in case you wish special work done on China. Chen Han-seng would, I think, give him a very high recommendation.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

f/g

EXHIBIT No. 647

NOVEMBER 15, 1937.

Mr. THEODORE DRAPER,
The New Masses, 31 East 27th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

DEAR TED: Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation has referred your fellowship application to me and I have just sent him a strong endorsement of your candidacy. I hope you have some luck in that direction.

Incidentally, the statement of your projected study, which you included with your application, is excellent and I hope that in some way or another, you will be permitted to carry it out.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

FVFrb

RECOMMENDATION IN SUPPORT OF APPLICATION FOR GUGGENHEIM FELLOWSHIP,
 WRITTEN FOR THEODORE DRAPER, NOVEMBER 17, 1937, BY FREDERICK V. FIELD

I am very glad indeed to comment on the application of Mr. Theodore Draper for a Guggenheim fellowship.

I have known Draper personally for about two years during which I have had a number of long conversations with him regarding American Far Eastern policy. He is a serious student with a good mind. Because of his job on the editorial board of *The New Masses*, his energies have had to be scattered over a much wider field than anyone could handle thoroughly. He has felt increasingly uncomfortable at this situation and has wanted an opportunity to be temporarily relieved from these editorial duties in order to go more deeply into American relations with the Far East, the subject in which he is particularly interested.

I think that I have read everything that Draper has written in *The New Masses* on the Far East. Several of the articles have shown a rather deep insight into what was going on in China. I recall particularly an article which he published early during the current phase of the war on China's defense strategy. He showed excellent judgment in analyzing the war situation in China and in predicting the probable strategy of the nation's defense and the chief weaknesses which would appear as the fighting dragged on.

Draper seems to have a first rate training in Marxism which whether or not it provides all the answers for studying the American scene is unquestionably useful in analyzing the Far East. He has a flexible mind which avoids mechanical and dogmatic interpretations. I should think that if he were given a year in which to concentrate on American Far Eastern policy, he would develop to be an important worker in this field.

Draper has, to my knowledge, absolutely no funds of his own so that his only chance of becoming an expert in this kind of work early in his career is to secure a fellowship which will give him at least a year's freedom from economic worry.

Before knowing that he had applied for a Guggenheim fellowship, I had occa-

sion to make a list of four or five of the younger Americans who had made promising beginnings in the study of the Far East and who deserved support in which I included Draper. I am, consequently, very glad to know that he has filed his application with you and am very happy to recommend strongly his candidacy.

57 POST STREET, November 9, 1937.

MR. THEODORE DRAPER,
*The Masses, 31 East 27th Street,
New York City, N. Y.*

DEAR TED: I am terribly sorry that it was absolutely impossible for me to have a talk with you when I visited New York 10 days ago. I was in a terrible hurry to return to San Francisco and internal affairs in the Institute had to receive first consideration.

The proposition you put up to me is certainly a sound one. I have no immediate answer for it except that I am strongly endorsing your candidacy for a Guggenheim fellowship. What your chances there are I don't know, except for the fact that the Guggenheim people seem to have been moving to the right in recent years. Their infrequent excursions on the left seem to be concentrated in the arts rather than in the social sciences.

There are one or two vague possibilities in the near future which are still too uncertain to put down on paper, but which are worth exploring. I would like very much to have you meet one or two of my colleagues on the American Council staff so that you can get to know each other and so that they have their own impressions of your abilities. I have written them, specifically Miss Porter who is in charge of the office in my absence, and Bill Lockwood, an economist who does a fair amount of our research work. You have probably seen some of his stuff in the FAR EASTERN SURVEY. You have probably disagreed with his conclusions, for in most instances I have myself. You will, nevertheless, find him an unusually agreeable person and in the field known as orthodox economics he is first rate. Either he or Miss Porter will expect you to get in touch with them so that you can get together and see what each other looks like, etc. I have also suggested that Mrs. Kathleen Barnes, who is our expert on the Soviet Union, join the gathering.

I am not going to forget what you have said in your letter and I have hopes that before long we can find some way of providing an opportunity for you to concentrate on Far Eastern developments and the American connection with them. The meeting with some of my associates which I have suggested above is a necessary first step in anything that we can do.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

FVFrb

EXHIBIT No. 648

1795 CALIFORNIA STREET, March 10, 1938.

MR. EDWARD C. CARTER,
129 East 52nd Street, New York, New York.

DEAR MR. CARTER: I do not know how your plans for carrying out the large inquiry are developing but I want to make certain that you have in mind the possibility of using Chi-ao-ting Chi and Tsuru, the young Japanese at Harvard about whom I think I spoke to you and who has met Chen Hanseng and Kate Mitchell. With regard to Chi, his schedule of work is such that I know he would be able to come on your staff on a part- or full-time basis should you want to employ him in any capacity. I need not, I think, point out to you his qualifications which are already entirely familiar to you.

I should, however, add a word in confidence regarding the possibility of Chi's being employed by Wittfogel to edit his Chinese materials for you would not want to make any move which would interfere with that project. From talking with both Chi and Wittfogel at some length during my recent visit I came to the conclusion that they would probably not be working together. This arises from the fact that Wittfogel will demand and require a tempo of work which Chi, with his other interests, will find it impossible to maintain. Chi has offered to work for Wittfogel four days a week but, if the latter purposes to edit his materials as rapidly as he now plans, this will not, I know, be adequate. Furthermore, Chi's primary interest lies in current economic and political situations

rather than in historical analyses. While no one could support Wittfogel's work more strongly than Chi, I feel that he would a little bit prefer being connected with something more current.

Sincerely,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

F/g

EXHIBIT No. 649

JULY 24, 1939.

RS
MSF
KB
MRT
HA
WWL

We have not reached a decision on how to solve our problem of keeping our lay members for whom the Far Eastern Survey is a little too specialized closely in touch with and interested in our general program. Negotiations regarding the taking over of Amerasia, which some of us have felt would at least in part meet this problem, have reached a plateau because of our Chairman's not being convinced that we have found the correct formula. Jessup is not, I think, opposed to our taking over Amerasia for any reason except that he doubts whether a magazine of that or any other nature is what we really need to introduce into our program. He has a feeling that a magazine, no matter how popularly written, remains a fairly substantial item to give people. He is skeptical that it will meet the demand which he assumes exists among these lay members for a periodic, quick glance at the high spots of Pacific area relations.

While the Amerasia idea is by no means dead and while Jessup himself will be very glad to look into that suggestion further, I think there is enough substance in what he says to warrant exploring a rather different scheme. I am consequently attaching to this memorandum a copy of the latest one-page bulletin from the Council on Foreign Relations. These bulletins are issued at irregular intervals, perhaps twelve or fifteen times a year. They are never longer than a page and the page is always divided as this one is, half illustration, half prose. Do you think that something along this line could be done by this office on a regular periodic basis without overtaxing our staff or budget? I have not gone into the cost of reproducing and mailing 1,500 of these but doubt whether it comes to very much.

I should like very much to have your further ideas. Let me emphasize that I am submitting the attached bulletin not as an exact example of what we might do but in order to start your minds working along that general direction.

FVF

EXHIBIT No. 650

16 WEST TWELFTH STREET, March 23, 1942.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,

Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East Fifty-second Street, New York City.

DEAR Mr. CARTER: Thank for sending on Mr. Pollard's recent letter. I have taken off a copy for my files and am herewith returning the original. I have also to thank you for sending me a copy of the changes from the first draft of the letter you sent him.

Progress, if any, is slow in my investigations. I am informed, however, that the matter has been brought to the attention of Mr. Patterson, the Under Secretary of War. We are now waiting a report from Mr. Patterson's office on which will depend the next move.

Glad to read the news about RWR's spring offensive.

Sincerely,

[s] Fred

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York City, March 3, 1942.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
16 West 12th Street, New York City.

DEAR FRED: I wonder whether you would be willing to draft a reply from me to Pollard in answer to this letter which has just reached my desk.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

(Handwritten.) Not sent?

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York City, March 12, 1942.

Mr. JOHN A. POLLARD,
Special Reports Division, Coordinator of Information,
270 Madison Avenue, New York City.

DEAR MR. POLLARD: Thank you for your letter of the 28th regarding Mr. Field. I have no hesitation in testifying to Mr. Field's political integrity and freedom from activities which might place his loyalty in question.

I was associated with him intimately from 1929 until September 1940. During this period his Americanism was of the most rugged and valuable character. He was an indefatigable and exceptionally able student of domestic and foreign policy and became one of our foremost authorities on the Far East. He saw the menace of Japan, and I do not know of anyone who more unerringly envisaged the inevitable movement of Japan into Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya, and the Netherlands Indies. He again and again called attention to the costly appeasement policy of London and Washington, and as I remember, indicated that if the United States was not willing to fight to prevent the Japanese occupation of French Indo-China, all of Southeast Asia would fall to the Japanese.

In the autumn of 1940 Mr. Field broke with me in the sense that he resigned from the staff of the Institute because he recognized that it was impossible for him to continue on the Institute staff and engage in political activities as planned by the American Peace Mobilization. He felt that the war as defined by the London and Paris Governments in 1939 was in danger of involving the United States in Chamberlainism, in the underwriting of British Imperialism, and in the ultimate appeasement of Germany and Japan as advocated at various times by the Cliveden set. He therefore resigned from the IPR, threw himself into the APM, carried on a nation-wide educational campaign, and to gain publicity for this campaign organized the picketing of the White House.

Though I had a great deal of sympathy for many of his ideas I had tried to dissuade him from joining the APM because I thought it might endanger both his research and political usefulness, and also because I felt that the sooner the United States got into the war the sooner it could be transformed from an imperialist war into a people's war against the new and terrible imperialisms of Germany and Japan.

The Congress of the United States, many employees of our government and a great many trusted officers of our armed forces were in 1940 in my view as inadequate in their political analysis as Mr. Field. A very high percentage of loyal Americans were working, as Mr. Field was working, to keep us out of the war. They did this for all kinds of motives and all kinds of reasons. Yet the vast majority of these are accepted today as citizens of integrity, completely free from activities which might place their loyalty in question. I would trust Mr. Field's integrity more than I would certain well known isolationists, because I think he possesses more than most a keen awareness of the essence of our American democracy.

There will, of course, be wide difference of opinion as to the wisdom of APM's picketing the White House. Personally, I think it was an ill-advised move. It was defended by its protagonists on the ground that APM felt obligated to expose the nature of what they regarded as the phony war which was being waged at the beginning. The difference between APM and certain genuinely subversive movements was that APM was attempting to do everything in the open, and its picketing of the White House was an attempt to bring out into the open before the American people and the American government the important issues which it believed must be faced by the American people.

That Mr. Field could be guilty of any disloyalty to the United States is inconceivable. The great advantage he has over many is that his political analysis of the Far East has been far in advance of most of our best informed citizens.

His knowledge of the Far East is very extensive. His capacity for work is great. His usefulness to the Government would, in my view, be beyond question.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

EXHIBIT No. 651

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York, New York, May 4, 1933.

Mrs. RUTH YOUNG,

Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California.

DEAR MRS. YOUNG: Several of the officers of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs were in New York when I arrived and I took up with them the point you raised in regard to entering Canada for the purpose of taking up employment there during the time of the Banff Conference. They confirmed your suspicions that there might be some difficulty involved and urged us to attach you to the secretariat before you entered Canada.

I am writing Loomis in regard to this point and assume that you will soon be hearing from him.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD,
Acting Research Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 652

PHILIP C. JESSUP

CONFERENCE MEMBERS

- * PHILIP JESSUP, Professor of International Law, Columbia University, New York.
Source: PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC, 1933, Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Banff, Alberta, Canada, August 14-26, 1933. Page 456
(* indicates chairman of round table)

INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS OF THE IPR

PHILIP C. JESSUP, Chairman, Pacific Council. Professor of International Law, Columbia University, New York.

Source: PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC, 1939, Proceedings of the Study Meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 7th Conference, Virginia Beach, Virginia, November 18 to December 2, 1939 (page 273)

AMERICAN COUNCIL NATIONAL OFFICERS

PHILIP C. JESSUP, Vice Chairman

Board of Trustees

PHILIP C. JESSUP

Source: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE IPR, 1938 (page 58)

Conference Members

PHILIP C. JESSUP (1933, 1939), Chairman Pacific Council, I. P. R. Professor of International Law, Columbia University. Assistant Solicitor, U. S. Department of State, 1924-25. Legal Adviser to American Ambassador to Cuba, 1930. Member Executive Committee, Harvard Research in International Law. Chairman United States delegation.

Source: WAR AND PEACE IN THE PACIFIC. A Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations on Wartime and Postwar Cooperation of the United Nations in the Pacific and the Far East. Mont Tremblant, Quebec, December 4-14, 1942 (page 159)

Conference Members

JESSUP, PHILIP C. (1933, 1939, 1942), Professor of International Law, Columbia University. Former Chairman of the Pacific Council, I. P. R. Chief, Division of Personnel and Training OFRRO; Secretary pro-tem of Council of UNRRA,

1943. Legal adviser to American Ambassador to Cuba, 1930. Author: "The United States and the World Court," 1929; "International Security," 1935; "The Life of Elihu Root," 1938. Chairman, United States delegation.

Source: SECURITY IN THE PACIFIC, A Preliminary Report of the Ninth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hot Springs, Virginia, January 6-17, 1945 (page 157)

Western Union Telegram

WINSTED, CONN., Nov. 23.

WUT23 7 XC-1032A

EDW. C. CARTER:

Approve nominations suggest Jessup for research chairman.

FRED.

EXHIBIT No. 653

FEBRUARY 23, 1937.

CP from FVF:

What is the story of Owen Lattimore's Mongolian sheep which Tony Jenkinson wants? Please return with any information.

FVF from CP: What Tony has in mind is probably Owen's long discourse on Mongolia during the first general session on the U. S. S. R. The verbatim notes of this are not in the office at the moment, but here is the part about the sheep as finally edited by Owen and included in the forthcoming Problems of the Pacific:

"The nomadic Mongols had a self-sufficient economy in which the sheep was the economic unit. The wool of the sheep is fairly coarse, but it is excellent for making felt tents. The skin makes a warm coat. The sheep is an "all-round" animal unlike the specialized western type. The meat is of good quality and supplies food. It supplies milk in the summer rather than meat. In the steppes which are treeless, sheep dung is used for fuel. From this one animal the Mongols get food, clothing, housing, and fuel."

(Tony will doubtless remember that it was at that point that Owen added that the sheep furnished practically everything but amusement—which classic thought was carefully edited out.)

If by any chance Tony wants the whole story about improving the wool, etc., it can be found on page 37 of the typescript of Chapter III of the Proceedings which is in Kate Mitchell's hands.

EXHIBIT No. 654

AUGUST 23, 1934.

MR. NEWTON D. BAKER,

*Chairman, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,
Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio.*

DEAR MR. BAKER: I am very happy to accept the position of Secretary of the American Council and to assume office on the first of September.

It is most encouraging to know that I have your support and that I may occasionally confer with you in regard to the development of our activities.

I look forward to assuming this new responsibility with enthusiasm and hope that I shall be able to carry it out with the success that has attended the efforts of my predecessors:

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 655

APRIL 20, 1933.

MR. LOOMIS: Before leaving, I should like to summarize briefly a few points in regard to the Central Secretariat.

One of the principles laid down early in the Institute's history was that the work of the organization should be carried out through already existing bodies insofar as possible, and the creation of an elaborate Institute organization, as

such, minimized. This policy has been strictly adhered to in all branches of our work and in every National Council, or at least in all those formed especially on behalf of the Institute. The principle that the organization of the Institute should limit its activities to the stimulation and coordination of the work carried out by others, designed to fulfill the aims of the institute, has been closely followed.

In order properly to perform these functions of initiation and coordination, skillful administration is necessary and as the Institute's full program has gotten under way the burden of administration has naturally increased—not only that, but the application of general policies and philosophies of the Institute has become more and more complex and at times a matter for delicate handling. And so while adhering strictly to the original principle of minimizing the organization set-up, considerations of efficiency in administration and coordination and the activities of others have pointed to the importance of maintaining a well-equipped staff in each of the National Councils and particularly in the Central Secretariat.

It was with these general ideas in mind that some of the Secretaries of the Shanghai Conference presented a memorandum to the Pacific Council urging the appointment to your staff of three or four Junior Secretaries from various important National Councils. On account of the financial situation and for other reasons it has been possible to put this recommendation only in partial operation. I would suggest, nevertheless, that the experiment that we have been conducting here for three months with a strengthened Central Secretariat has at least indicated the possibilities of making the arrangement permanent and even somewhat augmenting this temporary staff. It is quite impossible to apply to specific situations and specific countries the general policies of the Institute without the active and continuous cooperation of representatives from the larger National Councils who are in close touch with the peculiar conditions in their countries and with the offices of their respective National Councils. A common line of action has to be carried out in one way in the United States and very likely in quite another way in Japan. The successful application to these general lines of action must be made by qualified representatives of each country who by long association with the Institute have a thorough understanding of its methods and philosophies.

In the light of the above points, I was very much pleased in the resolution approved by the Advisory Committee yesterday to the same effect. I hope very much that the Pacific Council will support the principle of maintaining a strong central office, always on the understanding, of course, that the activities of such a staff will be limited to administration and coordination.

I would have some hesitancy in making these remarks which apparently call for explanation and additional financial burden during these impossible times were it not for certain considerations. Among these are the fact that you have somehow managed this winter to augment the staff on a greatly reduced budget, the fact that by stimulating the interest of various National Councils greater support from each may be anticipated, and the fact that the more for which you have to raise money, the more you are likely to raise. I think that with the type of organizational set-up I have in mind, we can do a good job. If this is true, our chances of securing support are proportionately great.

FREDERICK V. FIELD,
Acting Research Secretary.

(Matsukata to Loomis)

MAY 2, 1933.

MEMORANDUM

Mr. LOOMIS: Having read what Field wrote before he left here, I find myself in complete agreement with his opinion on the necessity of strengthening the Central Secretariat. The fact that I am in complete agreement with him seems to show that we were working very closely in these months since February, and were building up opinion in the course of and from the result of our cooperative works. And this, perhaps, is one of the great advantages the Institute method provides.

To have enforcement in the form of Associate Secretaries, or otherwise, from the National Councils at the Central Secretariat is very advisable, as Field writes, from the standpoint of efficiency and administration, but it is also very desirable for more intensive cooperation of the various National Councils. To make the National Councils feel at home with the work carried on in the Central

Secretariat and to make them feel that they are actually contributing to the common cause of the Institute, the system we have had for the last three months seems to be essential and necessary. In other words, to work our cooperative scheme is very important to bring forth cooperative feeling, which is the basis of all the activities of our Institute.

When I left Japan I had two definite aims. One was to serve the Central Secretariat and the other was to serve the Home Council, i. e., to help the Japanese Council in their preparation for the Banff Conference and at the same time to help them build up a stronger National Council. For the first point, I am not in a position to judge as to my achievement, but for the second point I am pretty certain that my presence here has helped a great deal in making the people in Japan work in closer touch with the central office. At the same time I felt I could help the Home Council to carry on organization of the council on a more serious basis. It is essential, I think, for healthy development of the Institute as a whole.

To have the assistance of Chinese and Japanese secretaries seems to me very useful for bringing out a really well-balanced "Pacific Affairs." I am not at all satisfied with what I did in this respect, namely, in helping the editor of the magazine, but still I am confident that it is essential for the steady development of our Institute organ. Moreover, having such cooperation of people who can take care of current topics, first hand, regarding their respective countries, seems to be exceedingly advisable for developing our library along the unique line of being a "Pacific" library. But before we decide as to the future of the library there seem to be many things to be agreed upon such as the nature of our future research work, the strength of the Central Secretariat, etc. At any rate, from the standpoint of the Central Secretariat having a well-organized library at its headquarters will mean that it is not only the administrative center of the Institute, but also the center of studies of the Pacific area. (See "Memorandum on Pacific Library.")

I have emphasized the points which were not referred to by Field but it does not mean, as I wrote in the beginning of this memorandum, that I have anything to criticize on the opinion which he expressed, but I would repeat once more that I am in complete agreement with what Field says.

EXHIBIT No. 656

(Pencilled:) Lasker
JANUARY 22, 1940.

Memorandum to: BL
From: FVF

Here is a manuscript for a forthcoming Public Affairs Committee pamphlet on "Tropaganda and the War." I wonder if you would be interested in reading it and giving me any comments you may have and which I could pass on to the editor, Maxwell Stewart. I am also rather anxious to ask Dorothy Borg to look it over, so I would appreciate it if you could arrange with her so that both of you could give me comments before the early deadline of January 30th.

(Pencilled: Lasker's comment 1/23/40 sent to Max Stewart 1/23/40 except following paragraph.

Paragraph attached (pencilled out):

The Foreign Policy Association which has done so much to educate the American public to a tolerant reception of diverse views on, and interpretations of, current international issues, should be first among the organizations that are trying to promote a similar learning process in relation to printed literature, instead of joining in the unintelligent hue and cry against "propaganda."

JANUARY 23, 1940.

EXHIBIT No. 657

JULY 26, 1937.

MR. NATHANIEL PEFFER,
c/o Consulate General of the United States,
Tokyo.

DEAR PEFFER: Many thanks indeed for your letter of June 24 from Peiping and your later note of July 2nd. Regarding the first, your views are most interesting though I still think that in the long run China has more to lose by continuing its peasantry in a condition of extreme poverty and by becoming

increasingly subject to Japanese exploitation than by a strong fight. I see frightful destruction either way, but Great Britain, France, ourselves, and other foreign countries completely lacking in both intellect and guts. I see no third way out of the Sino-Japanese situation.

I note your remarks regarding those people whom you believe greatly overestimate (a) the strength and importance of the Chinese Communists, and (b) the fighting strength of China as a whole. I surely am one of those whom you have in mind. These points require much thought and discussion which cannot be undertaken in a letter. But at this point my one comment is that we are putting an enormous amount of emphasis on the political content of an army at war as a substitute for military training and material equipment. On political content the Chinese will have it all over the Japanese and this differential will increase as fighting becomes prolonged. In my opinion this will more than compensate for China's material and military weaknesses. This is one of the important points, it seems to me, which explained the Red Army's ability to remain intact from 1928 to Sian. I think it will count similarly on behalf of all Chinese troops versus the Japanese military machine.

For the last three weeks the one great question in our minds has been whether or not Chiang Kai-shek was going to support the 29th Army. It is clear that China has already lost temporarily at least the Peiping-Tientsin area. It could have saved it only by bombarding the Japanese troops as they came into the country. Once the Japanese army got into position nothing on earth, let alone Chinese troops, could move it. China must therefore, or so we suppose from our New York desks, make a stand if it intends to make a stand at all, at a line no further north than Paoting. Still the question remains, is Chiang Kai-shek really going to take a stand or is he merely going through enough motions to rationalize what he is doing before his own people without becoming involved in any headlong collision with the Japanese? If it is the latter, and I suspect that is the case, then in a few months' time all of Hopei will be lost and the road will be cleared for the next provinces, which I suppose will be Shansi and Shantung.

Having engaged in the utter absurdity of writing to you who are in Peiping what is going on in China, let me now reply to your second note regarding Miss Agnes Roman. Some weeks ago I had a long letter from her as well as a note speaking most highly of her from Bill Holland. It happens that Russell Shiman, the Editor of our FAR EASTERN SURVEY, is leaving for the Far East via Europe and a Rockefeller Fellowship at the end of this week. I have asked him to look up Miss Roman when he is in Shanghai and to see if he cannot work out something with her in relation to the SURVEY. We are not now in a position to take anyone on our staff because we have a tough enough time as it is paying those who are already here. If something breaks for us, however, or if I suddenly discover how to stomach money raising, I'll keep her prominently in mind.

Do I gather that you are not to be here until December? We had hoped to see you much earlier. I know your sister will be disappointed. She, incidentally, is a swell person and is doing practically a one-man job at putting AMERASIA through the press each month. We were lucky to have found her.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 658

SEPTEMBER 4, 1935.

MR. OWEN LATTIMORE,

Peiping,

DEAR OWEN: Since I first learned that you had arranged for an article on the Chinese Communist movement from Harold Isaacs I hoped that it would be possible to find someone to write a reply. I was very pleased with the way the Isaacs article turned out, but it is after all a very controversial interpretation of the Chinese situation. I would not like to see PACIFIC AFFAIRS leave the Chinese Soviet movement go with a Trotskyist exposition. Certainly an orthodox Communist view is needed to counterbalance it.

I knew of no one in this country whom we would invite to reply to Isaacs. It would be difficult for a foreigner who wanted to return to China in the near future to present an orthodox Communist view, and it would be impossible for a Chinese. For PACIFIC AFFAIRS to accept an article on this sort of subject by someone using a pseudonym would seem to me nonsense. Whether you could find someone in China to write the article I questioned, for the same reason that it seemed impossible to find someone in this country.

Happily what seems to me a solution is at hand. In the September issue of CHINA TODAY, which as you know is published in New York by a left-wing group of Chinese, appears a reply to Isaacs' PACIFIC AFFAIRS article by someone who signs himself Hansu Chan. I think the article is well written and the points he makes are certainly the correct orthodox Communist rebuttals to a Trotsky position. I am enclosing that article and also an editorial appearing in the same issue of the magazine on "The Spread of the Soviet Movement in China."

My suggestion is that you incorporate excerpts from Hansu Chan's rebuttal in an extended editorial comment signed by yourself. You could word your own comments in such a way as to disavow any responsibility for the rebuttal and so as not to involve yourself personally in the controversy. I urge this simply because it seems to me that the subject of the Chinese Communist movement is of paramount importance and that therefore PACIFIC AFFAIRS must analyze it from different angles. This view is shared by four or five of my colleagues on the American Council staff.

Of course this whole scheme may strike you as much less important than it does me. I am simply expressing my own views and that of a few others here in the hope that the suggestion corresponds with your own thoughts on the matter. Catherine Porter is away on vacation, otherwise she would be writing this note rather than I.

Yours sincerely,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 659

(Handwritten:) Lattimore

NEW YORK CITY, April 22, 1940.

MR. OWEN LATTIMORE,

300 Gilman Hall, Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Maryland.

DEAR OWEN: I wonder if you have replied to the rather strange memorandum (attached—see also Yarnell's comment to ECC herewith) on the embargo question by Colonel Ottosen of the University of Washington R. O. T. C. which Charles E. Martin sent to you. While Ottosen makes two or three interesting points he by no means covers the subject. The points that he passes over without comment—as for instance the little item of petroleum being used for airplanes—are by all odds the most important. It seems to me that it would be worth while getting an answer to this memorandum in his hands, perhaps via Martin. If you have done nothing about it I thought I might send it over to Harry Price and get him to work out a reply which he might then get Yarnell to endorse.

Speaking of the embargo reminds me that I am afraid I did not get enough consideration of your point of view at the Council on Foreign Relations dinner the other night. Those are somewhat peculiar gatherings and I don't think they can be used to change people's points of view. For one thing, the sessions are too short and the dinners too long. All I tried to do was to get general participation in the discussion and this I did, you will recall, by the elementary procedure of calling on people in order to wake them up from their cigars, and the result was, of course, a very confused series of expressions.

I think it is very important that, by a little serious discussion supplemented perhaps by occasional letters, we try to reanalyze our own views on the embargo. I am giving very brief thought to the matter on buses and between phone calls here. I have recalled that during the early stages of the war in the Far East we were pressing hard for an American embargo on exports with the warning that if we did not take action soon it would be too late. I am inclined to think that we were right and that it is now important to remember that we always added that proviso about action before it was too late. I am more and more inclined to think that we must now recognize that the time for an embargo has perhaps passed, that is that it is already too late. I am now inclined to think that an embargo would actually be a dangerous move because of the European war and particularly because of the inability of the Allies to get the upper hand in the first months of the war and the additional factor that an election year makes American policy even more haywire than usual. The Far Eastern scene is one in which Japan may very likely take further provocative steps. The danger of their invading some area in southeastern Asia, not necessarily the Netherlands Indies, seems to me a real one. They might quite possibly be provoked by our establishing an embargo. If we concluded that this was the likely result and if we hold to our original belief that the spreading of the Japanese war area to

southeastern Asia would be one of the most important steps involving us directly in the Far Eastern war, I think we should discontinue advocating the embargo policy.

I still hold to the view that the only purpose of positive policy is to provide the minimum risk of eventual involvement in war.

Whether these considerations pertain to restrictions of one sort or another on United States imports from Japan, I am not sure. I am inclined to think that import restrictions should be advocated as the most powerful and reasonably safe course that is now open to us. It is hard for me to see how Japan can retaliate in a military way against United States tariffs on her goods. Certainly the danger of such retaliation would not be great if the tariffs were imposed gradually and in such a way that they were based on the well-established principles of nondiscrimination in international trade. Again, however, if we do advocate import restrictions, we must introduce the timing factor and point out that here again the time when they can be imposed safely, if we so concluded, is limited. Obviously the longer we continue narrowing the safe alternatives of policy the more certain we are of not being able to take the constructive steps which seem to me essential if we are to avoid almost certain hostilities.

I wish you would write me your thoughts on these questions for while I know that you are still peaking in favor of an embargo I imagine that these same doubts have occurred to you. One further consideration I should add is that whereas before the outbreak of war in Europe the possibility of a clash between the United States and Japan was not something to terrify us if it had to take place, it will now certainly link us immediately into the European war and that is something which is to my mind unthinkable.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 660

Officers of San Francisco Bay Region Group: Ray Lyman Wilbur, Chairman; Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, Vice Chairman; Robert Gordon Sproul, Vice Chairman; Jesse Steinhart, Treasurer; John H. Oakie, Secretary

National Officers: Carl L. Alsberg, Chairman; Wallace M. Alexander, Vice Chairman; Miss Ada L. Comstock, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Charles J. Rhoads, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer; Carl L. Alsberg, Research Chairman; Galen M. Fisher, Counselor on Research & Education

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

SAN FRANCISCO

Telephone EXbrook 1458—Cable Address: INPAREL

1795 California Street

MARCH 17, 1938.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,

129 East 52nd Street, New York, New York.

DEAR MR. CARTER: I am very much interested to learn that you are to speak at the Hippodrome on the Soviet Union and present world events in a meeting being arranged by Corliss Lamont. I wish I could be there to hear you.

I cannot think of any special points which I would like to have you make on behalf of the American Council. I very much doubt whether either Mr. Morgan or Mr. Rockefeller will be in your audience so that strictly financial problems will probably not have to be considered. Your speech will doubtless be concerned entirely with the subject you have been asked to handle. I cannot think of anything I can suggest to add to your own close knowledge of the Soviet position nor to your interpretation with which I find myself completely in agreement. There are points which, it seems to me, have to be made over and over again to American audiences. They include:

(a) The fact that to anyone who will take the trouble to read the detailed proceedings of the famous Moscow trials and even to people who will read enough American newspapers to correct the obvious prejudices of any one of them, this whole series of trials makes sense. The story of the internal revolt against what is called the Stalin regime, but what is actually a large hierarchy of committees of which Stalin is the chief secretary, is to my mind a clear one

and a consistent one. Most Americans genuinely object, as I do, to ruthless methods of suppression. I do not try to defend this in the Soviet Union and I see no point in anyone's doing so. I object to the same thing in the suppression of labor activities in this country where evidences of brutality during the last eighteen months, if brought together, would make a very ominous record. Obviously, the important thing is to stress the fundamental background on which, it seems to me, there should be general sympathy with what the Soviet Union is trying to do, and to isolate the details which one can very legitimately criticize.

(b) The Soviet Union's foreign policy, particularly as it relates to the Far East and here particularly as it affects China's inland frontier. The prevailing view is the one represented by the so-called Peter Fleming mind, namely, that Soviet imperialism is just the same thing as British or American or Japanese imperialism. You will find in the current issue of AMERASIA what is to my mind an exceptionally clear article by Owen Lattimore which does pretty well in distinguishing between the admittedly expanding Soviet influence in the Mongolian region and the military imperialism of the Japanese.

(c) More and more people are including the Soviet Union among the fascist dictatorships. The names of Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler are often grouped with the implication that each stands for the same system. To my mind, as you know, there is an extremely fundamental difference between the Soviet dictatorship and those in Germany, Hitler and Japan. There is not, however, a very great deal of difference in the superficial characteristics of these dictatorships. The methods employed by each are often similar; the important thing is not only the situation in which the dictatorships operate but the purposes for which dictatorial methods are employed.

I could go on through the alphabet but think I had better leave it at these few points which happen to be in the front of my mind. I certainly don't think it is our job to defend the Soviet Union. My interest is in defending the United States by trying to bring some clarification in the public's mind as to what is going on abroad in which we are vitally concerned.

Wishing you lots of luck.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Fred
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

f/g

EXHIBIT No. 662

Officers of San Francisco Bay Region Group: Ray Lyman Wilbur, Chairman; Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, Vice Chairman; Robert Gordon Sproul, Vice Chairman; Jesse Steinhart, Treasurer; John H. Oakie, Secretary
National Officers: Carl L. Alsberg, Chairman; Wallace M. Alexander, Vice Chairman; Miss Ada L. Comstock, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Charles J. Rhoads, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Anstern, Assistant Treasurer; Carl L. Alsberg, Research Chairman; Galen M. Fisher, Counselor on Research and Education

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

57 POST STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

Telephone EXBrook 1458—Cable Address: INPAREL

(Handwritten:) FVF—1:00 (Fri. luncheon, 18th—129), Wittfogel.

JANUARY 31, 1938.

MISS CATHERINE PORTER,

American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East 52nd Street, New York, New York.

DEAR CATHERINE: Will you call a meeting of the Executive Committee for whatever day is generally convenient, the week following my arrival on the 17th? If the meeting could be held the following Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday it would give me time after my arrival to prepare the agenda and send the necessary reports to those attending.

As nearly as I can figure now, the agenda should include the following items:

- (1) Approval of the budget for 1938.
- (2) Plans for raising funds in 1938, including special arrangements to be made with Mr. Carter.
- (3) A report on the development of our groups on the West Coast.
- (4) The question of affiliation as a consultative member of the National Peace Conference.

(5) Plans for the New York discussion conference of the American Council members.

(6) The location of the New York office.

This last point is not an urgent one, though I should like to have it given consideration fairly soon. We now pay a large enough rent in New York so that if we moved away from the center of the city we could probably get very much more space with more protection against fire at the same price. What would you think of our moving up near Columbia, for instance? And if so, could you find out for purposes of discussion what sort of rent is charged for the sort of house on 117th Street which the Carnegie Endowment, the International Institute of Social Research, and other such organizations occupy. Those houses are rather dark but they provide a fair amount of office space and good rooms for books and meetings. I cannot see that there is any very great advantage to being located in the middle of the city except that heretofore the office was located near my own apartment. In view of my moving downtown when I return to New York, this significant point will be eliminated.

Totally unrelated to the above is the fact that the American Council will definitely move its offices in about three weeks to a residence at 1795 California Street. You may, therefore, tell Hilda to go ahead with the printing of the new letter paper, although we do not yet know what our new telephone number will be.

Aside from the many things which I shall have to discuss with you and the other members of the staff in New York, I shall want to have sessions of an hour or so with Pepper, Wittfogel, and Christy. It might be a good idea to arrange for these appointments at Columbia, say the Monday or Tuesday after my arrival, arranging for luncheon with Wittfogel and times before and after luncheon with the other two. Is Mortimer Graves likely to be in New York during my visit? If so, I shall also want to reserve a good deal of time for conferences with him. I shall also want to spend several hours with my AMERASIA colleagues and would appreciate it if you would let them know my dates.

I think it would be a good idea if you would arrange a list of topics which I should discuss with the members of the staff so that we can proceed in an orderly fashion. I think you know the points to be raised as well or better than I so I shall not attempt to make suggestions.

Your letter of January 25th brings up a few points to which I should reply. In the first place, I shall be glad to see Mr. Walworth of Houghton, Mifflin Company when I am in New York.

Secondly, I have not included John Fairbank of Harvard in the more recent list of candidates for membership secretary because I am reasonably certain that he would not want to concentrate as much on money raising as the job demands. I have a very high regard for him and would some day like to see him associated with us in some other capacity.

The list to whom Lockwood recommends that I write asking for further suggestions regarding candidates for this job is in part a good one and I am today dictating letters to Spykman, Stacy May, Donald Young, E. E. Barnett, Lobentz, and Water Van Kirk. I am asking them to send their replies to you in New York. You will find enclosed a sample letter. In the meantime I trust you are approaching the three or four people whom I recommended in a recent letter. You might also add to your list Dr. Stephen Duggan in case I failed to mention him before.

If an expert on China is badly needed for the FAR EASTERN SURVEY, as I am sure that he is, why not speed up a decision on another Rockefeller Foundation fellow and pick someone who would fill this gap in our present staff? In my opinion we have already lost two or three months of such a person's time by our inability to decide on a candidate.

I am delighted that Miss Cynthia Power has made such a favorable impression. I shall look forward to seeing her in San Francisco and I hope that you will especially recommend to her that she call on us in our new quarters as soon as she arrives. We have fewer German hofbraus in San Francisco than you do in New York but my researches on the last two Saturday nights indicate that there are a number of substitutes. Incidentally, is Miss Power the daughter of Sir John Power? I assume that she is.

Sincerely yours,

[s]-Fred

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 663

Telephone, Plaza 3-4700

Cable, INPAREL, New York

Officers: Newton D. Baker, Chairman; Wallace M. Alexander, Vice Chairman; Edward C. Carter, Vice Chairman; Miss Ada L. Comstock, Vice Chairman; Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Charles J. Rhoads, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer; Carl L. Alsberg, Research Chairman
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AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

129 East 52d Street, New York City

DECEMBER 17, 1934.

Mr. E. C. CARTER,

Chatham House.

DEAR MR. CARTER: Thank you for the copy of the bibliography on Economic China prepared for the I. P. R. by Leonard G. Ting, of Nankai. There does not seem to be anything I can do about this with respect to Kantorovitch inasmuch as our arrangement simply calls for my supplying English language books from this office. I suggest that Chinese language material be exchanged directly between Liu's office and Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Fred

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

P. S.—May I add that if it proves embarrassing for a direct exchange to be set up between Shanghai and Moscow, or Tokyo and Moscow, I shall be glad to have documents routed through this office.

EXHIBIT No. 664

Address Official Communications to The Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
 Washington, October 3, 1934.

DEAR FRED: I have made some inquiries since my return about the possibility of the holding of a Naval Conference in 1935. There seems to be considerable doubt as to whether it will be held, and this doubt should be cleared up by the conversations to be held shortly in London. I suggest that you hold off making any preparatory studies until these conversations are completed. The naval situation appears to have reached a crisis and all signs indicate a showdown at the forthcoming conversations.

I find that the gentleman who made the study of Japanese labor conditions is Mr. Latourette of the International Labor Office. Feis says that he seemed to have a clearer picture of conditions there backed by statistical data than anyone else he has talked to.

In connection with the trade agreements, a Foreign Service officer has been recalled from the Far East to give advice upon the Japanese situation. His name is Sturgeon, and I would be very glad to introduce you to him when you come to Washington.

I am looking forward to seeing you and hope that you will be able to have lunch or dinner with me.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Larry

LAWRENCE DUGGAN.

OCTOBER 4, 1934.

Mr. LAWRENCE DUGGAN,

Department of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR LARRY: The information you give me in your letter of October 3rd is very welcome. I was on the point of writing you to find out the name and author of the study on Japanese labor conditions which you mentioned when you were in this office a few weeks ago. I hope that when I come to Washington I shall be able to see this monograph.

Thank you also for offering to introduce me to Sturgeon. When I come to your city I shall certainly ask you to carry this out.

Your paragraph on the naval conference bears out what I had supposed was happening. Even if the 1935 conference is called off, however, the type of study which I have in mind will still be very useful. I am not so much interested in the measurements of guns or bullets or the tonnage of ships or even the nineteenth century diplomacy which surrounds these questions; but I am interested in the social and economic setting of the whole navy question. Regardless of whether or not they hold a conference next spring, the problem of navies in the Pacific is bound to be prominent. With our fleet dashing around the Aleutian Islands and Japanese and American admirals shooting off their faces every other minute, the subject can be counted on to remain on the first or second page of the papers. A monograph, therefore, tying the question down to the day-by-day life of the average American citizen seems to me altogether pertinent.

I have already talked to Walter Millis of the Herald Tribune, whom you probably know is the author of "The Martial Spirit," about this point. There is every likelihood that he will undertake the thing for us. I have great confidence in his intelligence and ability to interpret this type of question and I think that anything he produces will be interesting. We will have quite a hand in whatever he does in this office, which may or may not suggest to you further assurance of the validity of the undertaking.

Just at the moment I am overwhelmed with selling the Institute and myself to the people from whom we expect large donations. As soon as this unpleasant duty is over I shall take the first train to Washington.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 665

(Handwritten)

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Philip C. Jessup, Chairman; Wallace M. Alexander, Vice Chairman; Miss Ada L. Comstock, Vice Chairman; Benjamin H. Kizer, Vice Chairman; Philo W. Parker, Vice Chairman; Robert Gordon Sproul, Vice Chairman; Ray Lyman Wilbur, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Francis S. Harmon, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INCORPORATED

1795 California Street, San Francisco; Telephone: TUXedo 3114—129 East 52nd Street, New York City; Telephone: Plaza 3-4700

Cable: Inparel

NEW YORK CITY, *October 9, 1939.*

MR. EDWARD C. CARTER,
Upstairs Office.

DEAR MR. CARTER: Owen has sent me a copy of his letter to you of October 5th with regard to his editorial on collective security, as he calls it, which we all damned. I should like to make a few comments in case you want to give further consideration to the possibility of covering this difficult concept in a early issue of the magazine.

My first feeling is to drop the expression "collective security" as it has in my opinion been rendered virtually meaningless not only by the use to which it has been put but also by the damage which has been done to the concept as it was originally used. It seems to me that what we as an organization are interested in is the question of future security in the Pacific area. This may be attained by a collective system, or by re-establishing some sort of balance of power (which is quite another thing from collective security), or by some sort of unilateral domination of the area's most controversial regions, e. g., by Japan, by the Soviet Union, by the United States. I cannot see any way for an organizational magazine like Pacific Affairs to discuss the question other than by asking a number of prominent persons to express their opinions in its pages. It is not something for one officer of the Pacific Council, either Lattimore or you, to express unless you are included in a group of others all writing on the same subject and unless you very clearly write as an individual.

I should be very much interested in having Owen explore this possibility of a symposium. I should want him to make every effort to get divergent points of view expressed, falling, however, somewhere short of either Father Coughlin or Trotsky. I should define the limits of legitimate opinion somewhere between the two poles of Beard and Browder. I should also make certain that we did not fall into the error of believing that this was one of those questions which has two sides. It obviously has as many as authors can be found.

Sincerely yours,

[S] Fred.
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Copy to Mr. Lattimore.

EXHIBIT No. 666

(Handwritten:) Lattimore
NEW YORK CITY, May 15, 1940.

MR. OWEN LATTIMORE,
300 Gilman Hall, Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Maryland,

DEAR OWEN: I have read the manuscript by Maurice Shore entitled "Lenin, Sun Yat-senism, and China." As to the possibilities of its publication, I feel reasonably confident in my views but as to a good deal of the content I feel much less certain.

On the question of publication, while the manuscript contains a lot of material which it would be useful to have around in such handy form, it would not in my opinion find much of a market in pamphlet form. I hope therefore that you will be willing to struggle with a condensation. As a magazine article it could probably retain most of its present thesis and still have the usefulness for reference purposes that I have in mind.

I should like to have a first-rate Marxist read the manuscript because there are a few points where I suspect the author has misinterpreted Lenin's teaching. I suggest this most uncertainly, however, for I don't know Lenin's writings at all well and I have never consistently gone through all the stuff he wrote on China. As a matter of fact the bringing together of those writings in this article seems to me its most interesting aspect. A good deal is made in the article of Lenin's earlier disagreement with Sun Yat-sen over the latter's belief that by instituting quickly certain socialist measures the stage of capitalism could be altogether avoided, and the later alleged reversal of this position on Lenin's part. This question touches the complicated controversy that you ran in *PACIFIC AFFAIRS* a year or so ago between Edgar Snow and Asiaticus. It also touches a lot of the theoretical questions which have been disputed in all of Edgar Snow's writings. Without really knowing what I am talking about my impression is that Lenin never maintained that the capitalist stage could be altogether skipped in China. My understanding of the Chinese Communist Party's doctrine, moreover, is that it hopes to do no more than truncate the regular historical process, that is shorten the period between feudalism and socialism. This is an example of a theoretical point which I should like to have checked by someone who is really well versed in Marxist literature.

Another illustration is the flat statement on the part of the author, on page 41, that Lenin and Sun Yat-sen did agree on the "elimination of the doctrine of the class struggle from the revolutionary program of China."

I cannot believe that this is so as regards Lenin although of course it was true as regards Sun Yat-sen. The class struggle is at the very base of Marxist dialectics and I have never heard of any exception from it being made for a particular situation, and certainly not for China.

At the opening of the article, the references to Maurice William's claim interested me because some years ago when I knew William quite well I documented a rather elaborate memorandum for Shotwell on the relation between Sun Yat-sen's Third Principle—The People's Livelihood—and Maurice William's book, *THE SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY*. I haven't looked up my memorandum for a good many years—and it is very likely that if I did I could not find it. I remember, however, the central point in which we were then interested. Maurice William claimed in his second book, *SUN YAT SEN VERSUS COMMUNISM*, that Sun was converted from Communism to a milder form of social reform because of his reading of *THE SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY*. I remember working out the chronology of the publication of William's book and

the history of the single copy which apparently ever got to China, together with the chronology of Sun Yat-sen's lectures on the Three People's principles and finding pretty conclusive evidence that William's claim was wholly unjustified. What apparently happened was that Sun Yat-sen, because of other influences bearing on his life, had come around to about the position which Maurice William argued in his book and then had found the book and found in it a convenient expression of these views. Consequently, in one of his final lectures in Canton when he first put forward the Three People's principles, it was fairly natural that he should quote this otherwise extremely obscure book.

This point about Maurice William is of no vast importance in the manuscript under discussion except that if my interpretation is correct it calls for a modification of two or three sentences.

Let me know if I can do anything more with regard to this job. I am returning the manuscript herewith.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Telephone: UNiversity 0100, Ext. 43

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

Published Quarterly by The Institute of Pacific Relations

Amsterdam—London—Manila—Moscow—New York—Paris—Shanghai—Sydney—Tokyo—Toronto—Wellington

Please address reply to:

300 GILMAN HALL,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., May 9, 1940.

Mr. F. V. FIELD,

Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

DEAR FRED: Herewith I am enclosing the manuscript of an article on "Lenin, Sun-Yat-Senism, and China," which I think may interest you. There are 48 pages of it—much too long for PACIFIC AFFAIRS unless very considerably cut. Before doing anything else, I am therefore writing to find out whether you may think the article is worth publishing separately as a pamphlet. If you do not think so, but think that the article could be condensed to a length suitable for PACIFIC AFFAIRS, I am willing to attempt the condensation.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ OL

OWEN LATTIMORE.

EXHIBIT No. 667

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INCORPORATED

1795 California Street, San Francisco—129 East 52nd Street, New York City

NEW YORK CITY, April 25, 1939.

Air mail.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,

Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

DEAR MR. CARTER: As you perhaps know, for some time a few members of the American Council staff have been forming a unit of the Book and Magazine Guild in my office. I am now informed that a bare majority of the members of the staff have joined the union which therefore makes the unit eligible for the negotiation of a contract. Before proceeding with this contract, however, I understand that the group intends to sign up two or three additional members of the staff so that they will represent a good deal more than a bare majority.

I am writing you at this time because, in view of the progress which the office union is making, I rather expect to be offered a shop contract by them before you have returned from your trip. As I shall want to secure the approval of the Executive Committee and, in addition, of certain other Trustees, to any decision which I shall be inclined to recommend, I am writing to ask if you would be so

good as to send me by letter your preliminary thoughts on this subject. It is my present intention, if the contract which the office union offers closely resembles the contract which other units of that union have already entered upon with such organizations as the Foreign Policy Association, to recommend its approval. This would mean the formal signing of a contract between the staff and myself as the representative of the employers.

Unless the office union makes demands which I do not now anticipate, the contract will call for practically no changes in the present wage-and-hour scale. Nor will it call for any actual changes in our method of giving notice of termination of employment, or leave of absence due to illness, vacations, and the like. It may involve our agreeing to what is known as a "preferential shop" whereby, in the employment of new persons, we would first give the union a chance to fill the vacancy from its own ranks, but where they are unable to supply a suitable candidate, we could look elsewhere. It may also oblige us to set aside a moderate reserve which would be used to guarantee salary payments for a certain number of weeks should the organization unexpectedly and suddenly be liquidated.

Aside from the fact that I am personally sympathetic with the principle of unionization, its occurrence in my office has a rather definite advantage. The office union would set up a shop committee for the purpose of presenting any demands or grievances and for the purpose of settling among themselves, if possible, problems in the office. This will mean that the salary scale and the salaries paid to individuals in the office will no longer rest on the arbitrary decisions of the Secretary—a situation which I personally regard as highly unsatisfactory. It will mean that there will be a group responsibility for any decisions reached. The terms of the contracts which I have looked over, in relation to other organizations, present a salary scale which is, in practically every instance, considerably below what we now pay. This, to my mind, would not mean that we would reduce salaries to the union minimum but it would indicate that we had nothing to fear by way of group pressure for an increased salary scale.

In the light of these remarks, I should appreciate it very much if you would send me an expression of your opinion on this whole subject. Without having the details of the proposed contract before you, I should like to know whether, in your opinion, it would be proper and desirable for the American Council to enter into negotiations with the union and to conclude a contract, provided that the details could be worked out to the satisfaction of both parties. Certain of our Trustees will, I think, look to you, among others, for advice on this matter when I bring it to their attention. It would therefore be very useful to me to have a general expression of your views on hand when the appropriate time comes.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Fred
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 668

Pencilled (Oakie)

(Handwritten :) See FVF to Yarnell, 6/1/40.

NEW YORK CITY, May 31, 1940.

MR. JOHN H. OAKIE.

DEAR JACK: I have just read your latest INPAREL with considerable interest for the subject of the Netherlands Indies is at the forefront of our minds as well as of yours. We had a discussion with some thirty to thirty-five people on Monday which was led by Admiral Yarnell and which I wish you could have attended for his point of view differs from your report in INPAREL at most points. Although there follow my summaries of some of his views, the meeting was a private one and he should not be quoted by name.

I am inclined to disagree with Yarnell in several places but it may interest you to know with reference to the six items which you list on your second page that Yarnell's ideas run somewhat as follows:

(1) That while Batavia may be nearly as far from Nagasaki as from Pearl Harbor, the problem of fleet operations moving down from Japan and west from Pearl Harbor seems to be altogether different. Japan's navy would move via its own possessions, the Mandated Islands, Formosa and Hainan, to say nothing of the China coast, whereas our navy could probably not even move straight across the general route now traveled by the clippers. It would probably be forced to go south of Australia.

(2) Yarnell believes that the Japanese navy is in first-rate shape and is exceedingly well equipped relative to any opposition it is likely to face. It is not now being used in the China campaign with the exception of a few second-class cruisers and such ships.

He says it possess not only the ships with which we are familiar but a well-rounded fleet of supplementary craft for supply purposes and for tending air-planes, submarines, etc. He also reports with considerable conviction that it is now known that Japan is building 45,000-ton battleships and very likely from six to ten light cruisers which in speed and armaments surpass anything in the American navy. He went so far as to say that if Japan actually did turn out these cruisers she would have at the present moment command of the entire Pacific Ocean.

(3) It follows that Yarnell does not think that Japan is short on shipping from a naval point of view. From a supply point of view he indicates that the Japanese were able to take care of the very heavy demands put on their shipping in the first year of the China campaign, a demand which has now been very considerably relaxed, and that not only these ships could be diverted to a new southward campaign but that a great deal of Japan's shipping which is now plying the regular trade routes could likewise be diverted.

(4) Yarnell envisages a possible naval war between Japan and the United States as involving primarily a series of raids on each other. To that extent he would perhaps support your point that Japan's supply lines running south through Formosa and Hainan would be vulnerable to attack. The point as you make it is open to question "attack by whom?" If the United States actually declares war the answer is "by the United States." But there seems to be a grave question whether Japan's lines would be as vulnerable as our own.

(5) Yarnell does not think highly of the Netherlands Indies defenses. He reported that while they had a few submarines and probably some good coastal guns and absolutely first-rate airplanes—although probably not more than two hundred of these—the local militia, made up largely of about 70,000 native troops, was not reliable. The point seems to be a good deal who gets to the Indies first. If it were possible for this government to send our ships there now, basing them perhaps on Singapore, the opinion seems to be that Japan, although provoked and angry, could not afford to launch a campaign. On the other hand, not one of us at our discussion believed that there was any possibility of a democracy such as ours taking such a drastic preventative step. I should also like to comment with regard to your remark about the prompt Dutch round-up of fifth columnists in the Netherlands Indies. I am extremely skeptical on this point just as I would be if Congress followed to a logical conclusion the absurd definition of what constitutes a fifth column by throwing in jail every alien in this country. It is not those people nor the actual German Nazi spies in the Netherlands Indies who constitute fifth columns but it is the reactionary, fascist-minded leaders in your own country. It was not, it seems to me, aliens or spies or undercover agents who sold out Poland and Norway but their own leading generals and a good many of their cabinet members. Ditto for Holland. With a much more complicated situation and involving a good deal of historical explanation, ditto for Belgium and apparently for at least some armies in France. (Footnote: Please take a look at the Associated Farmers in California.)

(6) While it is agreed that the Dutch, with the full cooperation of American and British interests, would destroy oil wells and cracking plants in the Indies, it is also generally agreed that Japan has enough fuel stored for extensive naval operations lasting from 12 to 18 months. This comes from as authoritative sources as one can possibly find. In other words, that represents about the time required to put blown-up wells and machinery back into operation. It is also pointed out, although I don't think the point has been sufficiently grasped, that while we could put great pressure on Japan through an economic embargo in the event of their invading southward, once they had established even a naval blockade around the Netherlands Indies and the adjacent regions they could put on an equally or perhaps more effective embargo against the United States.

It would be very interesting to learn from you whether the general views which you have put forward in INPAREL in this issue reflect military opinion in your part of the country. It would not surprise me at all to learn that it did for there seems to be no more agreement among those boys than among any other group.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 669

(Handwritten) Parker

Copy to EvZdJ

NEW YORK CITY, April 9, 1940.

Mr. PHIL W. PARKER,
26 Broadway, New York City.

DEAR MR. PARKER: I wonder if I can ask your help in the preparation of an article on aviation gasoline in the Far East which we are writing for the FAR EASTERN SURVEY and would like to complete by next week. The occasion for the article arises from a notice in a paper just received from Netherlands Indies which announces that the Shell people have recently opened a high-octane gasoline plant at Pladjos and plan to build a second one, to be completed by the end of the year. It was also announced that the Standard group is constructing a plant at Palembang which is to produce an average of 560 barrels a day. We should like very much to know whether these reports are accurate and, if so, to obtain a little more detail with regard to them.

Available statistics do not help very much in straightening out the story of aviation fuel in the Pacific area and as this is very important in connection with U. S.-Japanese trade, it has seemed to us that the more accurate information we could unearth, the better. Japan, for instance, is reported to have imported a little over half a million barrels of aviation gasoline from the U. S. in 1939 against a consumption of over two million barrels.

Did Japan produce the remainder itself, or did it import aviation fuel from other sources? If high octane is to be produced in Netherlands Indies, is most of it likely to go to Japan? If so, will it affect the export of aviation fuel from California to Japan or will it more likely compete with Japanese refineries?

There is then the question of whether gasoline of around 75 to 82 octane content is exported to Japan and there blended to produce higher octane fuel or whether it is exported as 100-octane gasoline from the source. We have been told that some of the newer planes themselves are equipped to do the blending—a leading process, I believe, while in flight.

I would very greatly appreciate it if you would permit my colleague, Miss van Zyll de Jong, and myself to have a talk with you or one of your associates sometime this week. As usual, we do not want to publish an article which is inaccurate.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 670

(Handwritten) Am. League for Peace & Democracy

NEW YORK CITY, December 20, 1938.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY,
112 East 19th Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your request that the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations be represented by an observer at your forthcoming American Congress for Peace and Democracy, I am writing to say that I believe that several of our members will be in attendance. As you know, the nature of your work prevents our taking any official part in activities of a political sort. Our membership, however, is so chosen as to represent a fairly good cross section of various types of occupations and activities in this country and in that way we are well assured that we will be unofficially represented at this sort of meeting.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

f/g

FRED: The American Congress for Peace and Democracy wants us to send an observer to their meeting January 6-8, as we did last year. Will you take care of this?

KBEG.

CALL TO ACTION

AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

January 6, 7, 8, 1939, Washington, D. C. Fifth National Congress, American League for Peace and Democracy

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The world-wide offensive of fascism, which threatens the peace and democracy of every country including our own, requires immediate and energetic action by the American people. It requires American leadership and initiative to rally and organize the forces of democracy and peace.

The forces of reaction within our own country are seeking by every open and concealed means to destroy our basic and democratic rights. Suppression of civil rights, attacks on the rights of labor, the promotion of the "red scare" and anti-Semitism, the fomenting of religious and racial hatreds, show the forming pattern of American Fascism.

On a world scale the threat of Fascism brings with it the threat of a new World War. Renewed war preparations demonstrate that this menace has been increased by the Munich agreement. In China and Spain the threat is already a tragic reality. Millions have been slaughtered; tens of millions are without homes or hope or bread. The war-makers have served notice that they will wage the most ruthless warfare in history against the peoples of the world.

The United States cannot isolate itself from these developments. We cannot hope to remain aloof from a Fascist-instigated world war. Sooner or later we would become involved as we were in the last war. Our only hope is to prevent such a world war from developing; to use our international influence and economic power to stop Fascist aggression. No Munich agreements for Spain and China.

To that end the American League for Peace and Democracy calls you to an extraordinary American Congress for Peace and Democracy. Let your representatives in the seventy-sixth United States Congress know the strength of your desire for peace. Come to Washington, D. C., on January 6th-8th. Make your voice heard in the demand for a new peace policy for America at the expiration of the present unneutral Neutrality Act. Help us work out a program for the defense of our democracy and for peace.

WE SUMMON REPRESENTATIVES of the organizations of the American people—trade unions, farm bodies, peace societies, religious organizations, fraternal orders, civic bodies, organizations of veterans, women and youth. At this Congress the democratic peace forces of America will map out a program for the defense of democracy and peace—a program based on the necessity to: PROTECT AND EXTEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR ALL SECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR AND HELP KEEP WAR OUT OF THE WORLD.

CONGRESS ENDORSED BY—

(These endorsements are personal, not organizational)

Rabbi Michael Alper, Associate Editor, "Reconstructionist"

Sherwood Anderson, Writer

Reverend Edgar R. Artist, Historian, Eastern Baptist Association of New York

Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Lewis Alan Berne, President, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians

George Biddle, Artist

Crissie Birrell

Professor Franz Boas, Columbia University, New York City

John H. Bosch, President, National Farm Holiday Association

Mrs. W. Russell Bowie, President, New York State Consumers League

Hon. Usher L. Burdick, U. S. Representative, North Dakota

John D. Butkovich, President, Croatian Fraternal Union of America

Joseph Cadden, United States Chairman, World Youth Congress

William F. Cochran, Vice President, Church League for Industrial Democracy

Rabbi Samuel M. Cohen, Executive Director, United Synagogue of America

Hon. John M. Coffee, U. S. Representative, Washington

Howard Costigan, Executive Secretary, Washington Commonwealth Federation

Jerome Davis, President, American Federation of Teachers
 John P. Davis, Secretary, National Negro Congress
 Barrington Dunbar
 Paul de Kruif, Writer
 Melynn Douglas, Actor
 Theodore Dreiser, Writer
 Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University
 Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Writer
 Abram Flaxer, President, State, County & Municipal Workers of America
 Mignel Garriga, Vice President, Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance
 Albert Ghidoni, Secretary-Treasurer, District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America
 Professor Willystine Goodsell, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City
 Rudolph Harju, Secretary, Cooperative Unity Alliance
 L. O. Hartman, Editor, "Zions Herald"
 Clarence Hathaway, Editor "The Daily Worker"
 Donald Henderson, President, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America
 Alexander Hoffman, General Manager, Cleaners, Dyers & Truck Drivers Union Local 239, A. C. W., New York City
 Reverend William Lloyd Imes, St. James Presbyterian Church, New York City
 E. Stanley Jones, Missionary
 Rockwell Kent, President, United American Artists
 Joseph P. Lash, Executive Secretary, American Student Union
 David Lasser, President, Workers Alliance of America
 Max Lerner, Writer
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 Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York Area, Methodist Episcopal Church
 Rhoda E. McCulloch, Editor, "The Womans Press"
 Katherine McNerny, Executive Secretary, League of Women Shoppers
 Lewis Merrill, President, United Office & Professional Workers of America
 Morris Muster, President, United Furniture Workers of America
 Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary, New York City
 Samuel Ornitz, Writer
 Bishop Robert L. Paddock
 Reverend Elim A. Palmquist, Executive Secretary, Philadelphia Federation of Churches
 Hon. James P. Pope, U. S. Senator, Idaho
 Mervyn Rathborne, President, American Communications Association
 Reid Robinson, President, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers of America
 Hon. Byron N. Scott, U. S. Representative, California
 Reverend Guy Emery Shipler, Editor, "The Churchman"
 Viola Brothers Shore, Writer
 Reverend H. Norman Sibley, University Heights Presbyterian Church, New York City
 Robert G. Spivack, Secretary for the U. S., International Student Service
 Reverend William B. Spofford, Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy
 Donald Ogden Stewart, President, League of American Writers
 Edward E. Strong, Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress
 Hon. Henry G. Teigan, U. S. Representative, Minnesota
 Reverend Worth M. Tippy, General Secretary Emeritus, Social Service Dept., Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
 Rose Troiano
 Frank Tuttle, Motion Picture Director
 Professor David D. Vaughan, School of Theology, Boston University
 Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Former National Executive Director, Young Judaea
 Dr. Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City
 A. F. Whitney, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen
 Dr. Max Yergan, Director, International Committee on African Affairs

NATIONAL OFFICERS, AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Harry F. Ward, National Chairman
 Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Vice Chairman
 Robert Morss Lovett, Vice Chairman
 Margaret Forsyth, Acting Treasurer

All organizations and groups that stand for democracy and peace are invited to elect delegates to the Congress. Organizations with memberships up to 200 are entitled to one delegate. Organizations with membership from 250 to 500 are entitled to two delegates. Organizations with membership over 500 are entitled to three delegates.

A registration fee of one dollar for every delegate will be charged to help meet the expenses of the Congress.

National organizations are entitled to three delegates at a special registration fee of three dollars each.

DELEGATES CREDENTIAL FORM No. 1

To be sent with registration fee to the National Office of the American League for Peace and Democracy

(Name of delegate)		
(Street address)	(City)	(State)
(Organization or group represented)		
(Address of organization or group)		
(Number of members)	(Secretary or officer of organization)	

DELEGATES CREDENTIAL FORM No. 2

To be retained by delegate as means of identification at Washington, D. C.

(Name of delegate)		
(Street address)	(City)	(State)
(Organization or group represented)		
(Address of organization or group)		
(Number of members)	(Secretary or officer of organization)	

Send credential form No. 1 and fee, and address all inquiries to—

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

268 Fourth Avenue

398

New York, New York

Dr. Harry F. Ward, National Chairman. City Executive Committee: Eleanor Grauman, Chairman; Rev. David Lieorich; Arthur J. McLaughlin; Isidore Sorkin. Vice Chairman: Helen R. Bryan, Executive Secretary; Oscar Schneller, Acting Organization Secretary; Albert Hyman, Treasurer; Israel Amter; Mrs. J. X. Cohen; Abraham Feingold; Jacob Mirsky; Cyril Philip; Rev. Frederick Reustle; Katherine Terrill. Staff: William Males, Legislative; Ruth Dobrer, National Minorities and Race Relations; Cyrus S. Porter, Campaigns; Brian Heald; Morris Engel. Education: Anna C. Schneiderman, Women; Clifford Welch, Publications; Gordon Sloane, Youth; Ray Aversa, Trade Union; Herman Stolley, Anti-Nazi Dept.; Albert Prentis, Cultural. Advisory Board: Prof. E. B. Burgum, John Chamberlain, Malcolm Cowley, Martha Foley, David Freeman, Rev. William Lloyd Ines, Milton Kaufman, Vito Marcantonio, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Rev. Herman F. Reissig, Elmer Rice, Prof. Margaret Schlaugh, Lee Simonson, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Ashley P. Totten, Thomas Young

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

NEW YORK CITY DIVISION

112 East 19th Street, New York City

ALgonquin 4-9290

IPR

NOVEMBER 25, 1938.

DEAR FRIEND: The AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY which will be held in Washington, D. C. on January 6-7-8, 1939, more than ever will focus the attention of the entire country and its lawmakers on the consolidation and strengthening of the forces for peace. To quote from Dr. Harry F. Ward's editorial in the November issue of THE FIGHT, called "After Munich":

"No ocean barriers, no tradition of isolation, no pacifist idealism, can prevent the United States from feeling the effects of the impetus the Munich agreement has given to Fascism as a world force. In due time the results will be seen and felt in the increased strength of Fascist movements and tendencies in Latin America and in Canada, and in the development of Fascist potentialities in the United States."

Are we going to permit, through inertia, such potentialities to become realities in our country? In a country founded on the sacred principles of freedom of worship and of minorities, are we to remain passive in the face of the wrathful racial and religious persecution now unleashed?

We believe it is absolutely necessary in these times to meet such challenges with unity of number, strength and effectiveness. This, our Congress, by its broad and widely inclusive character, will achieve with the cooperation of allied groups and individuals.

We are confident you will bring this vital Congress to your organization, elect delegates and return the enclosed credential blank as soon as possible.

We are ready to send a speaker to your organization. Please use enclosed postcard for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Guy Emery Shieler
Rev. GUY EMERY SHIELER,
Editor, *The Churchman*.

UOPWA No 16.

Enc.

(Handwritten) 52-36

EXHIBIT No. 671

APRIL 11, 1939.

Memorandum to: AB.

From: FVF.

Would you kindly inquire of the Department of State what is the safest way of sending material (both letters and printed materials such as the *Surrey*) to State Department officials stationed in China? We have noted in letters from such persons that they have taken great care to indicate mailing by United States gunboats, etc., and they have also asked us to write by registered mail. Is the best thing to address all communications to the Department of State, for them to forward through their regular channels?

When you hear from the Department, will you let me know?

f/g

NEW YORK, N. Y., April 12, 1939.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We are most anxious to learn of the safest way to send materials (both letters and printed matter) to State Department officials stationed in China, and we are wondering if it is best to address all communications to the Department of State, Washington, D. C., to be forwarded through the official mail pouch.

I shall greatly appreciate it if you would inform me whether the above-mentioned is the best procedure, or if you have another other suggestion to offer.

Sincerely yours,

ANNETTE BLUMENTHAL, *Subscription Manager*.

EXHIBIT No. 672

NOVEMBER 10, 1936.

General VICTOR YAKHONTOFF,
522 Riverside Drive, New York, New York

DEAR GENERAL YAKHONTOFF: My reply from the Social Science Research Council with regard to your proposed volume on Outer Mongolia is extremely negative. Its Executive Director, Robert T. Crane, writes me that "there is no way in which this Council can provide funds for the proposal of General Yakhontoff. * * * The Council has come to limit itself to advice directly to sources of funds when they ask for advice on a proposal made directly to them by the proponent." This information is somewhat contrary to the impression which Holland and I had.

I am somewhat at a loss to know what further move I can make on your behalf. The largest source of funds, of course, is the Rockefeller Foundation, but because of the grants which they have already made to us we cannot approach them on an individual project. What I could do, and would be more than glad to do, however, is to recommend your project after you had initiated the idea with them. That is, if you took the matter up directly with the Foundation, then suggested that they refer to us, I would be glad to give them a favorable impression. You, however, may have some other idea as to how we may be more directly helpful, and if you do I hope you will not hesitate to communicate with me.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

Staff: Robert T. Crane, Executive Director; Donald Young; John E. Pomfret; Carolyn E. Allen, Controller

230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Cable Address: SOCSCIENCE, New York

Members—American Anthropological Association: Alfred M. Tozzer, Harvard University; Robert Redfield, University of Chicago; Clark Wissler, American Museum of Natural History. American Economic Association: Alvin H. Hansen, University of Minnesota; Sumner H. Slichter, Harvard University; Frank H. Knight, University of Chicago. American Historical Association: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; Guy S. Ford, University of Minnesota; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania. American Political Science Association: William Anderson, University of Minnesota; Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago; Lindsay Rogers, Columbia University. American Psychological Association: Gardner Murphy, Columbia University; A. T. Poffenberger, Columbia University; Gordon W. Allport, Harvard University. American Sociological Society: Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania; Shelby M. Harrison, Russell Sage Foundation; William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago. American Statistical Association: Seymour L. Andrew, American Telephone & Telegraph Company; Edwin B. Wilson, Harvard University; William A. Berridge, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Members at Large: Carl L. Alsberg, Stanford University; Isiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins University; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; Charles H. Judd, University of Chicago; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia University.

NOVEMBER 3, 1936.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
Secretary, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52 Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. FIELD: Without circumlocution, I might as well say at once that there is no way in which this Council can provide funds for the proposal of General Yakhontoff. The situation is simply that the Council has no funds at its disposal for work of this kind, nor would it seem to me desirable for the Council to examine the merits of this particular proposal with a view to seeking funds, since experience has shown us that this is an ineffective procedure in raising funds. The Council has come to limit itself to advice on a proposal made directly to them by the proponent.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. CRANE.

RTC/set

NOVEMBER 2, 1936.

DR. ROBERT T. CRANE,

*Social Science Research Council,**230 Park Avenue, New York, New York.*

DEAR DR. CRANE: General Victor Yakhontoff has presented to us a research project in which we are interested but toward which, unfortunately, it is impossible for us to put up any funds, and I have wondered if his scheme would fall into the interests of the Social Science Research Council. Briefly, his proposal is this: that he prepare a book on the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, containing a historical account, general description of the country and its people, and full information on current economic, social, and political developments. General Yakhontoff has secured the promise of documentary assistance in Moscow, and knowing something of the material that exists in Russian and the cooperation with Russian authorities which Yakhontoff has secured on previous volumes, I interpret this as a very important and favorable factor. He believes that he should spend around three months in Moscow and then proceed to Outer Mongolia for a period of several more months, the whole project to take roughly a year. His publishers, Coward McCann, have agreed to take the book and have also, I believe, agreed to advance at least a portion of the funds required.

General Yakhontoff is the author of three volumes on the Far East: *THE CHINESE SOVIETS, RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FAR EAST*, and *EYES ON JAPAN*. All three contained useful summaries of existing material and a certain amount of original research. The latter is particularly true of the volume on Chinese Communism, and it will have to be more true of the one on Outer Mongolia because of the absence of secondary source material.

General Yakhontoff served under the Czarist regime as a high military official and had considerable experience in the Russian Far East and as military attaché to the Russian embassy in Tokyo. He was one of the first emigres to make his peace with the Soviet authorities and as far back as 1929 or 1930 was taken into their confidence and given free access to the Moscow archives pertinent to the questions he was then investigating.

I have no idea whether this proposition will interest you. We should like to see the book written, but the financing of it does not quite fall within our terms of reference. It is for this reason that I am taking the liberty of asking whether you would be interested in going into it further.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 673

NOVEMBER 6, 1939.

FVF from ECC:

Farrar and Rinehart would like your suggestions as to a kind of list to circulate concerning "Humane Endeavour" by Haldore Hanson.

Would Amerasia like a review copy? Can one of your staff easily supply me with a good list of magazines which should receive review copies?

EXHIBIT No. 674

HOTEL RICHMOND,

Geneva, Switzerland, 7th September, 1937.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,

*129 East 52nd Street, New York City, N. Y.,**United States of America.*

DEAR FRED: There were two reasons for my cabling you to send copies of *Amerasia* from the beginning in separate mailings to Moscow. The first was because Motylev had only received the first issue, the second was because he understood you had sent him eight copies of the July issue, but the package had never reached him. He was a little disturbed that you had published his article written for *Pravda* without consulting him. He realized that any journal had a perfect right to use an article appearing in a newspaper, but I think he felt that the close relationship which he thinks exists between *Amerasia* and the IPR would call for consultation in advance. He had not seen the July *Amerasia* and had the feeling that the article which he had written for the specialized constituency

of *Pravda* was not suitable for the general *Amerasia* audience. I told him that I had read the article in the home of a friend and that it seemed to me admirably suited to *Amerasia's* audience.

To make doubly sure he gets a copy I am now sending him one of my own copies which has just arrived from China.

While I am on the subject of *Amerasia*, may I congratulate you on the very penetrating statement which you made in the July issue on page 194 under the heading "Politics in Tokyo."

Etienne Demery, one of the closest French students of Far Eastern affairs told me that he had never heard of the existence of *Amerasia*, and I suggest that your circulation department send him one or two sample copies and a subscription blank.

I have read with care and profit every issue of *Amerasia*. I see no reason whatever for it to continue its existence separate from the American Council. I think the arguments in favor of its becoming an American Council publication are overwhelming.

Sincerely yours,

[t] EDWARD C. CARTER.

LONDON, August 25, 1937.

NLT
INPAREL,

New York:

Send Motylev all Amerasias from beginning separate mailings. Stop. Cable your views my requesting all councils immediate report activities enabling their publics understand nature Far Eastern crisis. Also their suggestions program Pacific Council International Secretariat in present situation.

CARTER.

EXHIBIT No. 675

MARCH 4TH, 1936.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,

Rainier Club, Seattle.

DEAR FRED: This is to acknowledge the telegram reading as follows:

"Bridges has taken first papers out but cannot become full citizen for another year Stop Rowell has accepted."

Another letter is going forth to you today which explains my inquiry regarding Bridges.

It is most satisfactory that you have succeeded in getting Chester Rowell to take charge of publicity at Yosemite. Doubtless you will be writing to tell me of your arrival on March 10th and the details of the arrangements you have made.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

EXHIBIT No. 676

[Telegram]

1936 MAR 2 AM 3 14

FV5 18NM SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 1

EDWARD C. CARTER.

129 East 52 St., N. Y. C.:

Bridges has taken first papers out but cannot become full citizen for another year Stop Rowell has accepted.

FRED.

EXHIBIT No. 677

Memorandum

NOVEMBER 21, 1939.

To: F. V. Field, E. C. Carter, E. J. Tarr, P. C. Jessup.

From: Liu Yu-Wan.

In re: Chinese Denial of Recent Domei News Agency Reports.

In view of the fact that the Domei News Agency has been repeatedly spreading the rumors regarding the estrangement of the relations between the Kuomintang

and the Chinese Communist Party, you may be interested in learning that Dr. Hu Shih received a telegram from Chungking yesterday (dated November 19th) concerning a statement published by Sin Hua Jih Po (the organ of the Chinese Communist Party) on November 2nd, the gist of which follows:

"(1) Domei News Agency reported that the Chinese Communist Party has requested the Central Government that China's Northwest be sovietized. This is groundless. The Chinese Communist Party will cooperate to the bitter end with the Kuomintang in upholding the National United Front and in endeavoring to achieve victory for National Resistance and realize the Three People's Principles.

"(2) Domei News Agency also alleged that the Eighth Route Army has been withdrawing from Shansi to Shensi. This is ridiculous. The Eighth Route Army has not only not withdrawn a single soldier to Northern Shensi but also has recently, in cooperation with other national units, taken a toll of more than 10,000 enemy troops in the Southwest of Shansi.

"(3) Domei reported that General Chu Teh had flown to Moscow. This is also false, in view of the fact that General Chu has never left the Front in North China since the War."

The declaration also added that the Japanese Army in consequence of its failure both militarily and politically in China has chosen to make an endeavor to estrange the relations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Nationalist Party with the view towards jeopardizing China's good relations with the foreign powers.

(*See, for example, New York Times, Oct. 27, 1939.)

EXHIBIT No. 678

Mr. Holland—for your information

CHATHAM HOUSE,

St. James's Square, London, S. W. 1., 4th January, 1935.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,

129 East 52nd Street, New York.

DEAR FIELD: You will, I hope, like the review which "P. J." has given of the "Economic Handbook" in the current "International Affairs," which is out today.

You doubtless know that "P. J." is a highly confidential nom-de-plume for F. Ashton-Gwatkin, C. M. G., who is a Foreign Office official and head of the Japanese section. He is a member of the IPR committee and has a high standing as an authority on the Far East.

You know, of course, that none of us are supposed to know this nom-de-plume, and no reference should be made in any of our letters or publications which would give anyone the clue as to who "P. J." is.

While I am on this subject, would you please tell Catherine Porter that I have just been talking with Miss Cleeve about Miss Porter's enquiry as to who John Keith is. This is the nom-de-plume for E. H. Carr, of the Russian section of the Foreign Office. Catherine wanted to know how to describe him in the Who's Who of "Pacific Affairs." Tell her that of course no reference should be made to him by his correct name, neither should any reference be made to his connection with the Foreign Office. She can describe him, however, as "An English authority on Soviet Russia."

Sincerely yours,

[t] EDWARD C. CARTER.

EXHIBIT No. 679

MEMORANDUM ON PRELIMINARY MEETING OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

OCTOBER 27, 1944.

To: Philip C. Jessup.
William C. Johnstone.
Frederick V. Field.
Rose Yardumian.

From: Raymond Dennett.

It seems unlikely that, with the time at our disposal, we shall be able to get to any really definitive statements of fundamental agreement among the American delegation. We ought, however, to be able to do two things:

1. Agree as to what line American public opinion would take as the result of a given line of action by another power in the Far East. (What would be the reaction of the American public on internal dissension within China, on refusal of the British to relinquish some portion of their control of India, too.)

2. Identify major differences of opinion on various points within the American delegation which can be amplified by getting those who differ most vehemently to state their position in brief notes which are to be circulated to the entire delegation before January.

We have brought down three previously prepared statements which can be circulated at the appropriate time:

1. A statement on a possible position on the internal problems of China.

2. A statement on American attitudes on colonial problems.

3. A brief statement on what might be a minimum program for the political treatment of Japan.

The first two statements are couched in terms of what the American public is likely to feel if certain things do or do not happen, the last is of a more technical character, in which technical knowledge of the situation in Japan is assumed.

To start the meeting off in a lively fashion, I would suggest something along the following line:

1. A general statement by PCJ of the nature of IPR conferences, and the purpose of this meeting. Included in this would be a statement that we are not seeking to establish a "line" to be taken by the American delegation, but to do two things:

(a) To acquaint members of the delegation with each other's points of view so that when they speak in roundtable they can truthfully say that their opinion agrees with, or is in disagreement with other American opinion.

(b) To discover whether we can agree on a minimum American position which we will maintain if pushed into any corners by other delegations.

2. A brief statement by Fred Field drawn from past conferences illustrating other examples of the kind of problems faced at these affairs than those mentioned by PCJ.

3. Supporting comment by WCJ on the basis of his attendance at Atlantic City, with the suggestion that we may find it desirable at Hot Springs to meet as a body from time to time to compare notes and to see whether we individually are accurately reflecting the opinion of the group in some of the problems presented.

4. To illustrate what we mean, to turn immediately to the question of the internal situation in China, upon which they have been given a suggested position. PCJ, FVF, or Owen Lattimore might be asked to give a brief statement of the internal situation, pointing out the line taken by the Chinese at Atlantic City, and saying that we have to be prepared to deal with this. In connection with the prepared comment, it is worth pointing out:

(a) It does *not* deal with the facts of the situation at all as each delegate can obviously talk to that point in accordance with his own knowledge of the facts.

(b) It does deal with what American public opinion is likely to be if the Chinese take certain kinds of action.

Is the delegation agreed that American public opinion would react as stated if the Chinese took any of the actions mentioned? If we agree, then we can always fall back upon this line as a more or less minimum position.

5. Turn to the prepared agenda as circulated and to start off talking about treatment of Japan using the prepared statement to stir up opening comment.

6. The afternoon session can be started in the same way with the prepared statement on dependencies.

In general the limited objectives of the meeting as stated above call for brief discussion of a number of points to a place where definite differences of viewpoints emerge, and exhaustive discussion of only those points on which there appears to be a good chance of getting a pretty general agreement. I would suggest, therefore, that the Chairman periodically try to summarize what the general opinion on a given point is or what the conflicting attitudes are. If he gets away with his summarization, we shall have in the recorders' minutes a statement of general agreement; if he accurately states the differences, he can

then try to persuade individuals to make brief notes and send them to me. I would suggest that if WCJ, FVF, or RD pitch in to help the Chairman if, at any point, they think they have identified general agreement or areas of differences. If the Chairman is met with a blank silence upon the introduction of a new topic (as may be likely as we approach the cocktail hour), Mrs. Stewart and Miss Farley might be called upon to lead off in a provocative manner:

On some points it might be useful to try the technique used successfully at the Conference Committee meeting last month and ask one or two people to draft brief statements of their positions during lunch or dinner for presentation at the following session:

It may be desirable to get in a brief statement at some point on

(a) Transportation arrangements.

(b) The fact that Virginia is dry and the obvious conclusions to draw.

EXHIBIT No. 680

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Honolulu, Hawaii

11 Heatheroft, Hampstead Way, London, N. W. 11

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR,

129 East 32nd Street, New York City, 12 January, 1937

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,

American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East 52nd Street, New York City, U. S. A.

DEAR FRED: Although I have been so long in commenting on the material you have sent me about *Amerasia* I have felt shielded by the fact that I, myself, had had no reply to my long letter to you of November second. I was getting ready this morning to be the first to write when I received your letter of December thirty-first, which puts you definitely ahead of me.

First your general memorandum on the new magazine. I think this is extremely good, and have no modifications to suggest, and only one question to ask—are you going to ask for material from non-Americans who are not resident in America such as Freda Utley and George Taylor? There is also Dr. Herbert Rosinski whose address is: Christian Student Movement House, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1. Rosinski's position in Germany has become untenable because of one Jewish grandfather. He has no leftist affiliations or, so far as I know, sympathies. He has for a long time been in Germany concerned with questions of policies regarding Japan and the Far East. Owing to this he has an exceptional insight into the not always very closely fitting relationship between the propaganda and the *Realpolitik* aspects of such questions.

There is no particular comment to be made on the subject of Colegrove's letter to you about the magazine, except that I have a dubious feeling about the name *Amerasia* which is like his only more durable. I note in your letter received today that you are planning to print the name superimposed on a map of the North Pacific. If my memory of the map of this part of the world is correct, the result would be to have "Amer" printed on the map of Asia and "Asia" printed on the map of America, although of course you could get "Asia" back into Asia and "Amer" back into America by printing the word "Amerasia" up side down. This in itself might be acceptable as a comment on the tempter of our times but perhaps slightly adolescent. I admit however that I have no better title to suggest.

One particular question: Is the magazine an organ of the American Council?

Now for the suggestion of turning part of my letter into an article. This has got me all flustered and flattered. From your long silence, I had begun to develop a sinking feeling that I had committed just another blundering amateur analysis worth only the silent horror of you and your friends. Naturally, on the rebound, I am tickled to death at your willingness to print my opinions, even though this too may indicate that you feel my amateurism has merely a momentary usefulness.

I am enclosing a reworking of the material which I hope you will find satisfactory.

With reference to your mention of the fact that you are negotiating for an article from Reischauer, I am enclosing herewith an article which he sent me for PACIFIC AFFAIRS. You may wish to take this over from me. It is too late for inclusion in the March number of PACIFIC AFFAIRS and may be out-dated by June. It has also a number of touches which might make it unsuitable for PACIFIC AFFAIRS without damaging it in the least for the kind of magazine you are planning.

Don't think from anything I have said above that I am snorting and prancing in a nasty way about what I think about what you think about what I think and so on. As you know, I really am only groping my way toward an understanding of what I think about what I think. I hope you won't mind if I continue to send you an occasional memorandum. If you will criticize any such material in the closest possible way, it would do me the invaluable service of giving me a firm point on which to steer—even if I don't eventually steer in that direction.

With all the best,

Yours,

[s] OL

[t] OWEN LATTIMORE.

P. S. (inked in)—You said that in my original draft, which was hastily dictated and unrevised, some phrases were open to question. *Please* use your discretion in editing the amplified version. Cut or add. The article will not make me a roaring, popular favorite, and therefore all the more it ought to be invulnerably worded.

EXHIBIT No. 681

139 EAST 52ND STREET,
NEW YORK, N. Y., March 9, 1943.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,

Council for Pan-American Democracy,

112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR FRIEND: I hope you enjoyed Major Eliot's scathing attack on Sokolsky in today's Tribune as much as I did. Sokolsky certainly had it coming to him.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

EXHIBIT No. 682

Hawaii Group—Executive Committee: Riley H. Allen, Chairman; A. L. Dean, Vice Chairman; Frank C. Atherton, Treasurer; Charles F. Loomis, Secretary; Robbins B. Anderson; Paul S. Bachman; Peter H. Buck; David L. Crawford; W. F. Dillingham; Gerald W. Fisher; Peyton Harrison; Shao-chang Lee; Frank E. Midkiff; Iga Mori; Philip S. Platt; Oscar F. Shepard; Yasutaro Soga; Hugh C. Tennent; Heaton L. Wrenn

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

501 Dillingham Building

HONOLULU, HAWAII

MAY 2, 1940.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,

129 East 52nd Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR FRED: This will introduce Lt. Colonel George E. Arneman, who for the past three years has been one of the most useful and active members of the Hawaii group, IPR.

He is the one who engineered the two Schofield conferences for us and has been a member of several of our study groups. He was the G-2 intelligence officer at Schofield Barracks and has had two different tours as military attaché in Baltic countries.

I want him to see the library and general workings of the Top Floor and hope it will be possible for him to participate in one of your regional conferences. His immediate assignment is to the state of Maine.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Chas.

[t] CHARLES F. LOOMIS, *Secretary*.

EXHIBIT No. 683

MARCH 20, 1939.

FVF from ECC:

Enclosed is a copy of an air mail letter just received from Captain Carlson which is self-explanatory.

From one point of view I wish that Captain Carlson could have kept his position in the Navy Department.

Have you any suggestions as to ways in which the public here and in the Far East can profit by his new freedom?

EXHIBIT No. 684

Hawaii Group—Executive Committee: Peter H. Buck, Chairman; Frank E. Midkiff, Vice Chairman; Frank C. Atherton, Treasurer; Charles F. Loomis, Secretary; Riley H. Allen; Robbins B. Anderson; Paul S. Bachman; Royal N. Chapman; David L. Crawford; A. L. Dean; W. F. Dillingham; Shao-Chang Lee; Iga Mori; Philip S. Platt; Oscar F. Shepard; Yasutaro Soga; Hugh C. Tennent; Heaton L. Wrenn

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

316 Dillingham Bldg., Honolulu, T. H.

JULY 2, 1937.

MR. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

DEAR FRED: On receipt of your letter regarding bigger and better textbooks for the social science teachers of America I immediately wired you:

"Expect no difficulty financing 1,500 dollars for 750 books. Will confirm clipper Monday. Stop. Need books early fall."

As I was able to get the Atherton Estate to have a meeting during the day and guarantee the \$1,500 (that was the only thing I could do as the Superintendent of Schools is in the Orient and Barnes, the principal of Kamehameha school, is on the mainland and I could not get advance orders from them), I sent you another wire so that you and Helen could get busy immediately getting the manuscripts to press!

"Hereby confirm order—committee hopes price includes maps, pictures (we think this is essential). Progressive and coast schools should easily absorb balance—send copy for promotion circulars. (I thought that I might decide to print some circulars for distribution to the delegates at the World Education Conference and knew that your office has more advertising brains than ours so thought you would be willing to prepare the copy for a circular.) Send clipper regarding Los Angeles set-up. (Before acknowledging Sproul's letter I wanted your reactions to my queries and suggestions regarding our work in Los Angeles this fall—I especially refer to my clipper letters of June 2, June 19, and June 22, which I trust you received.)"

I must apologize for bombarding you with radiograms regarding Carter's query about my going to Manila. The reason I seemed impatient was because I had to decide that week whether to keep my booking to the mainland in August as there are long waiting lists on all the steamers this summer. I have not received an answer from my cable to Carter of June 24 and as I received your radiogram of June 29, "URGE YOU GO LOS ANGELES AS COAST WORK MUST DEVELOP RAPIDLY", I decided to keep to my original schedule as given in my letter of June 2. I hope that you can give a full week to Los Angeles and can arrive there as near September 4 as possible.

I have written Mrs. Ward privately and unofficially, asking her if she could spend September and October in Los Angeles assisting me with the financial campaign in case I have a secretary and she can be spared from the San Francisco office. She replied that she would be very happy to do this if the matter can be arranged. Unless there is some Los Angeles person in mind as a permanent secretary, I think that using Mrs. Ward would be the best plan. If you approve, kindly make the necessary arrangements with the San Francisco office or authorize me to.

This week we hung leis around the Leebrick and Blakeslee families and they are guests at an I. P. R. dinner being held tonight at the Pacific Club. Blakeslee is going to speak on "American Foreign Policy in the Light of Coming Philippine Independence." C. H. Lowe, the flood relief man who was at Yosemite, also will be one of the guests.

The other day we had the pleasure of entertaining Takaki's friends, Doctor and Mrs. Kawai. He is assistant librarian at Toyko Imperial University. Mary Pickford and Jeannette MacDonald arrived yesterday on their honeymoons but I don't think I will interrupt their play to ask for subscriptions for Los Angeles. There also is a young Vanderbilt here who seems to be having a good time. Is he one of your relatives, and, if so, should we do anything for him?

The Navy Intelligence Department tells me that H. C. Fornwall, one of DuPont's man in Japan who arrived yesterday, has the low-down on the military situation in Japan, so I have just asked him to have lunch with five or six of the keymen in our recent Far Eastern study group, giving them a chance to pump him.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

[s] Chas.

[t] CHARLES F. LOOMIS.

CFL:db

Via airmail.

Cc via clipper.

(Handwritten:)

P. S.—Be sure and give me your ideas regarding Los Angeles membership and goals—and office program set up [s] L.

EXHIBIT No. 685

6 MERCIER CIRCLE,

Cambridge, Massachusetts, December 4, 1934.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,

Secretary, American Council Institute of Pacific Relations.

129 East Fifty-second Street, New York, New York.

DEAR FRED: I was very glad indeed to learn that when Joe Barnes retired you had consented to take his place. Because Jo and I would like to cooperate in every way we can it is particularly hard to decline your first request. Unfortunately, the job I have undertaken here is proving to be a much longer assignment than I had bargained for and the state of our finances simply will not permit us the luxury of responding. I can only promise that once this job is succeeded by one which is somewhat more remunerative we will be quick to return to the roll of your faithful contributors.

Sincerely yours,

EC:MMA

[s] EVERETT CASE.

EXHIBIT No. 686

OCTOBER 7, 1937.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

San Francisco.

DEAR FRED: Thanks for your wire. I am somewhat apprehensive as to the story which reached the newspapers concerning my Washington speech. The situation was something like this: A week or ten days ago I talked to a meeting of Quakers in Philadelphia. There were present at the meeting several representatives of the National Council for the Prevention of War, and in response to their request I gave them a copy of the manuscript. This Wednesday, that is,

yesterday, I attended the annual conference of the National Council in Washington and opened the discussion on the topic, "What Should Be the Objectives of American Policy?" After the meeting one of their people confessed that she had issued a release to the papers based not upon my remarks yesterday, but upon the manuscript of the Philadelphia speech. I am still ready to stand by the latter, but I am somewhat suspicious of the selection and arrangement of statements which were made by the representative of a group which takes a rather limited isolationist point of view.

As a matter of fact, at the meeting yesterday I said very little about neutrality except to emphasize more strongly than I had in Philadelphia its obvious limitations as a policy in this situation. Knowing the attitude of Libby and of this group, I made the burden of my remarks an insistence on the fact that we are heavily and irrevocably involved in the Far East and that we must necessarily work out a long-run constructive policy based on the principle of cooperative action. Probably it did not go over very well, but I am sorry that if there was to be a newspaper story it was not based on this line of thought rather than on the question of applying the Neutrality Act. I still think that there is a valuable safeguard in this neutrality position which makes it an instrument of policy not to be lightly tossed overboard; but it increasingly apparent that it does not deal with the major problems in this particular case.

In regard to the SURVEY article, too, it now appears in the use which has been made of it that the qualifications, conditions, and restrictions upon which the argument is based, although explicitly stated, are not given a prominent enough position. I suppose that one always faces the difficulty that other people will abstract the particular parts of an argument that support their case and so distort the conclusions of the author.

While in Washington I tried without much success to find out the meaning of the President's speech. There wasn't much more information available than the speculations which the newspapers had carried. One political cynic suggested an angle which is perhaps not to be overlooked. In his view the speech was an adroit political move in the President's best manner and one taken quite without regard to the international situation. FDR was on his way back to Washington faced with the most difficult personal problem of his career—the Black case. He was definitely on the spot, with absolutely no one on whom he could shift the responsibility this time. According to this view he took his dramatic way of blotting out the Black issue at just the time when it was most embarrassing. For three days now and for some time to come the newspapers are filled with the implications of the speech and its response here and abroad. In this way the President has resorted to the old trick of diverting attention to foreign affairs in the face of a difficult domestic situation.

I cannot believe that this is the whole story, although it may account for the timing of the speech and for its emphasis. It is difficult to believe that as adroit a politician as FDR would make a move so effective in domestic politics unconsciously. On the other hand, we have known for a long time that he has been seeking an opportunity to make a dramatic move in world politics. No occasion could have been more favorable from an emotional point of view, whatever possibility there may be that the proposal for some effective action can actually be implemented. Someone who had read a good many newspaper comments on the speech said that he was impressed by the fact that those parts of the speech which received the strongest approval were the sentences declaring the President's determination to keep the country out of war.

At the same time there cannot be much doubt that the neutrality position which was already crumbling as a result of moral indignation over Japan's actions has received a tremendous blow. Probably this speech definitely removes the possibility that the Neutrality Act can be strengthened in the next session of Congress, and events before that time may even lead to its repeal. They would have to go a good deal further, though, before there is much likelihood that Britain and the United States could get together on sanctions, and the recent despatches from London indicate that the British Government is flatly opposed to any such proposal. The administration, I should think, would have to go to Congress to get authority for any effective program, even applying impartial neutrality restrictions effective enough to support sanctions undertaken by another country. Senator Pittman argues that the President can do anything in the way of economic intervention under the recent Supreme Court decision; but it sounds a little fantastic to say that the general discretionary power of the President in matters of foreign policy give him a blank check with reference to trade and finance in time of peace as well as war. It is conceivable that the

President could lead opinion along to the point where he could make a successful appeal to Congress, and it is just this possibility which has made the isolationist senators so insistent on tying his hands so far as possible. The story goes that they were infuriated and alarmed a year and a half ago when the President, in discussing the matter of discretionary neutrality powers with a small group, leaned across the table, banged his fist, and said with great emphasis, "Gentlemen, I can get this country in a war in 10 days."

While in Washington I picked up a few bits of gossip, which may interest you. It was indirectly reported to me that the Military Intelligence Division believes Japan to have 2,000,000 men under arms—a half million in China, a half million in Manchuria, Korea, and at ports of embarkation in Japan; and the remainder in preparation. The Germany military advisers are people in good standing at home, who simply have orders not to be captured or found dead on a battlefield. It is reported that there are two American majors, retired or reserve, directing China's air operations, and, less reliably, that two hundred American pilots have landed in Hongkong. Referring again to the Germans, a Chinese told me here that Germans were under orders from home to remain as long as China did not receive direct military aid from the Soviet Union.

I greatly appreciated your extensive and generous comments on the pamphlet manuscript. I was myself dissatisfied with the manuscript in a number of the points which you raised, and I think the present revision is some improvement. It still has to be done over again and as yet I haven't sat down to that business with your letter in front of me. Anne Johnstone thinks there will be considerable demand for something of this sort and quoted Fred Libby as saying that a 10¢ pamphlet has ten times the sale of a 25¢ one. With the situation moving as it is, it is clear that the discussion should be broadened with the neutrality section greatly curtailed. I am glad now we did not rush through a pamphlet focusing on neutrality two weeks ago.

I am very reluctant to agree with you that we must submit this kind of thing to Hornbeck, and Lasker feels the same way. If we sent it to a high government official we would be more or less forced to adopt whatever suggestions he cares to make. My own feeling is that while in this case it might make no great difference, it is a bad precedent and just the kind of thing which we criticise in other countries. I will follow out your request unless I hear from you to the contrary.

We have had a number of requests for the American Stake pamphlet which we are unable to fulfill. Anne Johnstone thinks that a new edition, prepared in the near future and revised in such a way as to summarize not only the economic stake but also existing political commitments and diplomatic machinery, etc., would be useful. I wish we had someone around who could do a really first-class graphic portrayal of this subject.

Sincerely yours,

[t] WM. W. LOCKWOOD, Jr.

EXHIBIT No. 687

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

HONOLULU, HAWAII

129 East 52nd Street,
New York, N. Y., July 16, 1934.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
New Hartford, Connecticut.

DEAR FRED: You doubtless received from Rajchman a copy of his Report as Technical Delegate of the League in China. That Report, you will remember, was based on ten Annexes published by the National Economic Council in China. If you do not have a copy of these Annexes, and desire to do so, I can send you a volume containing all ten.

Sincerely,

[s] Edward C. Carter

[t] EDWARD C. CARTER.

(Pencilled note:) No; I have never seen the report—and even less I have not even heard about it. I should greatly appreciate a copy.

[s] FRED.

EXHIBIT No. 688

EXCERPTS FROM LETTER TO FREDERICK V. FIELD FROM NEWTON D. BAKER, DATED
AUGUST 6, 1934 (CLEVELAND, OHIO)

I have just had a two-day visit from Joe Barnes. It was really a very delightful experience for me and I was flattered out of all description by the candor and completeness with which Joe permitted me to see the inside of his mind, and, as I gathered, to some extent, the inside of your mind. I tried to tell him that although I am an old man, I am still in full possession of all the ideals of my youth, which do not differ from those which you and he cherish, and that the only difference between him and me lies in the fact that I have ceased to expect the same rate of progress which he thinks not only possible but necessary.

All of this is important so far as this note is concerned only because I want to urge you to consider the secretaryship of the American Council. Mr. Carter has telegraphed me that Mr. Alsberg has definitely decided that he will not undertake it. I was perfectly content to have him invited, but my first suggestion when Mr. Carter talked with me about it was that you should do the job. I hope you will consider it favorably, and, as you see, I have not learned from Joe all the things which you might think it important for me to know and I still am very enthusiastic in urging the invitation on your attention.

EXHIBIT No. 689

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Amsterdam—Honolulu—London—Manila—Moscow—Paris—Shanghai—Sydney—Tokyo—
Toronto—Wellington

ENROUTE,
Seattle-Victoria, April 29, 1939.

DEAR FRED: Yours of April 25 has only just arrived. It deserves a better answer than is possible at this last minute.

Apparently you want my reaction to a specific situation rather than the general assurance that for years I have advocated the development of the American Labor Movement. I wish you had raised these questions when I was in New York for then I could have understood the nature of the difficulties you and your colleagues are facing.

I was quite surprised for example to learn from Lockwood the evening I left New York that he anticipated difficulty with the Board.

Now your letter comes with the implication of wide difference of opinion within the staff.

To express an opinion on objections from the Board or the staff I ought to know the nature of these objections.

Lockwood's remark was the first hint I had had that you had not been carrying a majority of your colleagues on the Executive Committee with you concurrently with the efforts of your immediate colleagues on the staff to get a majority of the staff to join the Union. In a cooperative enterprise like the I. P. R. where the Executive Committee and the Board are not "profit makers" but volunteer cooperators, I should have thought this indispensable.

What are the objections of staff members? If I learned, for example, that so conscientious a member as Shiman did not want to join the Union I would want to know his reasons before casting a vote in the Executive Committee, which he might regard as coercion. I do not mean that I would be unwilling to go against "x" or "y" on the American Council staff. I would first want to know what the staff objections are.

I should hope that if unionization in the American Council is effected the parallel of the F. P. A. would not be featured because (a) Buell opposed the union whereas you favor it (b) the F. P. A. had a bad labor policy whereas you have had a good one. Are there not better parallels, i. e., where unionization represents the mature, intelligent cooperation of socially minded adults not the "employer" "employee" squabble in the F. P. A.

If for any reason unionization is delayed I should think that as an interim measure the Executive Committee and the staff ought to work out without delay a formulation of the present safeguards and standards including the creation

of a joint committee which will relieve you of your present responsibility for fixing salaries, etc.

If you yourself finally decide to urge the Executive Committee to authorize you to sign a contract you may wish also to recommend that the Committee consider whether the financial position of the Council is not such that it can increase slightly its salaries to one or two lowest bracket staff members, if the *only* obstacle to their joining the union is the size of the dues.

An immediate general formulation is clearly indicated for otherwise if you were run over by a bus and succeeded by a less socially minded person there might be a worsening in the standards you have established.

If you think it will help please do not hesitate to share this letter with Jessup. If you do please tell him in his Pacific Council capacity that I understand there is no parallel proposal among the members of the International Secretariat to ask the P. C. for a contract. I assume this must invoke joint and concurrent examination of the question from the start by the P. C. and the members of the Secretariat as the situation in the P. C. and the A. C. appear to be somewhat different.

Sincerely but hastily yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

I have discussed the union with no one on your staff save Lockwood on Monday and Austern briefly about a month ago.

EXHIBIT No. 690

212 EAST 48TH ST.,
New York City, March 20, 1939.

Dr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52d St., New York City.

DEAR MR. FIELD: I am sure that you will be interested in meeting Lieut. Arthur Read who has just arrived in this country from China and has a very interesting story to tell.

Mr. Read, who is an Army Reserve Lieutenant, has been instructing Chinese soldiers at Kwangtung and in Hankow for more than a year and will be in the United States for the next few months on a lecture tour.

I have asked him to look you up when he returns from Washington the latter part of this week.

Letters of introduction from China express a glowing appreciation for the splendid work he has done for the Chinese forces.

Very sincerely yours,

[s] EARL H. LEAF.

EHL:vr

The attached report, compiled and written by the Shanghai branch of the British Army Intelligence Service, is STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

It is well worth a careful study, however, as providing a means of estimating the *actual* number of casualties when studying the *official* Japanese casualty reports.

EARL H. LEAF.

JAPANESE CASUALTIES

1. Although it is difficult to do more than a rough approximation, the following attempt has been made to assess the Japanese casualties incurred from the outbreak of the LUKOUCHIAO incident on July 7th, 1937, to about the middle of November 1938, a period of over 16 months of hostilities.

2. The official Japanese Army figures of killed in action are as under:

(a) Up to about mid-Nov. 1937—North China: Approx. 6,500; Central China: Approx. 10,000.

(b) Up to 7th July 1938—nearly 37,000 on all fronts. Between mid-November 1937 and July 1938, most of the heavy fighting had occurred in the North China Front, in SHANTUNG, especially TAIERCHWANG, in SHANSI, and North HONAN. It is suggested that this figure of 37,000 might be subdivided into 19,000 North China: 18,000 Central China.

(c) During HANKOW advance from about the middle of August to the middle of October: 6,153.

This would give, with an admitted South China casualty list of 77, a grand total of 43,000 killed. It would appear reasonable to add another 2,000 to represent "official" casualties in North China subsequent to 7th July 1938, and "official" casualties in Central China other than those incurred during the HANKOW advance as stated above.

It is suggested, therefore, that the official figures to date would be in the neighborhood of 45,000 killed, of which not less than 25,000 will have been incurred in Central China.

3. (a) These figures suffer from two defects. In the first place they are "official" lists, and in the second place they do not, it is understood, include those died of disease. They may be considered to be a serious understatement of the true state of affairs.

(b) As regards the accuracy of the "official" lists, it is a fact that the "official" casualties at the CHANGKUFENG Incident in July-August 1938, were given at 158 killed. Later lists of killed, by name, gave a total of 523 (see Summary No. 42). A greater proportion of casualties were probably suppressed on this occasion than is usually the case (the true casualties being over 200% more than the official ones), as there were particular reasons to emphasize how gallantly and successfully the Japanese had resisted the Russians.

It is also of interest to record that continuous reports have been received of the number of ashes evacuated through TANGKU and that these reports give a total, up to the end of October, of over 60,000. These ashes will certainly include died of disease and probably also civilians, but even allowing for a 50% exaggeration, the subsequent total of 40,000 is twice the "official" total of 20,000. Figures for SHANGHAI and TSINGTAO are not obtainable, but the impression gained from the reports of ashes arriving in Japan fortifies the belief that the dead are very considerably greater than is officially announced.

It is suggested that the numbers killed in action are about 60% above those officially admitted, and that they are probably over 70,000.

(c) Figures of "dead from disease" are more difficult to estimate, but the following information is of assistance:

(i) The Japanese admitted to 300 deaths from cholera near SHANGHAI in August and September, 1937, and to outbreaks of cholera up the Yangtze this summer, especially at KIUKIANG. Their admission of cholera deaths near SHANGHAI is probably an understatement.

(ii) The South Manchurian Railway, who have been operating certain railways in North China for some months, have announced the deaths of 28 Japanese employees from disease. The number of Japanese S. M. R. employees in North China is not known, it is suggested an average over the period under discussion may be about 2,000. These figures, taken by themselves, must not be pressed too far, as many of the 28 deaths might have occurred in one isolated outbreak of disease in one isolated area, and the total of 2,000 Japanese S. M. R. employees may be an understatement. On the other hand, it might be remembered that these civil employees will usually be working under conditions making them both less liable to serious disease, and, with better treatment more quickly available, more likely to recover, if attacked.

(iii) Other factors to be borne in mind are the reported 60,000 ashes from TANGKU, which will have included deaths from disease, the admitted prevalence of dysentery both in North and Central China, the bitter cold faced in the winter of 1937-38, which undoubtedly caused frostbite, pneumonia, and other serious winter ailments, and the almost tropical conditions of the summer fighting in the YANGTZE this summer.

(d) It is suggested that the deaths from disease in the Japanese Army in China may be taken as something under 10,000, and that the total number of deaths from all causes is some 80,000 men.

4. (a) The numbers of "seriously" wounded and sick must also, to a considerable extent, be a matter of conjecture, and it is difficult to draw an exact line between "serious" and "slight" cases. It is intended that "serious" cases should cover not only men permanently incapacitated for military service but also, generally speaking, all those whose absence from duty is about 3 months or more and who, therefore, have a serious effect on the fighting strength of the Army.

(b) It is understood that as a result of the experience of the Great War a proportion of 4 wounded to 1 killed may be expected in action. Of these 4

wounded 1 will be able to walk in a Walking Wounded Collecting Centre and the other 3 will have to be helped or carried by stretcher. The 1 walking wounded can probably be taken as a "slightly wounded," and a small percentage of the 3 nonwalking wounded may also be only "slightly" wounded, the nature of the wound preventing walking.

It is possible that in the present war in China, with most Japanese casualties being caused by comparative cleaner and less serious bullet wounds, that the proportion of "slightly" wounded is higher than it was in France, and it is suggested, therefore, that the number of "seriously" wounded will be about 140,000.

(c) The number of "seriously" sick will, of course, bear a higher proportion to died of disease than wounded to killed.

Cholera, dysentery, beri-beri, pneumonia, frostbite, all causing a high degree of "serious" wastage, have been prevalent at different times among the Japanese forces. The immediate "serious" wastage from venereal disease have probably not been high, though the ultimate loss is bound to be serious in view of its widespread existence in the Japanese army and the little or no preventive measures taken. Malaria has obviously caused a very high immediate wastage, but it is possible that its "serious" wastage (i. e., over 3 months absence from duty) is less than dysentery, which has probably been the chief scourge to the Japanese troops. There have also probably been a not-inconsiderable number of "heat" diseases from the summer campaigning in the YANGTZE Valley.

It is suggested that the number of "seriously" sick will be about 60,000.

(d) These two figures give a combined total of 200,000 "serious" casualties, wounded and sick.

Owing to the Japanese using, quite legitimately, hospital transports as well as hospital ships for the evacuation of wounded and sick, it has not been possible to obtain data of movements of hospital vessels from China, as the hospital transports are not recognizable as such. Two facts, however, have recently become known from the journey of certain foreign newspapermen up the YANGTZE in October, tending to confirm the above estimate.

The first fact is connected with a visit paid to the Japanese Army YANGTZPOO Clearing Hospital, SHANGHAI. This is not the only Japanese Army hospital in SHANGHAI, but it is believed to be now the principal one in existence. During the SHANGHAI fighting there were, of course, several others. Sick and wounded from SHANGHAI area and from HANGCHOW are evacuated to these SHANGHAI hospitals. Sick and wounded from upriver are evacuated to hospitals at NANKING and KIUKIANG, etc., and thence moved direct to Japan. It will thus be seen that this YANGTZPOO Hospital, though an important one, only deals with a proportion of the Army casualties in Central China. On the occasion in question when the foreign journalists were being conducted round, the O. C. Hospital admitted that since the opening of the hospital in September 1937, 60,000 patients had been dealt with, of whom 40,000 had been evacuated to Japan.

The second fact is connected with the visit of the foreign journalists to KIUKIANG a few days later. There, the KIUKIANG Army Hospital was full, with a total of between 2,000 and 3,000 patients. It was estimated that about 60% were "sick" and 40% "wounded." The chief sicknesses were dysentery, malaria, and beri-beri.

The final suggested figures of Japanese Army casualties in China are therefore 280,000 wounded or sick. These figures are considered reasonable, though it is possible that the proportions between one class of casualty and another may need alteration.

The Japanese Navy admitted to 1,000 killed on July 7th, 1938. On a comparable basis, with loss of Naval aircraft and with Naval landing parties operating up the YANGTZE, the Naval casualties may be assessed at 2,000 dead and 5,000 seriously wounded or sick. It is suggested that, to cover possible overassessment, the Naval casualties are considered as included in the Army losses suggested above.

In Summary No. 44, page 8, it was estimated that the "official" Japanese Army total of killed in China between July 7th, 1937, to about the middle of November 1938 would be "in the neighborhood of 45,000." The official figures published on December 26th, 1938, for the period 7th July, 1937, to 30th November, 1938, are given as 47,133 officers and men "killed in action or succumbed to wounds."

It is considered that this higher figure tends to confirm the totals suggested in the article in question of 80,000 Army and Navy killed, died of wounds, died of disease, and 200,000 seriously wounded or sick. There have also been various

small additional incidents confirming the belief that the "official" casualties have been greatly understated. Such incidents are:

(a) An account in the "OSAKA MAINICHI" of the wastage from disease among the reporters of that newspaper with the forward troops. It was stated that "more than 60" reporters had to be withdrawn "to the rear" on account of ill health. It is also of interest that Lt. General TOKUGAWA, C. O. C., Air Force in China, was evacuated to Japan in December 1938, suffering from typhoid.

(b) A photograph in the JAPAN ADVERTISER of 94 ex-members of the Metropolitan Police Board, TOKIO, killed or died of disease in China.

(c) The arrival of a very large number of ashes in Japan at the end of December. On one occasion 1,821 ashes were received at TOKIO and about a similar total at KOBE or OSAKA.

In this connection, reports from TIENTSIN state that during the two months November and December, 1938, 4,350 ashes were embarked at TANGKU, making the estimated grand total of ashes despatched from that port about 65,000.

(d) The large number of people met in Japan who had lost relatives in China.

EXHIBIT No. 691

Officers: Carl I. Alsberg, Chairman; Wallace M. Alexander, Vice Chairman; Miss Ada L. Comstock, Vice Chairman; Philip C. Jessup, Vice Chairman; Benjamin H. Kizer, Vice Chairman; Ray Lyman Wilbur, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Charles J. Rhoads, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

1795 California Street, San Francisco; Telephone TUxedo 3114—129 East 52nd Street,
New York City: Telephone: PLaza 3-4700

AUGUST 12, 1938.

MR. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

1795 California Street, San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR FRED: Situation on the Soviet-Japanese front seems well in hand and my bet is that hostilities will not again break out, unless the ominous European situation erupts. There were a bad few days, however, when I was holding my breath. It was very difficult to arrive at any clear-cut explanation, and I spent considerable energy collecting opinions.

In view of the armistice which would signify a Japanese desire to avoid real trouble to the north, the most logical explanation as I see it is something along the following lines. The incident was Japanese provoked, prompted by some request or at least understanding with Germany. The latter has been so insistent in expressions regarding its lack of desire for this incident and its unwillingness to give Japan more than "sympathy" that this alone would arouse suspicion. Also in the present jockeying re Czechoslovakia, it might well be to the interest of Germany to have some illustration given to France that the Soviets can only look with one eye toward Europe. Without some prompting from Germany, or at least, assurance that if the worst eventually should come from the incident, Germany would also engage the U. S. S. R.'s attention, it is inconceivable that Japan should have started something of so grave a magnitude or at least should have let it develop as it did. For home consumption, Japan might also well have been motivated by a desire to give some concrete illustration of why it is not progressing faster in China and why it has to adopt such extreme economic measures. It can now be pointed out that a great part of Japanese manpower and resources have to be kept earmarked for Manchukuo and therefore the country can in no way be considered as exercising its full strength in cleaning up the "China incident." Again, for Japan's attempts to prevent increased stiffening of attitude by England and the United States against Japan, the Soviet border trouble may also prove of value. It is a reminder that if Japan is allowed to get too weak, it may prove unable to cope with the Soviet "menace." It has always been my belief that the leading circles in these countries have always hoped that Japan and the Soviet Union may counteract each other. Japan may well try to point out that unless she is given assistance, a different complexion will evolve in the East—see Pepper's article in last Sunday's *Times*. It is possible that the trouble began by autonomous action on the part of the Kwantung army, but the composition of the Cabinet would indi-

cate that there is not much separation between the Army and the forces in control. I would say that the Cabinet either planned it from the beginning or immediately utilized a few pot shots.

Regarding Thompson's explanation, which bases Japanese action on knowledge of present Soviet weakness, I have of course no immediate or personal knowledge regarding the condition of the Red Army. However, I would refer to a recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post* by Demeree Bess on the undeclared war between Japan and the Soviet Union, in which particular reference is made to the fact that the Far Eastern army was untouched by the purge. Also Russell of the *Telegram* in a recent series of articles has drawn a pretty glowing picture of the Soviet forces, apparently from personal observation in his recent trip over the Trans-Sib. He mentions particularly the unstrained, confident bearing and manner of the officers and men whom he observed. I would also think that the events of the fighting and the armistice as well as the tone of Litvinov's conversations with Shigemitsu indicate Soviet strength rather than weakness. My own belief is that the Soviet Union has never felt itself as strong as it does at present.

I hope all this makes some sense. Regarding Europe, everyone seems to be keeping their fingers crossed, particularly during this month.

Yours faithfully,

[s] Kate

[t] KATHLEEN BARNES.

FREDERICK V. FIELD

It was voted unanimously to record the American Council's appreciation of the work of Frederick V. Field as follows:

It was with the deepest regret that the Board of Trustees learned that the Executive Committee had found it necessary to accept the resignation at its meeting of September 18 of Mr. Frederick V. Field from the Secretaryship of the American Council. As the minutes of that meeting showed, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Parker, had asked the Chairman of the American Council whether he felt that Mr. Field could not be persuaded to resume the Secretaryship. Dr. Jessup had replied that he thought Mr. Field's decision was final.

Mr. Field joined the staff of the American Council in 1929. During his 11 years of service he has demonstrated an unusually high quality of leadership. The program of the American Council has expanded notably under his direction, partly because of his own untiring efforts, and partly because of his imaginative leadership in developing the cooperation of the entire staff. Mr. Field was one of the Founders of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY. He was the author of "American Participation in the China Consortiums", published by the University of Chicago Press, and presented as a research study at the Hangchow-Shanghai Conference of the Institute of 1931. In 1932 and 1933 he acted as Editor-in-chief of the "Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area," which was published by Doubleday-Doran and Company in 1934 with a foreword by the late Mr. Newton D. Baker. In this monumental work his own research abilities, together with his rare capacity for stimulating research on the part of his colleagues, were strikingly exhibited. It was largely through his initiative that the series of regional conferences on American foreign policy were developed in various parts of the United States in 1938, 1939, and 1940.

While he was executive secretary the membership of the American Council more than doubled, but it is impossible to make a full record of his services to the American Council, because in innumerable unknown and anonymous ways he has contributed to the maintenance and expansion of the IPR program. His capacity to surround himself with young and able scholars has served as a compelling example in other National Councils. His services likewise to the International Secretariat and the Pacific Council have been a major contribution to the development of the Institute's international work.

Throughout his connection with the Institute he has been most scrupulous and exacting in maintaining the highest objective standards for his own IPR writing and that of his colleagues. He has combined personal modesty with the capacity to inspire high achievement on the part of others. He has been noted for his practical wisdom in counsel and amazing energy in action.

The Board of Trustees desire that the officers assure Mr. Field that his job on the American Council staff will be awaiting him when he completes his present work.

EXHIBIT No. 692

300 GILMAN HALL,
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, Md., October 11, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
1795 California Street,
San Francisco.

DEAR FRED: Enclosed I am sending a copy of a recent letter from Snow: also a copy of a recent letter I wrote to Harold Isaacs, who suddenly wrote to apprise me that his history of the Chinese revolution is about to be published by Secker and Warburg in London. He particularly requested me not to have it reviewed by any of the "next of Stalinists" in our New York office!

If you are interested I should like very much to send you occasional samples of correspondence like these. I hope it might help to keep us in touch both personally and perhaps for the occasional benefit of PACIFIC AFFAIRS and AMERASIA.

We got the first part of our settling down managed very handily, but have now entered the tag-end phase, which may take an indefinite time.

How is Edith? We both send our love.

Yours,

[t] OWEN LATTIMORE.

EXHIBIT No. 693

Chairman: Clifford T. McAvoy. Secretary-Treasurer: A. J. Isserman. Executive Committee: Mrs. Edmond Barach, Franz Boas, John Bright, Louis Colman, Joseph Curran, David Efron, Frederick V. Field, Michael Garramone, Hugo Gellert, Ben Golden, Marina Lopez, George Marshall, Herman P. Osborne, Samuel Putnam, Charles Recht, Arthur G. Silverman, Ferdinand Smith, Tredwell Smith, Max Yergan. Staff—Executive Secretary: Marion Bachrach; Frederick V. Field; Romolo Lachatanere; Joan Madison

COUNCIL FOR PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

112 East 19th Street

NEW YORK, N. Y.

GRamercy 3-2709

MARCH 4, 1943.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52nd Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. CARTER: I have been very much surprised to learn of the extraordinarily hostile attitude which Manchester Boddy of the Los Angeles Daily News has been taking toward the Soviet Union. The progressive newspapers on the west coast carry a blast against him about every week, a sample of which I enclose.

Their position seems to me to be well documented. Do you still know him, and have a good contact with him? If so, wouldn't it be worth trying to influence his point of view which, if it remains where it now is, will simply continue to poison the mass of his readers.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Fred
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

FVF: AP

["Peoples World," 2/26/43]

EDITOR BODDY, THIS IS FORGERY!

In his column of Wednesday, February 24, Manchester Boddy, editor-publisher of the Los Angeles Daily News, prints a statement purportedly made by Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin in 1939.

We charge that it is a forgery worthy of the pen of a Goebbels or a Valtin-Krivitsky stooge.

Here it is:

"* * * If we accept the Reich's offer of collaboration, the latter will not hesitate to crush Poland; England and France will thereupon be drawn fatally into war. There will result a thorough destruction of Western Europe, and

remaining outside the conflict we can advantageously await our hour. If Germany wins, she will emerge from the war too exhausted to dream of an armed conflict against us. We must accept the pact proposed by Germany and work to prolong the war the maximum possible. * * *

A telephone call to Mr. Boddy's secretary from a People's World reporter failed to elicit the source from which Mr. Boddy quoted Stalin.

Mr. Boddy's secretary replied that the statement was contained on a typed index card in the publisher's files.

For a person holding as responsible a position in influencing public opinion as Mr. Boddy to give credence to as obvious forgery as the one typed on his index card, which after all might have been filed under "Nazi propaganda," seems incredible.

The only purpose which the printing of such a forgery could accomplish is to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies in this war of survival, a tactic which President Roosevelt warned against in his recent speech as being inspired by Berlin.

Mr. Boddy should be made to answer publicly for his irresponsibility.

For the present, we challenge him to present proof that will authenticate the scurrilous slander printed above as having come from Stalin.

Failing such proof (as fail to produce it Boddy must), we challenge him to meet the responsibilities imposed upon him as a public figure by publicly retracting this attack upon our great Russian ally.

EXHIBIT No. 694

NEW YORK CITY, *July 3, 1940.*

Miss JOY HUME.

DEAR JOY: Thanks for your note written just as you left for Wisconsin. If the FBI has not put you and the other representatives of American youth in jail I hope that you will take the initiative in getting in touch with me when you return to the Pacific Council office. I am anxious to have a talk with you but as I shall be spending most of my time out of the office I shall probably miss you unless you take pains to see that I don't.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 695

CHINESE YOUTH DELEGATION
ParkinsSAN FRANCISCO, *August 27, 1938.*

Miss HELEN PARKINS,

*The Chinese Youth Delegation,
12 West 32nd Street, New York City.*

DEAR MISS PARKINS: I have your letter of August 22nd asking me to join the sponsoring committee for the good-will tour of the Chinese Youth Delegation. I am entirely sympathetic with the purpose of this tour and shall be glad to do anything I can privately to aid it but I shall have to decline your invitation to join the committee and have my name appear on the letter paper. The staff of our organization, which is essentially a research one, at the outbreak of the war a year ago agreed to join no committees on behalf of one belligerent or another although we reserved the right to express our private opinions in writing and speaking as freely as we wished. As you perhaps know, I have taken advantage of this opportunity in writing a good many articles on behalf of China but I have felt that it was wiser all around to decline such an invitation as you have given me.

Please, however, be assured that I shall be eager to do anything I can to help the tour, particularly when it comes to the West Coast.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

COMMITTEE FOR THE TOUR OF THE CHINESE YOUTH DELEGATION

12 West 32nd Street

NEW YORK CITY

317

AUGUST 22, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK C. FIELD,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
San Francisco, California.

DEAR MR. FIELD: A group of Chinese young people, delegates to the World Youth Congress, are now in the United States. These young men and women, representing various religious and youth organizations in China, plan to spend three months in the United States, after the World Youth Congress is over, touring through our principal cities, visiting our educational institutions and civic centers. The reception which will be accorded them will be an expression of the international fellowship between youth of America and China. Their tour will truly be one of good will.

Wherever the delegation stops, local community leaders are planning a welcome, climaxed in most instances by a mass meeting. The Chinese delegates will tell their own stories, their experiences in the New Life Movement in China, and what they have gone through in this past year of war. It is our hope that the listeners, moved by these accounts, will aid the cause of civilian relief in China.

The tour is being sponsored by a number of organizations, including the American Youth Congress, the United Council for Civilian Relief, the Young Men's Christian Association, the American Association of University Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Chinese Benevolent Association, the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and other groups engaged in China Aid work.

The planning committee is now engaged in securing a sponsoring committee for the Good Will Tour, of those men and women prominent in public affairs who will indicate how strongly America supports the cause of all wounded and suffering peoples. Among those who have already accepted are Mrs. Samuel McCrea Cavert, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and others.

We should like very much to have you join them as a member of the Sponsoring Committee. In that capacity your name will appear on our permanent stationery, and we hope you will be able to greet the delegation when it reaches your city. We are sure you realize the importance of your cooperation in this matter, and look forward to receiving your acceptance.

Very sincerely yours,

[s] Helen Parkins
 HELEN PARKINS, *Chairman.*

hp; rk
 uopwa; 16

Lackawanna 4-5761

COMMITTEE FOR THE TOUR OF THE CHINESE YOUTH DELEGATION

12 West 32nd Street, New York City, 317

AUGUST 25, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK FIELD,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
1795 California Street, San Francisco, California.

DEAR MR. FIELD: It has been suggested to me that you might be able to help us in the personnel problem that we have.

The American Youth Congress and other cooperating organizations are to tour four of the Chinese delegates to the World Youth Congress over the United States this fall. There will be two tours with two Chinese each. We are at present looking for two people to accompany the Chinese on these tours to act in the capacity of advisors and business managers. They would also be expected to speak on the platform with the Chinese perhaps concerning their own experiences in China, and they would probably be expected to make collection speeches in many places.

I think you will understand that we need two people of very high caliber for these two jobs and I wonder if you would be able to suggest to us some Americans who have recently returned from China and who might be available.

Since our time is growing short, I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

[s] MARIE REED, *Director.*

mr; rk
uopwa; 16

CHINESE YOUTH DELEGATION
Reed

SAN FRANCISCO, *September 1, 1938.*

MISS MARIE REED,

*The Chinese Youth Delegation,
12 West 32nd Street, New York City.*

DEAR MISS REED: It is very hard for me to suggest Americans who might tour the United States with the Chinese Youth Delegation for those persons are much more likely to be found in the East than here. I should think that it would be quite possible to find recent American graduates who had attended the Youth Congress at Vassar who would be interested in furthering the aims of the Chinese tour and who would have sufficient funds to stake themselves to the trip. I know one such person whom we have already signed up for work with our own organization. This is very much the kind of thing I did the first year I was out of college and I should think that there would be a good many people in the same position and with the same interests available for this service now. The thing to do would be to get in touch with persons connected with several Eastern universities and colleges sympathetic with what you are trying to do. I feel quite sure that they would have a number of nominations to make.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

f/g

EXHIBIT No. 696

SAN FRANCISCO, *April 12, 1938.*

MRS. KITTY GELLHORN,

440 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

DEAR KITTY: I bother you with this request only because I want to be certain that I get an adequate reply and it is just possible that I would not get one by writing impersonally to the League of Women Shoppers' headquarters.

The American Friends of the Chinese People have in the last six months organized a fairly active branch in San Francisco and from time to time they have asked me to help. At the moment they want to undertake a very aggressive campaign on behalf of a Japanese boycott, and I have urged them to put forward literature giving advice to San Francisco shoppers. They don't seem to be aware of the excellent pamphlet which I have seen and which I believe originated with the League of Woman Shoppers. The first question is, therefore, could you have two or three copies of this pamphlet, if I am correct in its sponsorship, forwarded to me?

I would also be very grateful if you would let me know what you, as an average New York shopper not specializing in Far Eastern questions but interested in social and political problems in general, have run into with regard to this Japanese boycott question. What influence, whether in the form of a piece of literature, an organizational effort, or a lecture, has particularly guided your own decisions? I ask this because, if I am not mistaken, the last time I looked at your legs they were clad in lisle, so I assume someone has influenced you. I would be very grateful for any information you could send me and also for a fairly early reply.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 697

Rev. John B. Thompson, Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Executive Secretary;
Marion Briggs, Administrative Secretary

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

1116 Vermont Avenue NW

WASHINGTON, D. C.

National 1274

DECEMBER 5, 1940.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER,

*Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street,
New York, City.*

DEAR MR. CARTER: I had at first intended to reply to your mimeographed, circular letter of November 20th before the Trustees meeting. On rereading it a couple of times, however, I was unable to put my teeth into precisely what sort of reply you were after. I thought the letter presented an interesting political survey of the Pacific area situation, though one with which I disagreed at a number of points, without making it clear how you wished all this to be considered vis-à-vis the IPR program. Except, of course, to give more of a go-ahead signal than ever.

A good many of these questions were touched upon at the Trustees meeting. I thought Carroll Binder's statement, and to a less extent Luce's, were good, but I felt ashamed as an American that it was necessary to repeat such incredibly elementary stuff at the close of the year 1940. It was necessary, nevertheless, in the light of Wilbur's either vicious or childish (I suppose the latter) remarks. I wish they could be expunged from the record; I trust they will be disregarded.

[(Penned:)] From here on possibly share with other members of the Staff? FVE.]

The new section in the Far Eastern Survey is going to be an exceedingly difficult thing to handle because I cannot see how political subjects are going to be written in a way that our fancy friends will regard as "objective." If your November 20th letter is an example, I beg to submit that that is by no means impartial. It states, for instance, that "it has become plain that the two wars are inextricably linked." With this important assumption I totally disagree. I believe the wars are not linked, which does not mean that they do not affect each other. I believe it to be the policy of both Great Britain and the United States to see that they become linked, and ditto for the policy of Germany. I disapprove of that policy because I believe the two wars to be wars of a completely different nature. The one in Europe is like the preceding world war, one of rival imperialisms neither of which stands for any issues in which I'm interested. The one in the Far East will, if won by China, lead to positive progress, not to the return of an old system which breeds war (as will be the case whichever side wins in Europe). So that assumption about the wars being inextricably linked, while sounding objective enough, is in my mind, loaded.

And the same for other points in the November 20th letter, which I shall not discuss because my object is not to criticise that letter but to point out the virtual impossibility of "objective" political writing. If the IPR takes the line that Great Britain and China are fighting the same kind of war, a war for democracy, I shall be alienated; if it adopts my political point of view Wilbur, Binder, Luce, et al., will be alienated.

So, what the answer? I think it can lie only in the kind of scheme we had under discussion for many months last year and earlier this year. The scheme of setting up (either by taking over Amerasia or by promoting a new venture) a journal of political debate and interchange and information, a journal where all sides and arguments would have a chance, where I'd write my personal interpretation, you yours, Wilbur his, etc. The IPR's role would then indeed be impartial in that it would be simply offering an agency for the exchange of political interpretation, it would be making none of its own as an organization. I'm scared of the Far Eastern Survey idea for the very reason that space and the nature of the proposal will not permit of an interchange of views, and because as I have illustrated earlier in this letter I don't think there is any such thing as impartial political writing.

I must hastily correct a possible misinterpretation from a remark in an above paragraph. The new scheme, even if I don't like it will *not* serve to alienate my

interest in the IPR. That remark was no piece of blackmail; I made it simply to illustrate a point.

Now, as to 1941 program—the answer is obvious. First, continue research as the basis of the whole show; second, make that research as widely available as possible through education; third, improve facilities for Oriental studies, and stimulate new scholarship; fourth, provide every possible facility and occasion for the discussion of political views, of policy. The latter means not only discussion conferences, but also an Amerasia. Meanwhile make it continually and conspicuously evident that the IPR is not a political but a study-research-education pressure group. Finally, while not losing sight of the importance of the American Council being part of an international show, remember, that its primary function is in the United States.

With best regards,

Fred
FREDERICK V. FIELD.

EXHIBIT No. 698

Western Union

MARCH 11, 1938.

Mr. CHEN HAN-SENG,

*Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street,
New York City, New York:*

May we use your brief account China war situation dated March eighth for April Amerasia. Please confer with Chi.

(Signed) FRED.

kreg

Charge: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1795 California Street.

4:45 p. m.

EXHIBIT No. 699

JANUARY 12, 1938.

Memorandum to Chen Han-seng from Frederick V. Field.

This is to remind you that you were going to write letters of introduction for Joris Ivens to persons in China whom you think may be useful to him in preparing the moving picture of Chinese defense. In our discussion it was suggested that you write letters which get him to Generals Pai and Li and to the editor of the *Pacific Digest*. Any others which you think might be useful would be welcome.

As you will recall, Joris Ivens, in association with Ernest Hemingway, made the picture *Spanish Earth*. He has just wired me that his trip has been postponed a few days so he will not be coming through today, as first planned.

EXHIBIT No. 700

Office of the President

YENCHING UNIVERSITY,
Peking, China, March 9, 1937.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,

*Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52nd Street, New York, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. FIELDS: I am writing to ask your good offices in ascertaining from Mr. Chen Han-sheng whether or not he would care to consider an invitation from Yenching University to join our Department of Economics. This would take effect, if possible, with the coming academic year. If Mr. Chen would care to consider this proposal, will you kindly communicate with Dr. B. A. Garside, Yenching University, 150 Fifth Avenue, and ask that an interview be arranged with him or someone else from that office, as to further details. Dr. Garside could communicate with us by letter or cable, and we shall ourselves be glad to answer any further questions if Mr. Chen is sufficiently interested.

Thanking you in advance for this assistance, and with greetings to Mr. Chen himself, believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

[S] J. LEIGHTON STUART.

jls c

EXHIBIT No. 701

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AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A movement to unit in common resistance to War and Fascism all organizations and individuals who are opposed to those allied destroyers of mankind

112 E. 19th Street, Room 702

NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: Algonquin 4-9784
9785

MARCH 16, 1936.

MR. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
129 E. 52nd Street, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FIELD: I am very anxious to talk with you again about our work which you have helped us to develop. I also want to show you factually in the office some of the things that are being done. Is it at all possible for you to drop around on Wednesday afternoon at 4:30 P. M.

I am sorry I cannot offer you more alternatives but this is the only spare time I have this week. You will appreciate how much I am rushed in trying to look after the policy of the League in addition to my other duties.

Hoping that it may be possible to see you, I am,

Faithfully yours,

[s] HARRY F. WARD, *National Chairman.*

HFR: DM
BS&AU
12646

EXHIBIT No. 702

Harry F. Ward, Chairman; Robert Morss Lovett, Vice Chairman; Lincoln Steffens, Vice Chairman; Earl Browder, Vice Chairman; William P. Mangold, Treasurer. National Bureau: Roger Baldwin, LeRoy E. Bowman, Elmer Carter, Paul Crosbie, Margaret Forsyth, Clarence Hathaway, Donald Henderson, William P. Mangold, Samuel C. Patterson, Harry F. Ward. Secretarial Staff: Executive—Paul M. Reid; Administration—Clara Bodian; Affiliations—Charles C. Webber; Organization—Waldo McNutt; Publications—Liston M. Oak; Women—Dorothy McConnell; Youth—James Lerner

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A movement to unite in common resistance to War and Fascism all organizations and individuals who are opposed to these allied destroyers of mankind

112 E. 19th Street, Room 605

NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: Algonquin 4-9784
9785

MAY 23, 1935.

FREDERICK V. FIELD,
129 E. 52nd St., New York City.

DEAR FRED FIELD: I am sure you will be glad to learn of the progress that has been made in the past three months. New Jersey and California (and the entire Pacific Coast as well) are at least getting permanent Regional Organizers. A grant from the Elmhurst Fund will help to maintain these men in the field. We have the perspective of sending a third permanent organizer into the Mid-Western States during the summer, and we have two men now touring the country. Their reports are extremely encouraging, and once we can get organizers into our six concentration points, we can expect the League to really come into its stride.

In addition, a grant from the Garland Fund will enable us to put our publications business on a realistic basis. Once this is firmly established, we will be in a position to further our educational program by spreading our literature far and wide.

All this is in preparation for our next Congress, our Third. We are working toward it through the medium of regional conferences called by our local committees, with the specific aim of electing delegates to the Third Congress. In order to do this however, we must get those 6 organizers into the field. We are now starting a campaign to get sufficient funds to keep our salaries and overhead up during the slack summer months so as not to incur a deficit, and to maintain these men in the field. You will see from this how important and how useful the renewal of your contribution would be and I trust you will find it possible to renew it for the month of June.

There are two other things I hope you can do for us. A Japanese labor leader, Kanju Kato, about whom I wrote you before, will soon be in this country. We had trouble in getting his visa but finally secured it by getting the sponsorship of an officially respectable organization. We will have meetings for him under joint committee auspices in various cities. We would like one or two under auspices quite apart from these. Therefore, I am quite anxious that you should arrange a little meeting, luncheon, or otherwise, under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Can you let me know what you can do on this, just as soon as possible.

Also we need your help on material for a speaker's outline concerning our policy in relation to Japan. Could you prepare a few notes on this and indicate some source of material? It would be very much appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

[s] HARRY F. WARD, *National Chairman.*

HFV: DP

EXHIBIT No. 703

Officers: Philip C. Jessup, Chairman; Miss Ada L. Comstock, Vice Chairman; Benjamin W. Kizer, Vice Chairman; Philo W. Parker, Vice Chairman; Robert Gordon Sprout, Vice Chairman; Ray Lyman Wilbur, Vice Chairman; Frederick V. Field, Secretary; Frances S. Harmon, Treasurer; Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer

AMERICAN COUNCIL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INCORPORATED

209 California St., San Francisco—129 East 52nd St., New York City

JULY 1, 1940.

DEAR FRED: It was too bad that in the rush of this past week I was unable to talk with you. As I have been released from the staff this summer, I have accepted an invitation to represent Local 18, UOPWA, at the Youth Congress in Wisconsin, during the coming week. Beginning on July 9, I shall be working on maps for Chi's book, up in the Pacific Council offices, for about 10 days. After that I shall probably return to Nature with my family during August.

I have just been arranging with Oliver Caldwell for the disposition of some 5,000 books from the Youth Congress. I hope to round up this project for the summer, and to get in touch with you further. The Publishers' and microfilm committees will need a shot in the arm by that time. There is little else that needs immediate attention on the project.

Yours sincerely,

[s] JOY HUME.

EXHIBIT No. 704

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, INC.

Fifty-Six West Forty-Fifth Street

NEW YORK

MARCH 6, 1937.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
129 East Fifty-second Street,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FIELD: At this point we are badly in need of some comments on the things which we have put out. Would you be good enough to let me know what you thought of the Yakhontoff pamphlet?

If I can hear from you soon, I shall appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Virginia Burdick
[t] VIRGINIA BURDICK.

VB:KB

MARCH 9, 1937.

Miss VIRGINIA BURDICK,
The American Russian Institute,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MISS BURDICK: In reply to your letter of March 6th asking for my comments on the materials which you have been publishing, I have a great deal of praise to offer and only one possible criticism.

To record the latter first, I have the feeling which may be the result of my not being closely familiar with your many problems, that you are overcautious. I believe that there are occasions when a group of importance and prestige such as yours must act with some boldness to present facts and authoritative interpretations on controversial issues. I have in mind, of course, occasions such as the very confused and uniformed state of public opinion in this country during and since the recent Moscow trial. One searches the regular newspapers, periodicals and pamphlet material in vain for authoritative statements of fact and interpretation. The country with which you are supposed to be promoting friendly relations is allowed to be scandalously misrepresented all over this country without, as far as I have been aware, a single concerted effort on the part of a reputable group of American citizens to correct the false impressions made. I dare to suggest that you should have done something in the face of this situation because I think you could have participated in the controversy with dignity and without embarrassment. There is much that the Americans could have been told in a purely objective way; the judicial procedure in the Soviet Union, the history of the divergent policies of the two Russian groups, a more detailed and unbiased analysis of the testimony given at the trial than appeared in the newspapers, and perhaps even an analysis of the propaganda respecting the trial originating in this country. I think you could have gone further safely, and as an organization reassured the American public for whatever the names of your Board of Directors are worth, and they are worth a good deal, that the whole episode did not compromise the Soviet government and in no way shattered your Institute's confidence in the work which is being done in that country.

The praise is easy and need not take more than a few sentences. The monthly bulletin seems to me excellent and comes about under the same category as that admirable contemporary of yours, the FAR EASTERN SURVEY. The Yakhontoff pamphlet was so good that I was prompted to write the author immediately after I read it praising him for saying so much in so few words, for the bibliography, and for the chronology. With regard to the Pushkin pamphlet, I can only say that it is the only thing I have ever read on that gentleman and having read it I feel quite well informed.

I hope you will forgive me the liberty I have taken in the one criticism I have made. I have taken you at your word that you wanted my comments.

Sincerely yours,

[t] FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Tele. Murray Hill 2-0313

Board of Directors: Harry Elmer Barnes, Mrs. Kathleen Barnes, Aaron Bodansky, Harold Clurman, Mrs. Ethel Clyde, George S. Counts, Mrs. Vera Micheles Deans, John Dewey, Wm. O. Field, Jr., Lewis Gannett, Mortimer Graves, Wm. S. Graves, Alcan Hirsch, John A. Kingsbury, Mary van Kleeck, Wm. W. Lancaster, William Lescage, Robert Littell, Harriet Moore, William Allan Neilson, Mrs. Frances Flynn Paine, Mrs. George F. Porter, Raymond Robins, Gerold T. Robinson, John Rothschild, Whitney Seymour, Lee Simonson, Graham R. Taylor, Frederick Tilney, S. A. Trone, Allen Wardwell, Richard Watts, Jr., Maurice Wertheim, Avraham Yarmolinsky, Mrs. Efram Zimbalist. Executive Secretary, Virginia Burdick; Editor, Harriet Moore

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, INC.

Fifty-Six West Forty-Fifth Street

NEW YORK

MARCH 30, 1937.

Mr. FREDERICK FIELD,
*American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52nd Street, New York City.*

MY DEAR MR. FIELD: Thank you for your letter of March 9th. I have taken the liberty of delaying my reply in the hope that I would have something definite to tell you before you returned from your trip. However, even now I can tell you very little which is definite concerning the Institute's policy in regard to the recent Moscow trial. Needless to say, I was very grateful for your opinion in this connection.

At the present time, the matter has been taken up both by the Board of Directors and by various members of the Executive Committee. It has not, however, been discussed by the Executive Committee at a meeting at which a quorum was present. So far, there has been a definite division of opinion within the organization, and personally, I feel that there is something to be said on both sides of the question. As you know, the December 1936 issue of the "RESEARCH BULLETIN ON THE SOVIET UNION" carried an article on Criminal Law in the U. S. S. R. For the March issue of the Bulletin, Mr. Carter has written a review of the verbatim report of the "Case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Center." Beyond this, we have at present no plans for publications on this subject.

I shall be delighted to let you know if we are going to do anything further. I cannot tell you how valuable it is to have the opinion of persons like yourself on a matter of this kind. With many thanks for the words of praise on the publications,

Sincerely yours,

[s] Virginia Burdick
[t] VIRGINIA BURDICK.

VB:LB

EXHIBIT No. 705

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York City, March 30, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
1795 California Street, San Francisco, California.

DEAR FRED: May I congratulate you and your colleagues on the current issue of PHOTO HISTORY. I would be interested to know how widely you are using this for cultivation purposes for members and potential contributors.

Sincerely yours,

[t] EDWARD C. CARTER.

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York City, March 30, 1938.

Mr. CHARLES F. LOOMIS,
216 Dillingham Building, Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR CHARLES: As an illustration in the way in which the Institute of Pacific Relations makes available its material through outside channels to a wide audience, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of the current issue of PHOTO HISTORY.

It is not until you reach page 66 that the editors come to acknowledgement of sources and there you will find that every one of the books mentioned, with the exception of those by Lyde and Smedley, are by I. P. R. authors. You will notice also that the editors acknowledge their indebtedness to the Institute of Pacific Relations Library and the FAR EASTERN SURVEY.

It is barely possible that Mr. Atherton, Mr. Anderson, Riley Allen and others will be interested in this.

Sincerely yours,

[t] EDWARD C. CARTER.

EXHIBIT No. 706

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York, 26th April, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
1795 California Street, San Francisco, California.

DEAR FRED: The other day three copies of the first volume of the famous Soviet Atlas arrived at this office, one for the Amco, one for Carter and one for Holland, and we have all thumbed through it enthusiastically.

I wonder if you have already seen the Atlas itself; but if not, I think you may like to see this note which I have drafted for possible use in I. P. R. NOTES. Perhaps you would be kind enough to pass this on to Owen.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Han-seng
[t] CHIEN HAN-SENG.

26TH APRIL, 1938.

NOTE ON THE GREAT SOVIET WORLD ATLAS

Parallel to their other record-breaking achievements, the Russians have now made a notable advance in a new field. The appearance of the first volume of the Great Soviet Atlas last November, which is to be followed by a second volume this year and a third volume early in 1939, marks the height of modern cartography. Not only are there many innovations of presentation but the bulk itself is extremely impressive. The size of the first volume alone is equal to any major atlas that has so far appeared anywhere in the world.

In spite of the fact there are single page maps of $17\frac{1}{2}$ by $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches and some folding pages, the Atlas is still easily handled by means of a simple loose-leaf device. This metallic lever and the multiple coloured sheets—often 15 to 20 colours on one map—testify to the advance of Soviet industry, and the host of new ideas evidently behind the drafting, particularly in the political and economic spheres, makes this Atlas almost a revolution in cartography.

The total number of pages of the Soviet Atlas more than doubles that of Stiller's Atlas in German or the Times Atlas in English, and this is also true of the actual map space; yet in this case the time for production has been halved by means of a huge staff of 175 editors and cartographers. Indeed a special institute for the Atlas has been established in Moscow and this will work on subsequent revisions. Professor V. E. Motylev, the Chairman of the U. S. S. R. Council of the I. P. R. is the Director of this Institute, and concurrently one of the five on the Editorial Committee of the Atlas.

Whereas the second volume of the Atlas will deal with the regions of the Soviet Union and the third volume with other countries in detail, the first volume is devoted to 83 world maps in the first part and 85 maps of the entire Soviet Union in the second part. The maps of the Soviet Union in this volume begin with the political and administrative aspects followed by the topographical and the geological, the meteorological and the mineral, the vegetative and animal distributions, the heavy and light industries, the chemical and electric industries; forestry, agriculture and collective farming; general economic and the technical culture, communications and commerce, and finally, as an apparent appendix, a map showing the Russian administrative regions as existed on January 1st, 1914.

The first part of this volume, however, will probably claim the widest interest. It can be divided into three groups. The first group is physiogeographical, including astronomical, topographic, geological, seismological; meteorological, both aerial and oceanic in January and June; and maps showing the develop-

ment of cartography, geographical expeditions, the Arctic and the Antarctic, magnetic aberrations, soil conditions, and vegetative and animal distributions. The second group is that of socio-economic maps which show population and migration, nationalities and religions, electric power, coal output, metal production; mechanical, chemical and textile industries; timber and paper manufacture, agriculture, commerce, communications, and the export and import of capital and financial dependence. The third group consists of political maps of the world, one for 1783, one for 1784 to 1876, and one for 1877 to 1914, one for the strategic military movements on the European theatre of the War of 1914-1918, and a contemporary political map of the world. In addition, there follow special maps showing the political and economic situation of the Pacific area at present.

EXHIBIT No. 707

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Amsterdam—Honolulu—London—Manila—Moscow—New York—Shanghai—Sydney—
Tokyo—Toronto—Wellington

129 East 52nd Street

NEW YORK CITY

15TH OCTOBER, 1937.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,
San Francisco.

DEAR FRED: As you may well imagine, some of us here have had some interesting chats with Karl August since his arrival. His general view of the political developments in China are less optimistic even than mine—and you know what that means. At any rate, while he would give only 5 percent on chance for Chiang Kai-shek to become a second Kemel Pasha, I would certainly give at least ten percent.

You will recall that my open letter to AMERASIA refuting Roger Greene's article on China has caused some embarrassment; but I am glad to inform you that since Hu Shih's arrival in New York there has been a "rapprochement." The other day, Hu Shih insisted upon my meeting Roger, for according to Hu he is pro-Chinese, while his brother, Jerome, is pro-Japanese. At any rate, we three had a good chat in Hu's room and the good news is that Roger is going to offer his lectures free in an attempt to rally medical aid for China. Incidentally, I may say, it was due to Roger's effort that the American Red Cross did not give a smaller sum than \$100,000; but of course, Hu agrees with me that he does not know how to write articles.

It is interesting that no sooner was this "rapprochement" established than I ran into another controversy—this time with the columnist of the DAILY WORKER. I have written a review of Harry Gannes' book on China, originally for AMERASIA, and that is why the first draft is so long. Later when the Managing Editor told me that they were not going to use it, I cut it to half its length and offered it to PACIFIC AFFAIRS. Another piece, reviewing the same book, will appear in the LIVING AGE, under my name. I am enclosing the original draft which you may care to read.

I wonder if you have noted an AP wire from Tokyo, dated October 13th, that tells in effect the poor show in Japan as regards the subscription of the 200 million yen war bonds. In Japanese history, such a subscription of bond issues has always been led by the government to rally public enthusiasm, and the subscription of government and semi-government institutions is usually prearranged immediately beforehand. The fact that this subscription only amounted to 12 million yen on the first day certainly anticipates rather slow and inadequate private enthusiasm.

Surely you must have been impressed by yesterday's news that in Tokyo, the Emperor has appointed in the presence of the Privy Council Members a Cabinet Advisory Council. I am inclined to think that this is the first and foremost significant phenomena in the Japanese political world since the outbreak of the present war. On the one hand it shows that even the well represented and unified cabinet, such as the present one, indeed the strongest Cabinet since 1905, proves inadequate to cope with the present situation. We can readily infer that the Japanese textile interest together with other people in the light industry

for export, (the textile being perhaps the best organized of all industries in Japan) have been greatly irritated by the loss of market, curtailment of raw material import, and the prospect of a long war.

On the other hand, however, this new super-Cabinet is the surest and most definite indication of Fascistic development in Japan. Nominally, the ten members of this council are "accorded the same treatment and rank as Cabinet ministers." They are in reality more or less like premiers or a body of premiers since only the premier and not the ministers, hitherto, has been appointed by the Emperor directly. In other words, the newly appointed ten people will remain in power regardless of subsequent Cabinet changes. Even if the next general election in Japan should by chance set up a liberal parliament and therefore perhaps a liberal cabinet, this super-Cabinet will remain in power. These ten people can advise the Emperor and at the same time dictate to the Cabinet. The consolidation of Japanese Fascistic forces is clearly reflected in the actual standing of these new appointees.

Indeed what seems to me equally significant is that the Japanese militarists are utilising the wartime urgency to successfully bring together military groups which hitherto have not been reconcilable, and to a much lesser extent this is also true of the navy. General Araki (1), the famous leader of the younger military elements is now appointed together with General Ugaki, (2) former governor general of Korea and a military figure who is capable of the most effective political intrigues and coup d'etat. This well-known opportunist, with all his prestige, has commanded a group of military people both young and old; and now sitting together with Araki in the same Council, brings his followers into cooperation with the group led by his colleague. Admiral Suetsugu (3), is perhaps the parallel of Araki, in the navy and Admiral Baron Abo (4), is somewhat parallel to Ugaki, but less opportunistic and more refined in personal manner. Suetsugu is very outspoken and an ardent advocate of Japanese naval equality and of denouncing the Nine Power Treaty. Abo is not so extreme a nationalist as Suetsugu, being older in years and representing the traditional polished manner of the high-born Japanese. By appointing both these admirals the loyalty of the entire navy is ensured for whoever does not like the one is bound to like the other.

Two party politicians have been appointed, but they are careerists who at any moment are ready to betray their party. Chuji Machida (5), president of Minseito, now sits together with Yonezo Maeda (6), who is Secretary-General of Seiyukai. (The President of this party, Seiyukai, is Sutsuki, but he has been in bad health for a long time.) Both are important in representing certain financial and business interests. The Minseito is known as the spokesman for Mitsubishi, while the Seiyukai still represents the landlord interests. It is interesting to note that Mitsubishi needs only to be indirectly represented in the new Council through Machida, because, unlike Mitsui, no direct representation is really necessary. Since Mitsubishi, more than any other firm, has gone into the ammunition industry, they feel sure that their interest is already represented by the war itself. Mitsui is directly represented by Seihin Ikeda (7), who was not long ago Minister of Finance and is now president of the Bank of Japan. This famous pro-fascist financier has been long regarded as the chief staff officer for Mitsui. The interest of Sumitomo, which includes the interest in Korea, and that of the Osaka financiers, may be said to be represented by Ugaki who also has a persuading influence over certain light industry people. Then I see the appointment of Matsuoka (8) may mean more than merely representing the S. M. R. (of which Mitsubishi holds a large interest); I suspect that this outspoken type of fascist is now charged with the task of rallying the support of the independent financiers and industrialists in Japan.

The appointment of another famous pro-fascist is found in the person of Baron Goh (9), who you probably met in 1935 in your Far Eastern economic mission. You may recall that he can speak both German and French, and he is certainly a distinguished leader in what I may call the Japanese "Liberty League," which was organized nearly ten years before the American one came into being. The tenth appointee is a distinguished bureaucrat, Kiyoshi Akita (10), a former Seiyukai member who became "independent" two years ago. You may recall reading his name as Vice Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications during the famous Tanaka Cabinet.

Of the ten only two are 100 percent fascist both by personal conviction and by reputation (Araki and Matsuoka), and only two are stout fascists (Goh and Ikeda) because they have long supported financially, fascist organisations. With this set-up and during war time, however, it is very easy for the extreme

nationalist, opportunistic politicians and bureaucrats to fall into the fascist net. Perhaps you may ask me who on this new Council represents the controlling interest in the rural districts? First, I would answer, that there is no need in the super-Cabinet, of such a representation and then, the present Cabinet can well take care of this issue. The present Minister of Agriculture, Count Arima, is from Kyushu (the Nagasaki region) and is capable of influencing the peasant unions in western Japan. But more important in this respect is the north of Japan, especially the rice and silk region of Niigata, etc., and here we find the majority of the 5,000,000 followers of the "Living Buddha," i. e., Count Ohtani, the uncle of Emperor Hiroshia and the real leader of the famous Nishi Honganji Temple in Kyoto. Count Ohtani is now serving as Minister of Education in Japan.

You must not think that I make any political analysis, but the news of this new political council in Japan so impressed me that I have not been able to help writing this rambling letter and at least I would like to recommend to you this brilliant political strategy of our common enemy.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Han-seng,
[t] CHEN HAN-SENG.

EXHIBIT No. 708

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Amsterdam—Honolulu—Shanghai—Manila—London—Moscow—New York—Paris—
Sydney—Tokyo—Toronto—Wellington

129 East 52nd Street,

NEW YORK CITY

24TH MARCH, 1938.

Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
San Francisco, California.

DEAR FRED: In response to your wire of March 12th, I began to write a sketch showing the general military situation in China so as to continue the chronological description in the March issue of AMERASIA. In the process, however, I found the original MS from Hong Kong, though to a certain extent already revised, inadequate and unsubstantial. With some additional information from other sources, I decided to rewrite the whole thing. Enclosed is a copy of what I have not sent to the AMERASIA office here. As it is not intended in any way as an article I have asked not to have my signature appear on it.

Have you by any chance seen the translation of the 8th Route Army oath of loyalty? I enclose a copy with underlines. From the indications from several directions, it is quite certain now that China is on the threshold of a new era, and as this fact becomes more apparent it can not but hasten the attempts of a London-Tokyo rapprochement. Have you any inside dope on this?

With greetings to Edith and yourself.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Han-seng.
[t] CHEN HAN-SENG.

LOYALTY OATH TAKEN BY 8TH ROUTE ARMY

Japanese imperialism is the mortal enemy of the Chinese nation. The imperialists strive to enslave our country and destroy our nation: they kill our relatives and friends, violate our mothers, wives and sisters, burn down homes, destroy our farms, implements, and cattle. In the name of our nation, our country, our fellow countrymen, in the name of our children and grandchildren, we swear to resist the Japanese aggressors to the end.

For six years already we have been fighting to save our fatherland from the Japanese aggressors. A united national front has already been established. *Our army has been renamed the People's Revolutionary Army*, and we are setting off to the front lines to destroy the enemy.

We sincerely support the National Government and Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Military Council, who are in charge of the defense of our country against the Japanese aggressors. We undertake to subordinate ourselves to the single

command of the Military Council, strictly to observe discipline and *not to return home until the Japanese aggressors have been driven out of our country, until all national traitors are wiped off the face of our land.*

We, sons of workers and peasants, swear that we shall not deprive the population of a single thread; we swear always to serve the interests of the people, to adopt a brotherly attitude to troops fighting shoulder to shoulder with us against the common enemy; we swear to be devoted to the revolution. We are prepared to accept the criticism of comrades and to answer for it with all the severity of revolutionary discipline should we violate the interests of the nation.

EXHIBIT No. 709

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Amsterdam—Honolulu—London—Manila—New York—Paris—Shanghai—Sydney—
Tokyo—Toronto—Wellington

129 East 52nd Street

NEW YORK CITY

22ND SEPTEMBER, 1937.

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Esq.,
San Francisco.

DEAR FRED: Herewith I enclose a copy of the review of Shuhsi Hsü's book, which I promised to send to you. This review has been sent to the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW because Owen sent one in written by himself for PACIFIC AFFAIRS. He criticised Hsü severely because of his unfairness to the Chinese Communists and the Mongols, and I certainly prefer to have his review in our quarterly because it contains more of political and educational value, mine being technical and historical.

I hope the mild aid in California will materially assist Edith in her quick recovery, and that you are daily unearthing things of interest in your own work.

With greetings to both of you,

Sincerely yours,

s] Chen Han-seng
[t] CHEN HAN-SENG.

[Sent to the Canadian Historical Review]

THE NORTH CHINA PROBLEM

(By Shuhsi Hsü, Ph. D., Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1937, pp. 112)

The large scale military resistance in China against further Japanese aggression in the summer of this year, must have come as a surprise to those who did not fundamentally understand the Sino-Japanese relations. Even such a noted political scientist as Shuhsi Hsü, did not anticipate this in the spring when he wrote the chapter, "The Outlook," in the present volume. Chinese unity after the Sian incident, the changing international situation, were taken by the author as hopeful factors which might induce "the rulers of Japan to revise their policy concerning North China."

Apparently Dr. Hsü has attempted to present a brief review of Sino-Japanese relations since 1933, chiefly covering the Hopei-Chahar phase, the Inner Mongolian problem and the eight conferences between the Chinese Foreign Minister and the Japanese Ambassador from September 15th to December 3rd, 1936. The main revelation of this volume, however, lies in a clear exposé of the general policy followed by the National Government throughout those past years. A mere perusal of this report would unmistakably make the reader aware that Nanking was not only pursuing a policy of nonresistance but at certain times was even attempting to reach a conditional "readjustment" of its relations with Japan. After the friendly visit of Dr. C. H. Wang to Tokyo in the spring of 1935, and the special efforts of General Chiang Tso-pin in Tokyo during the autumn, as narrated by this author, at the beginning of 1936, General Chang Chun, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, "courageously invited the Japanese to open negotiations." These negotiations were abruptly suspended owing to the Tokyo

military coup d'état of February 26th, but "the readiness of the Nationalist Government to carry on discussion with Tokyo in spite of the Hirota Principles created a great deal of misgiving among the members of the Southwestern Political Council."

After the suspension of the series of conferences between Chang Chun and Kawagoo, because of the Suiyuan invasion, and after the Sian incident, the leaders of the National Government still found an opportunity to express their willingness for cooperation and readjustment. In the middle of March, 1937, when a mission of Japanese industrial leaders arrived in Nanking, General Chiang Kai-shek proceeded from Kuling to greet them with a speech in which he "asked the distinguished visitors for their sympathy for China in this period of national reconstruction, which he compared with the Restoration and early Meiji Era in Japan." The Generalissimo concluded his pleading by offering to the Mission a classical quotation which reads: "Benevolence and love are real treasures," and their friendly tone was further stressed by the Minister of Industry, Wu Ting-chang, who said that the way of cooperation between the two countries must lie in "shaking hands" and not "shaking fists."

Such speeches may merely have been diplomatic gestures, but they are undoubtedly indicative of their anxiety for peaceful adjustment at that time. Readers must remain indebted to Dr. Hsu for his elucidation of the Nanking attitude without an understanding of which many important events in China during the past few years cannot be made intelligible. For instance, in March, 1933, "the troops before Shankaikwan were ordered to retreat to the Luan River as a gesture of pacific intention towards the Japanese," and "by July 12, 1933, Chahar was cleared of the Japanese. At this point the Central Government stepped in. In order not to give the Japanese a pretext to start trouble again, General Feng was advised to disband his troops and leave the province."

Throughout the book, however, there is no indication whatsoever as to the reason why the Japanese on their side have never yielded to the Nanking argument. Thus the author has not touched the fundamental point of the subject on which he was writing. After reading this book, one cannot help feeling perplexed as to just why the Japanese launched a new attack this summer, nor can one fully appreciate the reasons for the Generalissimo's last stand and military resistance.

One cannot help entertaining doubts when one reads such a statement as that "the Shanghai incident was settled on the whole in a satisfactory way." Is it not true that the demilitarized zone established by the Shanghai Truce in 1932 was the first of a series of such zones as created later by the Tangku Truce, the Ho-Umetzu Understanding and the Chin-Doihara Agreement? Is it generally thought that such arrangements can be called "satisfactory"? Then it is indeed difficult for a layman to understand why "Japanese connivance at the narcotic trade in North China, though iniquitous, can scarcely be taken as a policy for the exploitation of what they consider to be their special position there," especially when one reads further that Dr. C. H. Wang, when seeing Hirota on January 22nd, 1935, expressed the wish that Japan would not support the narcotic trade. For the narcotic question, reference is made to the Information Bulletin of the Council of International Affairs, Nanking, which is directed by the author himself. But this bulletin simply points out that "there can be no end to this vast narcotic traffic until there is an end to extraterritoriality, although there is a remote possibility that the Japanese authorities may see the wisdom of taking measures against it."

Further, one is led to doubt whether the author really understands the internal politics of Japan as related to foreign policy, when one finds that he believes that the Japanese industrial leaders were no longer, to such an extent, the silent partners of the militarists after the February coup d'état of 1936. One is also surprised by his incomplete information on the Japanese economic penetration in North China. While he mentions the Japanese gain in the salt industry and shipping and the Chinese loss in the Tientsin textile mills, he has not brought out the advance made by the Japanese in cotton production and the electric industry. Certainly, the chapter on the Diplomatic phase of the North China problem is very inadequate. Such important and significant items as the German-Japanese Alliance and the American Neutrality Act are not discussed at all, and even if he did wish to confine himself to press comments, one wonders why an opinion from a no less important quarter than those quoted, Moscow, should be omitted. No attempt has been made even to clarify the Chinese internal politics as related to the North China problem. One finds frequent references to "the renegade Chinese irregulars," the "Manchukuo irregulars" and

the "Jehol irregulars," without any enlightenment as to their origin and nature. The author correctly reported that Prince Teh "repeatedly declared that it was not his intention to cut Mongolia loose from China, but rather to place it under the direct control of the Central Government," but there is not a single word of elucidation on this point.

If these are the defects, Dr. Hsü's book can hardly be regarded as good history. It is however an excellent document both as a record of Nanking's policy in the past few years and as a pointer to what may be Chinese academic limitations.

C. H-s.

EXHIBIT No. 710

FEDERATED PRESS,
EASTERN BUREAU,
30 Irving Place, New York City, June 4, 1938.

MR. FREDERICK V. FIELD,
129 E. 52nd Street,
New York City.

DEAR MR. FIELD: We are inviting the friends of the Federated Press to a reception for Carl Haessler, of Chicago, FP managing editor. Mr. Haessler, who has been publicity director for the large West Side Local of the United Automobile Workers in Detroit for the past year, has been in the thick of the fight Michigan workers are currently engaged in to maintain the wage scales won during the great strikes of the winter of 1937.

The occasion will also serve to introduce Alexander L. Crosby, recently appointed news editor of the FP Eastern Bureau, and Henry Zen, Washington Bureau manager.

The three bureau chiefs will speak briefly of the various vitally important labor developments and issues as they see them from the inside.

The reception is to be at the home of Ernest L. Meyer, New York Post columnist, 60 Gramercy Park, at 5 o'clock, Monday afternoon, June 13. We shall be delighted to have you come.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Marc Stone
[t] MARC STONE, *Business Manager*.

Central Bureau: 160 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
Washington Bureau: 1410 H Street NW, Washington, D. C.

Senator O'CONOR. Very well, I believe that is all. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 2:10 p. m., the committee was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator WATKINS. The committee will resume the session.

**TESTIMONY OF MOSES FINLEY, ENGLEWOOD, N. J. (ACCOMPANIED
BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH A. FANELLI)**

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Finley, you have been sworn.

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. FINLEY. Moses Finley, 216 Tryon Avenue, Englewood, N. J.

Senator WATKINS. The record will show at this point that the witness was sworn in executive session, today.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. FINLEY. I am a teacher.

Mr. MORRIS. Where are you teaching?

Mr. FINLEY. At Rutgers University.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you operating under a grant from the Ford Foundation?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you had that?

Mr. FINLEY. Since July 1, 1951.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Finley, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FINLEY. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FINLEY. I must respectfully decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments and whatever other constitutional privileges are available to me.

Senator WATKINS. In other words, you claim if you gave an answer to that question, it might incriminate you?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was a Communist study group ever held at your home?

Mr. FINLEY. No; it was not. But I am aware of the fact that in previous testimony by Dr. Wittfogel, such charge was made. Now he said, for example, that he knew that one of these study groups was under the chairmanship of Daniel Thorner, and that I said to him—that is, Wittfogel—that this was our history study group. Apparently what he has confused there is the Graduate History Society of Columbia University, which is one of the official organizations that exists in every department of a university, of which Daniel Thorner was president. Its main function was to have various faculty speakers, and Thorner invited Wittfogel to address one of the regular meetings of the Graduate History Society, but I am completely at a loss to understand another reference that he made—

Mr. MORRIS. Just one minute. Have you heard the testimony of Mr. Thorner saying that there was a group that studied music that met at your house?

Mr. FINLEY. I haven't heard the testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that testimony true?

Mr. FINLEY. That it was a group studying music is putting it a little formally.

Mr. MORRIS. Did a group meet at your house?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes. We had open house for friends of mine on Sunday evenings.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist at that time?

Mr. FINLEY. I must decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know if Thorner was a Communist?

Mr. FINLEY. I have no reason to believe he was.

Mr. MORRIS. Yet when we asked Mr. Thorner if he was at that time, he refused to answer.

Senator WATKINS. When you say you have no reason, just what do you mean, "no reason"?

Mr. FINLEY. I have none whatsoever, Senator.

I have studied just enough logic to know that for anyone but yourself you can never answer flatly and absolutely you know of something.

Senator WATKINS. Did you ever hear him discuss communism?

Mr. FINLEY. Not that I remember.

Senator WATKINS. Did you ever hear him declare he was or was not a Communist?

Mr. FINLEY. I certainly have never heard him declare he was. I don't remember whether I heard him declare he was not.

Senator WATKINS. Was there anything in his conduct that led you to think that he was in any way a Communist?

Mr. FINLEY. No.

Senator WATKINS. Did you ever discuss communism with him?

Mr. FINLEY. In any formal sense; no.

Senator WATKINS. You never heard it discussed by others or him in your presence?

Mr. FINLEY. I find it hard to answer that in the conditions of the 1930's. We talked about current events.

Senator WATKINS. You would not say now that communism was not discussed with him, would you?

Mr. FINLEY. Flatly, no; no, I wouldn't say.

Senator WATKINS. In other words, you would say as a matter of fact that you would not remember whether it was or was not?

Mr. FINLEY. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. It could have been?

Mr. FINLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you make a statement, Mr. Finley, that you would not know conclusively whether any other person was a Communist except yourself?

Mr. FANELLI. No; as to a person in general, as to a name, that the only person you could be sure about, that one was a Communist or was not, was yourself.

Mr. MORRIS. That is what I meant. So that by asking Mr. Finley questions we could never know that anybody was a Communist.

Mr. FANELLI. What he is saying is as to membership in an organization, as to whether one was not at any time in an organization. You can be sure of no party but yourself.

Mr. MORRIS. You are saying that you can never be sure that one was not a Communist except with reference to yourself.

Mr. FANELLI. Unless you were a Communist with him. I am sure he does not mean to deny that.

Senator WATKINS. What does the witness understand by the meaning of Communist? What does it mean to you?

Mr. FINLEY. Primarily membership in the Communist Party.

Senator WATKINS. Your answers are based on that definition?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. Do you think a man could be an advocate of the Communist cause without being a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FINLEY. I suppose so, yes.

Senator WATKINS. You keep that definition in mind with respect to future questions that are asked because I think maybe we will be splitting hairs on the question of whether a man is a card-carrying Communist or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever see Daniel Thorner pay Communist Party dues?

Mr. FINLEY. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Herbert Norman?

Mr. FINLEY. I never met him and I never heard his name until I saw it in Wittfogel's testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Under that name or any other name?

Mr. FINLEY. I can only presume that I never knew him under any other name.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Lawrence K. Rosinger?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Lawrence Rosinger ever attend meetings at your home?

Mr. FINLEY. To the best of my recollection, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Andrew Roth?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Andrew Roth ever attend meetings at your home?

Mr. FINLEY. I am sure not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Cristanzi?

Mr. FINLEY. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. John Hazard?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Hazard ever attend meetings at your home?

Mr. FINLEY. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Wittfogel?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Wittfogel ever attend a meeting at your home?

Mr. FINLEY. I do not think so. I have no recollection of his ever attending a meeting at my home. He has been at my home.

Mr. MORRIS. In the company of more than one person?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Under circumstances that could conceivably be called a meeting?

Mr. FINLEY. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. I do not know. The difference may be whether something is formally a meeting or a collection of people discussing a common subject.

Mr. FINLEY. He was there under circumstances of common discussion; yes.

Senator WATKINS. How many would be there at that meeting?

Mr. FINLEY. Presumably four or five people.

Senator WATKINS. Why presumably? Do you not have a recollection of how many would be there?

Mr. FINLEY. Senator, all this is 1938 and 1939, and I don't have a recollection of three or five people sitting in a living room, that precise. That is my difficulty.

Senator WATKINS. You say the meetings were all small ones?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. William Mandel?

Mr. FINLEY. I have met him very casually, maybe twice.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any reason to know that Mr. William Mandel is a Communist?

Mr. FINLEY. I know nothing about Mr. William Mandel.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Theodore Guiger?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Guiger ever attend a meeting at your home?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. Do you know any Communists?

Mr. FINLEY. I must decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WATKINS. Even now, even under the present condition where you say you are not a Communist? I am asking if you know any Communists?

Mr. FINLEY. I know no one now who I know to be a Communist.

Senator WATKINS. How far back from now would you make the same answer?

Mr. FINLEY. I must decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. FANELLI. I think Mr. Morris understands our position on that. I went over it this morning.

Senator WATKINS. Maybe he does. Probably I do not.

Mr. FANELLI. I want to make it clear.

Senator WATKINS. At the present time I want to make it clear that he is willing to say now he is not a Communist but he is not willing to answer the question with respect to other times in the past.

Mr. FANELLI. Let me say this: He is entirely willing to answer a question as to the date in the past if it is one question; and put it 5 years back, he is perfectly willing to answer that question. However, if counsel is going to go on or if the Committee is going to go on and ask him 6 years, 7 years, there comes a point where his privilege evaporates, and since I have no assurance that the committee will not go on, I have advised him to answer now questions as to the past. If this committee will assure me that it will ask him one question as of a given date, I probably would advise the witness to answer.

Senator WATKINS. We can give no assurance whatever. We are making no agreements with any witness. We want the truth.

Mr. FANELLI. That is the reason he is not answering questions of the counsel, because I do not know how far back the committee is going to go.

Senator WATKINS. Do you agree with the statement of your counsel?

Mr. FANELLI. Yes.

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, I am taking counsel's advice. I will take counsel's advice on all these matters.

Senator WATKINS. That is your stand, as he has just stated?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you an instructor to the School for Democracy?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. What school and about when?

Mr. MORRIS. Was the School for Democracy a Communist school?

Mr. FINLEY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there Communists teaching at the school?

Mr. FINLEY. I do not know.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. FINLEY. I must decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there people who were dismissed from the staff of City College of New York for being Communist instructors at the school, School for Democracy at the time you were instructor in the School for Democracy?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. There were?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were some of those teachers?

Mr. FINLEY. Benjamin Paskoff, Louis Lerman.

Mr. MORRIS. I do not think it is necessary for the witness to continue adding names. The names I don't believe are people within the scope of our inquiry. The question was more to determine to what extent the witness would give testimony before this committee on that subject. So, unless you think otherwise, I will ask him to discontinue.

Senator WATKINS. I would like to have the question repeated.

Mr. MORRIS. I asked the witness, Mr. Chairman, if he were teaching at the School for Democracy at the same time as instructors who had been at City College and who had been dismissed for Communist activities at the same time.

The answer was "yes" and he did name several of the teachers. So I am satisfied with the witness' answer on that score. I say he does not have to continue to answer questions along that line as far as I am concerned.

Senator WATKINS. If you want to pass it, so shall I.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, it brings out the difficulty that a committee such as our committee would have of determining who is a Communist. Here the witness stated awhile ago that to his knowledge he does not know anybody today who is a Communist. It poses quite a problem, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. I wonder if he can answer a few more questions. Have you ever studied communism?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. When?

Mr. FINLEY. As a graduate student of history.

Senator WATKINS. Graduate student of history, when?

Mr. FINLEY. In the middle thirties.

Senator WATKINS. Do you think you would know a Communist if you saw one and heard one talk?

Mr. FINLEY. Probably, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. If you knew a man was a Communist a month ago and I addressed the question to you, "Do you know anybody who is a Communist?" Would you still answer in the negative? If you knew a man 30 days ago to have been a Communist?

Mr. FINLEY. Would you repeat the question, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I grant you that it is a complicated question. But suppose you knew that Mr. X yesterday was a member of the Communist Party and I asked you the question today, "Do you know anybody today who is a member of the Communist Party?"; how would you answer that question?

Mr. FINLEY. I would probably say that I know somebody who I knew was a member of the Communist Party but I don't know whether he is one today or not.

Mr. MORRIS. So when you answered the question of Senator Watkins, "Do you know anybody today who is a Communist?" and you said, "no", were you making such a reservation?

Mr. FINLEY. I do not know anyone today whom I have ever known to be a Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Whom you have ever known to be a Communist?

Mr. FINLEY. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Senator, we have gone far beyond the purpose for bringing the witness here today.

It was in connection with that study group in his home. But I think that the witness' presence here today does raise a lot of problems that I think point up the difficulties that this committee is confronted with in determining the Communist Party members.

Senator WATKINS. That difficulty has been with us all the time, not only with us, but every other agency that is trying to uncover communism in the United States or anyone else that is underground.

Are those all the questions that you have?

Mr. MORRIS. I have one more question.

Did you ever meet Max Granich?

Mr. FINLEY. No.

Mr. MORRIS. That is all I have, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. Do you want anything more of the witness?

Mr. MORRIS. That is all.

Senator WATKINS. You may be excused.

Mr. MORRIS. We have subpoenaed Mr. T. A. Bisson for tomorrow morning and we plan to have an open hearing at 11 o'clock. But he is coming from California and we have no assurance from him that he actually is going to comply with the subpoena. We presume he will.

Senator WATKINS. You want to adjourn then until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning?

Mr. MORRIS. We will set the hearing at 11 o'clock if he comes, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. What I am trying to find out is whether I can make a definite statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Mr. MANDEL. Mr. Chairman, at the close of this morning's session an agreement was entered into between Mr. Frederick V. Field and his attorney and Mr. Morris to place into the record certain documents from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, giving Mr. Field and his attorney the opportunity to go over these records.

Now, they have gone over these records and I now ask that these documents—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify whether they are documents taken from the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. MANDEL. They are documents from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator WATKINS. Have you marked them for the purpose of identification?

Mr. MORRIS. They are properly marked and there is a full description in the record as to what they are and what the witness' answers have been.

Senator WATKINS. All right, they may be received and made a part of the record.

(For the documents referred to see p. 4088.)

The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 5 p. m., a recess was taken to reconvene at 11 a. m., Saturday, March 29, 1952.)

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1952

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Hon. Homer Ferguson, presiding.

Present: Senator Ferguson.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, committee counsel; Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel, and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator FERGUSON. The committee will come to order.

Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear in the matter now pending before this committee, being a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, of the United States Senate, that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BISSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON, BERKELEY, CALIF.,
ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH A. FANELLI, ESQ.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you state your name?

Mr. BISSON. Thomas Arthur Bisson.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your address, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. 97 Kingston Road, Berkeley, Calif.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that your formal residence?

Mr. BISSON. That is my formal residence.

Mr. MORRIS. You no longer have the residence of 40 Richards Road, Port Washington, N. Y.?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. University teacher.

Mr. MORRIS. You are an associate professor?

Mr. BISSON. I am a lecturer in political science in the political science department of the University of California.

Mr. MORRIS. For how long have you held that position, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. Since September 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. September 1948.

Now, did you operate under a grant?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a grant from any one of the foundations?

Mr. BISSON. In addition to my connection with the university, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now the beneficiary of a grant of any kind, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about it?

Mr. BISSON. The Carnegie Corp. is supporting a group of four projects, two members of the political science department of the University of California, one member of the history department, and, I think, one member in the oriental languages department.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify those people, Mr. Bisson, who are the beneficiaries of the Carnegie grants?

Mr. BISSON. The two in the political science department are myself and Dr. Robert A. Scalapino; in the history department, Delmer M. Brown; in the oriental languages department, Donald Shively.

May I just say there I think Donald Shively is in the oriental languages department. It is possible he is in the history department.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been the beneficiary of what other grants, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. In 1937 the Rockefeller Foundation advanced a grant to me covering a field research trip in the Far East for the year 1937.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you had any other grants. You had a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation through the Institute of Pacific Relations, did you not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. BISSON. That grant began in 1947, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. How much money was involved in that one?

Mr. BISSON. I think the amount was \$3,000, as I remember it.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present grant? What is the amount of that?

Mr. BISSON. Where the four people are involved?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. That is a \$20,000 grant.

Mr. MORRIS. Four people, however?

Mr. BISSON. That money, however, does not come to the four people engaged in the project. It does not amount to a salary addition to any one of the four people, but is rather to provide research assistance, travel assistance in this country, and also travel assistance to the field.

Two or three of those men may be in Japan this summer, and next year, under that grant.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you go?

Mr. BISSON. I am not expecting to go.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Mr. Holland of the Institute of Pacific Relations have anything to do with getting your present grant for you?

Mr. BISSON. The present grant—

Senator FERGUSON. The one at California?

Mr. BISSON. The Carnegie grant?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so. To the best of my knowledge, that was prepared by the Institute of East Asiatic Studies in the University of California through the University of California authorities.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Professor Odegard?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he have anything to do with getting you this or any other grants or fellowships you have had?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. He had something to do with the other Rockefeller grant.

Mr. SOURWINE. But not with the present one?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that he and Mr. Holland were the two who jointly recommended you in regard to the Rockefeller grant?

Mr. BISSON. I think they were; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a staff member of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What period of time?

Mr. BISSON. 1943-1945.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been listed as acting editor of the Pacific Affairs?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. For what period of time?

Mr. BISSON. It was during those 2 years. Exactly how long a period in those 2 years, I am not certain. I mean if you ask me by month.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Lattimore was the editor of Pacific Affairs until 1941 and he was succeeded by Mr. Carter and Mr. Michael Greenberg?

Mr. BISSON. I think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you succeed Mr. Greenberg?

Mr. BISSON. I am not certain as to whether there may not have been another editor between Mr. Greenberg and my association. The acting editorship I think—

Mr. MORRIS. Were you an employee of the Foreign Policy Association?

Mr. BISSON. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. What period of time?

Mr. BISSON. 1929-1942.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what Government positions you have held, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. I was a principal economic analyst with the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. MORRIS. For how long?

Mr. BISSON. For the period January 1942 to May or June 1943.

I was with the Strategic Bombing Survey in Japan, Japan side, from October 1945 to, I think, March or April 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the nature of your duties with the United States Strategic Bombing Survey in Japan?

Mr. BISSON. I was attached to the over-all economic effects division of the bombing survey. Our task was to assess the general economic effects of strategic bombing during the war on Japanese economy.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your job? To interrogate various individuals on the effects of the bombing?

Mr. BISSON. I participated in some interrogations. We collected materials and data on the Japanese economy from research institutions, educational institutions, and so on.

Mr. MORRIS. What other Government position did you have after that?

Mr. BISSON. May I ask, are you coming back to this?

Mr. FANELLI. He will give you a chance to get in any documents. He has some documents he wants to get in.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your other Government employment?

Mr. BISSON. I had a third post as special assistant to the chief of Government section, General Headquarters, Supreme Command of the Allied Powers, Tokyo.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was your office in connection with that employment?

Mr. BISSON. My office was in what was called the Dai-ich Building, the general headquarters in Tokyo.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your salary in that position?

Mr. BISSON. It was \$10,000.

Mr. MORRIS. And when did you return from that position?

Mr. BISSON. I returned from that position in the spring of 1947. I think I left the field early in May and probably got back to this country toward the end of May 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been a member of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. BISSON. I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that that is an organization that has been cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization?

Mr. BISSON. At the present time, I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that it is?

Mr. BISSON. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us, were you a member of the board of directors of that organization?

Mr. BISSON. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. For what period of time were you a member of the board of directors?

Mr. BISSON. The period would, I think, cover from 1947 to 1949. I am not certain about that because I do not have the actual data here.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you also a consultant for that organization?

Mr. BISSON. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you formally resign from that organization?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. On how many occasions?

Mr. BISSON. I resigned on one occasion, which had to be repeated, in a sense. Under June 23, 1949, I addressed a letter to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy reading:

DEAR SIRs: During the past year I have been unable to keep in adequate touch with the activities of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. This condition will exist even more strongly in the future, as I am planning to move permanently to California within a short time.

I am therefore submitting my resignation to the committee at this time. Will you kindly see that this resignation takes effect immediately?

Yours truly,

T. A. BISSON.

Senator FERGUSON. How long before you wrote that letter did you decide to resign, or was that your decision?

Mr. BISSEX. In the period preceding that letter I had been increasingly dissatisfied with certain aspects of the policy and activities, and at this time I decided to make my severance complete.

In the preceding year or so I had had virtually no connection in an active sense.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you first learn that the Attorney General had cited this organization as subversive?

Mr. BISSEX. I have no recollection of the exact date when I may have known that.

Senator FERGUSON. Was it before you wrote the letter?

Mr. BISSEX. I am not certain.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you say that that entered into your judgment as to withdrawing from this organization?

Mr. BISSEX. That was not what was primarily in my mind at that time.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, the fact that it was subversive did not cause you to resign?

Mr. BISSEX. I was primarily interested in the fact that the organization was one that no longer acted along lines that I approved.

Senator FERGUSON. But at least it was not the fact that it had been cited by the Attorney General, because you do not state it in your letter and you have not stated it here.

Mr. BISSEX. That did not enter into it.

Senator FERGUSON. That did not enter into your mind.

Now, in the May issue of 1949 you were listed as a consultant.

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That would be a fact, in the May issue, because it was printed prior to May, or in May?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And your resignation did not come until June?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you get the pamphlets, the so-called Spotlight pamphlet?

Mr. BISSEX. I assume that I did.

Senator FERGUSON. You assume that you did. Did you know that there was an article, The Committee Versus Tom Clark, by Maud Russell, executive director, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

I will read you the first part of it:

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has learned from the press that it has been designated as "subversive" in a new list circulated by the Civil Service Commission with a covering letter by Attorney General Tom Clark. The committee was not notified of the accusation; neither was it heard at any inquiry nor given preliminary opportunity to answer the charge.

I assume you read that.

Mr. FANELLI. Did you?

Mr. BISSEX. I am not certain that I read that; no.

Senator FERGUSON. Does not that refresh your memory that you read it?

Mr. BISSEX. I may have; yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And would you not say that it was subversive? Is not that one of the reasons why you resigned, but did not put in your letter? Or was it?

Mr. BISSEX. That was not the reason that motivated my letter.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, the fact that this institution was a subversive institution was not one of the reasons that caused you to resign?

Mr. Bisson. I have been increasingly dissatisfied with the type of materials and the activities of that organization.

Senator FERGUSON. Why did you not put it in the letter that that was true?

Mr. Bisson. I had worked with these people. I think it is only normal that one would not necessarily write a letter that would antagonize them.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you mean, "antagonize them"? Why did you not tell them the truth?

Mr. Bisson. I did tell them the truth.

Senator FERGUSON. Speaking as of this moment in this witness chair, have you an opinion as to whether or not this organization that we are speaking of, the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, was a subversive institution?

Mr. Bisson. I would not be prepared to say so; no.

Senator FERGUSON. You were on the board and you have been getting the pamphlets and all, and now you are not in a position to say so?

Mr. Bisson. I would not——

Senator FERGUSON. Even as of this date?

Mr. Bisson. I would not necessarily say so.

Senator FERGUSON. I will put the whole article in the record so it will not be taken out of context.

(The information referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 711" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 711

[Source: Far East Spotlight—vol. V, No. 5. May 1949]

THE COMMITTEE AGAINST TOM CLARK

(By Maud Russell, executive director, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy)

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has learned from the press that it has been designated as subversive in a new list circulated by the Civil Service Commission with a covering letter by Attorney General Tom Clark. The committee was not notified of the accusation; neither was it heard at any inquiry nor given preliminary opportunity to answer the charge.

Despite the fact that this statement is not likely to get even a small fraction of the publicity given to Mr. Clark's announcement, the committee now feels impelled to restate its record and aims for the American press and public.

REWARD FOR TRUTH

Since its founding in 1945, the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has steadfastly advocated an American foreign policy in Asia that would be in accord with the Atlantic Charter, the Charter of the United Nations, and international undertakings entered into by the United States Government. For 4 years it has continually warned of the dangers of a failure-doomed policy of military support of a moribund and corrupt minority government in China; a policy bound to destroy both Chinese friendship for the United States and the prestige and honor of America among the peoples of Asia.

Now that events have confirmed the bankruptcy of this policy and demonstrated the public service we performed in warning the American people, the committee is listed as subversive.

A COWARDLY ATTACK

Such a listing, in the opinion of the committee, is intended to wreck the good name that the organization has acquired, on the merits of its record, for reliable, factual reporting. It is intended to intimidate members of the organization and brand its workers in the eyes of their friends. It can only be regarded as flagrant and cowardly attack on any who disagree with current policies and exercise the American right of free speech to voice their opinions.

WE SHALL CONTINUE

The committee protests against the listing. Whether it stands on the Civil Service Commission books or is revoked, we shall continue to work unceasingly and with all vigor and strength to publish the true facts on the situation in Asia and the effect of United States policies there. We shall continue to perform our four-year patriotic service of exposing and calling for changes in United States policies that earn hatred for Americans by obstructing the inevitably victorious struggle of Asia's people to free themselves from foreign exploitation, social oppression, and the resulting indescribable poverty in which no man on this earth should be forced to, or will much longer consent to, exist.

Mr. Bisson. May I indicate further here that I learned later that, in spite of my request, they had not completely disassociated my name from their formal material.

Mr. Morris. For instance, I notice in February 1950 there is a favorable review of your book by Mr. Philip O. Keeney. It appears on page 13 of the February 1950 Far East Spotlight.

Mr. Sourwine. When did you learn, Mr. Bisson, that they had not disassociated your name?

Mr. Bisson. I had not seen any of their materials for a long time, and sometime during the spring of 1951 I either saw it in the library or someone called it to my attention, and for that reason I wrote this letter.

Mr. Sourwine. What letter?

Mr. Bisson. A second letter, that I am about to read.

Mr. Sourwine. Tell us about it.

Mr. Bisson (reading) :

DEAR SIRs : Some 2 years ago, when I resigned from your committee, I assumed that my name would be taken off all of your publications. Recently I noted that my name is still carried on your regular letterhead. I would appreciate it if you remove my name from your letterhead immediately.

Yours truly,

T. A. BISSON.

Mr. Sourwine. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. Bisson. June 4, 1951.

Mr. Sourwine. And you signed it and mailed it on that date?

Mr. Bisson. That's right.

Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, will you receive into the record this review by Philip O. Keeney of Mr. Bisson's Prospects for Democracy in Japan? It appears on page 13 of the February 1950 issue of Far East Spotlight.

Senator FERGUSON. The record also shows on this May issue that Mr. Keeney was treasurer.

Mr. Morris. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. The official record of the committee shows that he refused to answer questions as to whether or not he was a Communist.

Mr. Morris. That is right, on the grounds that his answers would tend to incriminate him.

Senator FERGUSON. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 712" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 712

[Source: Far East Spotlight, February, 1950, vol. V, No. 11]

FAR EAST READING

(Philip O. Keeney)

PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN, By T. A. Bisson, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1949, 143 pp. \$2.75.

Mr. Bisson was an adviser on the staff of SCAP's Government Section which supervised Japanese legislation.

After analyzing the political forces that were in power when MacArthur began the occupation, he concludes by saying: "This Japanese oligarchy, confronted with the necessity of military surrender, marshaled its forces for a postwar struggle to preserve the political and economic bases of its power. * * * The society that had produced them (armed forces) once would produce them again as soon as opportunity arose. If such an outcome was to be avoided, the society itself must be so changed as to eliminate * * * the forces that had originally impelled it to embark upon a course of military aggression."

The first directives designed to change the framework of the prewar Japanese Government were greeted by a popular response "of such proportions that it took the occupation authorities by surprise." The two old guard parties who were in control of the government machinery found themselves faced with a vital problem, viz., to keep in check the newly rising popular forces. The simplest way to solve this problem was an election before new leadership arose to guide the common people of Japan. The situation became so bad that in 1946 a general strike was ordered. MacArthur prevented it. In order to save face with the Japanese people he scheduled a second election for April 1947.

The reactionary forces were returned to power again though neither of the two old line parties gained a majority in the lower house of the Diet. For this reason a social democrat was chosen to form a coalition cabinet. The widely different points of view in this Cabinet produced long drawn out debates. Despite such delays certain reforms were instituted and investigations set in motion. One investigation became a major scandal when it was discovered that the army before the occupation had turned over to the Zaibatsu vast quantities of food and materials.

Mr. Bisson sums up his analysis by saying that "this country failed to achieve the announced aims of its initial postsurrender policy toward Japan, primarily because those aims could not be achieved through the instrumentality of Japan's old guard."

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, were you ever a member of an organization called the American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that that was an organization that has been cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read the testimony before this committee that that organization was controlled by a Communist faction which regularly met within the organization?

Mr. BISSON. I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write for the publication of that organization, called China Today?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write under a pseudonym?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write under your own name in addition?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what pseudonym you used in writing for that publication of the American Friends of the Chinese People, which has been cited as a subversive organization?

Mr. BISSON. Frederick Spencer.

Mr. MORRIS. Why did you use the name of Frederick Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. I was working at that time with the Foreign Policy Association, a nonpartisan research and educational organization.

I wrote under an assumed name for reasons that I would presume motivated Mr. X when he wrote his article in Foreign Affairs. I wanted to be able to express my views with full force without any feeling that I was bound by limitations existing in terms of the writings that I did for the Foreign Policy Association.

Senator FERGUSON. But Mr. X was a public official and was writing about a foreign country and a foreign government. You were not such, were you?

Mr. BISSON. I was not such, but I assume that I have the same right. I was in a position that was relatively similar, even if not the same.

Mr. FANELLI. The only question was, "You were not such" and the answer was "No."

Answer the Senator's questions.

Senator FERGUSON. I will ask you now whether or not you knew or ever heard that Frederick Spencer was the name that Frederick Vanderbilt Field used on the records as a Communist? That was his Communist name?

Mr. BISSON. I did not know that.

Senator FERGUSON. You did not know that?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. But if that is a fact and our records show that, this official record of the committee shows that, that would lead the people to believe, who were Communists, that you were a Communist, would it not? Or, at least, the man writing the letter was a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. No; I do not see that.

Senator FERGUSON. You do not think that is true? Here is an official name on the record, Frederick Vanderbilt Field. Frederick Vanderbilt Field is on the official Communist records as Frederick Spencer.

Now, you knew Field, and you were writing under the name of Frederick Spencer. Would not that lead people who were Communists reading the article to believe that it was written by Field the Communist?

Mr. BISSON. Let me get this clear. I think when you say it is on the official record, what you are saying is that one of the witnesses before this committee has identified Frederick Vanderbilt Field—

Senator FERGUSON. And it has not been denied by Mr. Field.

Mr. BISSON. As Frederick Spencer.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I am now saying that that particular attribution by Mr. Budenz was mistaken.

Senator FERGUSON. Why? Why do you contradict Mr. Budenz on that, unless you know something about it?

Mr. BISSON. I do know something about it.

Senator FERGUSON. Tell us about it.

Mr. BISSON. I know that I was writing under the name Frederick Spencer. I know also that Frederick Field, to the best of my knowledge, at the same time, was writing in the same magazine under the name of Lawrence Hearn. I, therefore, think that Mr. Budenz was mistaken when he says that Mr. Field was writing under the name of Frederick Spencer.

Senator FERGUSON. I was not saying he was writing under the name of Frederick Spencer. His official name on the Communist records was Frederick Spencer.

Mr. BISSON. I have no knowledge of what his official name on the Communists' records are.

Senator FERGUSON. That is what our records show now—that Frederick Vanderbilt Field's Communist name was Frederick Spencer.

Mr. BISSON. I am saying what I know from my knowledge of China Today. I do not know—

Senator FERGUSON. Why do you contradict Mr. Budenz when he says that the official Communist name of Frederick Vanderbilt Field was Frederick Spencer? Why do you contradict that?

Mr. BISSON. I am not contradicting that. I am saying that in terms of the writers on China Today I do not think that Frederick Vanderbilt Field was Frederick Spencer.

Senator FERGUSON. Coming back to my other question, which you apparently misunderstood, if he was carried on the official Communist records as Frederick Spencer, and then you wrote articles under that name, would not that lead the Communists to believe that that was Fred Field, the Communist, writing?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; but what I want to say here is that I have no knowledge that Frederick Spencer appeared as Frederick Vanderbilt Field on the Communist records.

Senator FERGUSON. But Frederick Vanderbilt Field knew that you were using the pen name of Frederick Spencer?

Mr. MORRIS. He was associated with China Today; was he not?

Mr. BISSON. He was.

Mr. MORRIS. And he knew that you were using the name Frederick Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to offer you, Mr. Bisson, a copy of China Today, February 1935, which contains a statement to the American people, and you will note that this statement is signed, among others, by Mr. T. A. Bisson and by Mr. Frederick Spencer.

Now, you did not sign that twice, did you?

I mean, obviously, there are two people, are there not?

Mr. BISSON. I assume so.

Mr. MORRIS. So would it not indicate to you that certainly in this instance some other person was using the pseudonym Frederick Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. It would seem to so indicate.

Mr. MORRIS. And you notice that Mr. Field's name does not appear in this list of people to whom this statement was addressed.

I will let you examine it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Morris, may I suggest that that statement and the list of names appended as signators be offered for the record at this time?

Senator FERGUSON. The whole list will be received in evidence.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 713" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 713

[Source: China Today, vol. 1, October 1934–September 1935. February 1935, p. 90]

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Today 450 million Chinese people are struggling for national liberation—for the simple right to be a free people, masters of their own destiny. The greatest obstacle to the success of this heroic struggle is the active interference of the foreign imperialist powers. The United States is one of those powers, the very country that was itself engaged in a great struggle to free itself from British colonial oppression a little more than a hundred and fifty years ago.

It is in China that we are at this moment specifically interested because there we are witnessing a drama of tremendous power and significance—the breathtaking struggle of a great people to free itself from oppression and to establish its independence.

And what has been the role of the United States in this struggle? Is it giving to an oppressed nation the same moral and material support that it received in its own revolutionary war? On the contrary, the United States, under the deceptive guise of the "open door policy," is playing a ruthless part in suppressing the Chinese masses and fomenting civil wars among them. It was American gunboats in March 1927 that took the lead in shelling Nanking and set the stage for Chiang Kai-shek's treacherous turn against the Chinese revolution. Today America is still staking its fortunes in China on Chiang Kai-shek and his Nanking terroristic government. Only recently the United States Senate investigation into the munitions industry revealed the fact that at least ten million dollars of the wheat and cotton loan from the U. S. to the Nanking government was used to buy munitions for war against the 90 million Chinese people who are living under the flag of the Chinese Soviets. Not only has the American government provided the funds for munitions to be used in this civil war, but it has also permitted the sale of hundreds of aeroplanes to the Nanking government by American aviation companies—a transaction that could not have been completed without specific permission from the State Department. From these aeroplanes have fallen thousands of death dealing bombs on innocent non-combatants—bombs spreading terror, destruction, and devastation over thousands of villages and millions of inhabitants. It has also supplied the funds for the building of aeroplane factories at Hangchow, Shaokwan, and other places. And furthermore, the American government goes even so far as to supply army and navy aviators who are released from active service in order to be sent to China as demonstrators, advisors, and pilots actually participating in bombing. We find among these instructors such outstanding names as Captain Frank Hawks, Major Doolittle, and the late Lieut. Dorsey who recently lost his life in this service. Thus, as someone has so aptly stated, we are permitting our own American soldiers to become the Hessian troops of the Chinese Revolution. Without this support, according to many competent observers, the reactionary Nanking government could not retain its power for any length of time.

This direct interference by America in the internal affairs of China has but one purpose—the furthering of its imperialist designs at the expense of the Chinese people. The profit-mad munition makers, aeroplane manufacturers, industrialists, and bankers, seeking new fields of exploitation for their surplus capital, are turning greedy eyes towards war-torn China. They look to American troops to protect their newly won fields. Major General Smedley D. Butler in his recent Armistice Day address summed up briefly but completely this condition when he said: "For thirty-three years and four months I was an active agent in the greatest debt-collecting agency in the world, the U. S. Marine Corps."

General Butler ought to know—he was for many years Commander of the U. S. Marines in China.

Thousands upon thousands of American people deeply resent this interference by the United States in the internal affairs of China. In the name of these thousands, we demand:

1. That the American government stop the sale of aeroplanes to China;
2. That the American government stop the release of army and navy pilots for military use by the reactionary militarists in China;
3. That America withdraw all gunboats, marines, and other armed forces in China;

4. That America stop the shipment of munitions and financial assistance to Chinese militarists.

Signed: Roger Baldwin, T. A. Bisson, Earl Browder, Winifred Chappel, George S. Counts, Malcolm Cowley, Edward Dahlberg, Ethel L. Dewey, Theodore Dreiser, Waldo Frank, Joseph Freeman, Beals E. L. French, Myrtle M. French, Mike Gold, Katherine Graham, Mary H. Gleason, R. M. Gyles, Granville Hicks, Josephine Jack, Orrick Johns, Corliss Lamont, Robert Morss, Lovett, Thora Lund, Edith de Nancrede, J. W. Phillips, Isidor Schneider, Frederick Spencer, Maxwell S. Stewart, Katharine Terrell, Harry F. Ward, Victor A. Yakhontoff.

Senator FERGUSON. The question is: Do you find Frederick Field's name on there?

Mr. BISSON. May I ask this?

Mr. FANELLI. I have no objection.

Senator FERGUSON. Frederick Fields' name is not on there, is it?

Mr. BISSON. No, it is not.

Senator FERGUSON. Is Earl Browder's?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Earl Browder's is?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Was Earl Browder a Communist at that time?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that he was; yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You know he was, do you not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Why did you sign with Earl Browder?

"To the American people," it is headed.

Mr. FANELLI. May I examine this, Senator?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I see no reason why I could not on occasion have been associated in that way with Mr. Earl Browder.

Senator FERGUSON. That was your privilege and I want to know why you did it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Bisson, the Senator asked you why. Why did you sign with Browder? He did not challenge your right to do so? He simply asked you why.

Senator FERGUSON. Why?

Mr. BISSON. I presumably agreed with the positions being taken in that case by Mr. Browder.

Senator FERGUSON. You must have read this thing before you signed it.

Mr. BISSON. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you sign under both names, or did Fred Field sign under Spencer's name, signing his Communist name?

Mr. BISSON. I would not know.

Senator FERGUSON. You did not sign both ways, did you?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. What?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell us under oath that you did or did not sign under the name of Bisson and the name of Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know another Fred Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. This was a group of people. Will you tell us how many you were acquainted with?

Mr. MORRIS. Let the witness see the list.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; the list of names. Tell us how many. Tell us first how many are on it, and then how many you were acquainted with or knew.

Mr. BISSEX. Roger Baldwin; yes.

My own name.

Mr. Browder, yes.

Winifred Chappel, no.

George S. Counts, yes—

Mr. SOURWINE. By yes, you mean you knew the person and by no you mean you did not?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Malcolm Cowley, yes.

Edward Dahlberg, no.

Ethel Dewey—I am not sure whether this is the wife of Dr. Dewey. After all, this is a list of names I have not seen for many years.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, we understand that, Mr. Bissex.

Mr. BISSEX. If this is the wife of Dr. Dewey, I would know her; otherwise not.

Senator FERGUSON. Speak a little louder.

Mr. BISSEX. Theodore Dreiser, no.

Waldo Frank, no.

Joseph Freeman, no.

Beals E. L. French, no.

Myrtle M. French, no.

Mike Gold, no.

Katherine Graham, no.

Mary H. Gleason, no.

R. M. Gyles, no.

Granville Hicks, no.

Josephine Jack, no.

Orrick Johns, no.

Corliss Lamont, yes.

Robert Morss Lovett, yes.

Thora Lund, no.

Edith de Nancrede, no.

J. W. Phillips, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was J. W. Phillips known to you by another name?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was J. W. Phillips?

Mr. BISSEX. Philip Jaffe.

Mr. MORRIS. He was associated with you in this publication China Today?

Mr. BISSEX. He was.

Isidor Schneider, no.

Frederick Spencer—I knew no other by the name of Frederick Spencer.

Senator FERGUSON. Except your own?

Mr. BISSEX. I thought that this was my own assumed name.

Katherine Terrell, no.

Harry F. Ward, yes.

Victor A. Yakhontoff, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Bisson, do you know, or do you have any reason to believe that any of those persons whose names you have just read were under Communist discipline or had voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that Earl Browder was in that category.

Mr. SOURWINE. You stated earlier that you knew Earl Browder was a communist; is that correct?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anyone else?

Mr. BISSON. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are stating that there is no one else on this list that you just read whom you either knew or had reason to believe was either under Communist discipline or had voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives; is that your statement, sir?

Mr. BISSON. I would have to divide that question. I would not know any of these persons as Communist Party members.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not ask you that. All right, I will divide the question.

Do you know, or have you any reason to believe, that any of these persons was at any time under Communist Party discipline or Communist discipline?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Other than Mr. Browder?

Mr. BISSON. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know, or have you any reason to believe that any of these persons at any time voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that Mr. Phillips may have done so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean Mr. Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Jaffe, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you assume. On what basis do you assume?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that because on later occasions it was indicated that he was connected with Earl Browder, or associated with Earl Browder.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, you do not assume that about anybody under a question like that. Do you know, or do you have reason to believe? You either do or do not. You do not assume that anybody is a Communist, do you?

Mr. BISSON. The distinction that I am trying to make here, however, is a time distinction. Some of these people at the present time under later conditions have clearly become known under that category as associating with Communist activities.

Mr. SOURWINE. What we want you to do, Mr. Bisson, is to name those persons on this list whom you either know or have reason to believe voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives, and then tell us what you know about them and then tell us what you know that gives you reason to believe that.

Mr. BISSON. And I am saying that a time distinction is necessary in that question because if I simply say "Yes"—

Mr. FANELLI. Go ahead and make your time distinction and answer his question.

Mr. BISSON. The time distinction is that in later years it has become obvious that Mr. Phillips was associated with Earl Browder.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean Philip Jaffe?

Mr. MORRIS. Was associated with Earl Browder, did you say?

Senator FERGUSON. Philip Jaffe.

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the end of your statement that he was associated with Earl Browder? Was that the end of your statement just now?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. This man Phillips is Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you not think also that Spencer in this particular list is Field, because they were both using fictitious or alias names?

Mr. BISSON. The questioning thus far has led me to believe—

Senator FERGUSON. If you will just not try to find out what we are trying to put in this record by the questions. We are trying to get out of your mind by questions what you know.

Mr. FANELLI. For the record, I do not believe there has been any indication that he has been trying to do that.

Senator FERGUSON. He indicates by this last thing that he does—

Mr. FANELLI. He does not have any knowledge on this subject, and you are asking for an opinion.

Mr. SOURWINE. The counsel is testifying as to what the witness has knowledge of and I hope the Chair will—

Mr. FANELLI. He has already testified that he does not know about that.

Senator FERGUSON. We have not cross-examined at all on this; whether or not he knows. We might be able to refresh his memory by a few questions.

I know that Mr. Sourwine wants to ask him some questions because this thing does bring out in one's mind a lot of questions.

Do you know Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. I do.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you read his name on there?

Mr. BISSON. I don't think I did.

Senator FERGUSON. It is on there, is it not?

Mr. FANELLI. I don't believe it is, Senator.

Mr. BISSON. I may have skipped that as I was reading.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes, his name is on there, is it not?

Did you read Mike Gold?

Mr. BISSON. I did read that name.

Senator FERGUSON. You knew he was a Communist writer, did you not, for the Daily Worker?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. You did not know that? You did not know that?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know his brother, Max Granich?

Mr. BISSON. I did later.

Mr. MORRIS. Granich was the editor of that paper, was he not, China Today?

Mr. BISSON. I think he was in a later period.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, would it be permitted to go through this list of names now and make the question very clear so there will be no possibility of the witness misunderstanding?

Mr. BISSON. I assure you that if I missed any name on that list it was done inadvertently.

Mr. FANELLI. Let them go ahead and ask the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question, Mr. Bisson, is this; First, did you know the person?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want you to say whether you did or did not know when I name the name.

Then, I want you to state whether you knew, or had any reason to believe, that this person had at any time been under Communist discipline.

And, third, I want you to state whether you knew or had any reason to believe that this person had at any time voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with members of the Communist Party in furtherance of Communist Party objectives.

Now, if your answers are "no," we need go no further on a person whom you identify as one with respect to whom you had no such knowledge.

If you have such knowledge or belief, then we will ask additional questions.

The first name here is Roger Baldwin.

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew him?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that Bene Baldwin? That is not; is it?

Mr. BISSON. I would not know Bene Baldwin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you any reason to believe he was either under Communist discipline or had voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next name is your own, T. A. Bisson. Were you ever under Communist discipline?

Mr. BISSON. I was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever voluntarily and knowingly cooperate or collaborate with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Just on that, do you know what this article is? Was this not a Communist objective sponsored by the Communist Party under Browder? Is it not clear that that is what that was?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest you read some of that.

Senator FERGUSON. I want the witness to answer that. You just answered the question by Mr. Sourwine. Now, what was this article about in reference to the question Mr. Sourwine just asked you?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think it was necessarily a document that was under Communist authorization.

Senator FERGUSON. Not necessarily, but was it not under the domination of the Communists because Earl Browder is on it? You do not think Earl Browder was advocating something that was not a party line in 1935, do you?

You were an educated man at that time, an intelligent man. You do not think that he was advocating something that was not the party line at that time, do you?

Mr. BISSON. Presumably not.

Senator FERGUSON. It is correct that it is presumably not. Then you were voluntarily and willingly on that particular article advocating the party line, were you not?

Mr. BISSON. On that particular article my views coincided with the views—

Senator FERGUSON. But you were advocating it. You say now that the reason was that your views coincided?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. However, you were actually advocating the party line there and knowingly doing it with a Communist, Earl Browder; is that not a fact?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Your answer was yes on the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think it will speed this up a little if we may have an understanding with the witness that a single no will mean that he does not know the person and that the answer to the other two questions is no if he does not know the person, as to the other two questions.

If he did know the person, but the answer is "No," on the other two questions, he will simply say "I knew him, but the answer is 'No.'"

Is that agreeable, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Earl Browder?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew him?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew him to be a person under Communist discipline?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you knew him to be a person who had knowingly and voluntarily cooperated and collaborated with other Communists necessarily?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Winifred Chappell?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. George S. Counts?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Malcolm Cowley?

Mr. BISSON. No. Now, wait. The first question here is do I know them?

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know Mr. Malcolm Cowley?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that your answer to the other two questions, "No"?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Edward Dahlberg?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Ethel L. Dewey?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Theodore Dreiser?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Waldo Frank?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Joseph Freeman?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Beals E. L. French?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Myrtle M. French?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mike Gold?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know Mike Gold?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know him now?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Katharine Graham?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mary H. Gleason?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. R. M. Gyles?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Granville Hicks?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Josephine Jack?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Orrick Johns?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Corliss Lamont?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, you knew him?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your answer to the other two questions?

Mr. BISSON. Are "No."

Mr. SOURWINE. Robert Morss Lovett?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your answer to the other two questions?

Mr. BISSON. Are "No."

Mr. SOURWINE. Thora Lund?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Edith de Nancrede?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. J. W. Phillips?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew him as Philip M. Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him to be under Communist discipline?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any reason to believe him as such?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know, or have any reason to believe that he had voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. Not at this time. Later I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to know that later?

Mr. BISSON. Later there were evidences of association with Earl Browder, of activities involved in the Amerasia case.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are those two separate things, or are they one thing in your mind?

Mr. BISSON. They are separate things.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did it come to your attention that he was associating with Earl Browder?

Mr. BISSON. To my knowledge, I just learned it from conversation, or—

Mr. SOURWINE. Conversation with whom, with Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. Could have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. With Browder?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could have been with Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who else could it have been with?

Mr. BISSON. No one that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then was it with Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. It may have been; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If it could have been with Jaffe, it could not have been with anyone else? It was with Jaffe, was it not?

Mr. BISSON. At a later period, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You learned of Browder's association with Jaffe, from Jaffe?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isidore Schneider?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Frederick Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that Frederick Spencer who signed this?

Mr. BISSON. That's in terms—I say "Yes."

Mr. SOURWINE. You know the name Frederick Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. I know the name Frederick Spencer.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you do not know the man who signed the same Frederick Spencer on here; is that right?

Mr. BISSON. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Maxwell S. Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. I know him, and the other answer is "No."

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no reason to believe, or any knowledge that he was ever under Communist discipline or ever had voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Katharine Terrell?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Harry F. Ward?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the other two answers to the two questions?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Victor A. Yakhontoff?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the answers to the other two questions?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. How was this article prepared? Did you prepare it?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember that I had any connection with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it presented to you for signature?

Mr. BISSON. I assume so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it in a long sheet of paper with a place at the bottom for the names to be signed?

Mr. BISSON. I cannot recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not sign your name on a piece of paper that did not have this writing at the top; did you?

Mr. BISSON. I assume not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, sign your name to this article?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many names were on it when you signed it?

Mr. BISSON. I do not recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were the names signed one below the other?

Mr. BISSON. I do not recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, Mr. Chairman. This has been admitted—has it not—for the record?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. May I state that this is what year?

Senator FERGUSON. 1935.

Mr. BISSON. This is, after all, 17 years ago, and I think I should perhaps be pardoned for not knowing every detail.

Mr. SOURWINE. The committee has not criticized you for not remembering. We are only trying to find out what you do remember.

Mr. FANELLI. You do not have to apologize.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are not being asked to testify to anything here that you do not remember. We want your best recollection and belief; what you know.

Mr. BISSON. I was trying to answer an assumption.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I call attention to this one paragraph in this article?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS (reading):

This direct interference by America in the internal affairs of China has but one purpose: the furthering of its imperialist designs at the expense of the Chinese people. The profit-mad munition makers, aeroplane manufacturers, industrialists, and bankers, seeking new fields of exploitation for their surplus capital, are turning greedy eyes toward war-torn China.

Mr. Bisson, did you ever speak on a platform with known members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances?

Mr. BISSON. I spoke at a meeting in connection with the organization, American Friends of the Chinese People.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that? Can you recall?

Mr. BISSON. I do not; presumably sometime in the midthirties.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you this issue, November 1934, of China Today, Mr. Bisson, and ask you if you can recall whether or not that advertisement of a meeting is the correct one?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. They mentioned that the following speakers would speak: Mr. T. A. Bisson, Mr. Earl Browder, Mr. Malcolm Cowley, General Yakhontoff, Frederick V. Field, and Hansu Chan.

Did you speak on that occasion?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that I did.

Mr. MORRIS. You notice that the tickets were sold in two places there, at the New Masses and at the Workers' Bookshop, the Workers' Bookshop being the official bookshop of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you at the time know that any of those persons were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. What is that?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the objective of the meeting that you were speaking at?

Mr. BISSON. I think it was to raise funds for the magazine China Today.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that a Communist publication?

Mr. BISSON. I would not call that a Communist publication.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it Communist-controlled at all?

Mr. BISSON. Not to my knowledge.

Senator FERGUSON. Was it a front?

Mr. BISSON. I am not sure of the distinction between Communist-controlled and front.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know what a Communist-front paper is?

Mr. BISSON. I am not certain in terms of your question at this point.

Senator FERGUSON. You cannot answer my question if you do not know what it means, if you do not know what a front means.

Mr. BISSON. I presume you mean an organization which Communists control.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes, and are using.

Mr. BISSON. I am not clear on the distinction between front and the organization that he spoke of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was China Today a publication that was in any measure controlled or used by the Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. It could have been; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it?

Mr. BISSON. I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were associated with the magazine?

Mr. BISSON. I was associated with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. Was it?

Mr. BISSON. I am not prepared to say that it was fully controlled by the Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you if it was controlled or used in any way by the Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not?

Senator FERGUSON. What do you think Earl Browder was doing in there if he was not using it? Do you think Earl Browder was advocating a capitalist front, speaking to the capitalist movement at this meeting and raising the funds? Is that your opinion now?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Then it was a front; was it not?

Mr. MORRIS. The tickets were sold by the New Masses and the Daily Worker.

Mr. FANELLI. Let him answer one question.

Either he knows, or he doesn't know.

Senator FERGUSON. It was a front; was it not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

I might say that under these circumstances one could consider it a front organization.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say that these Communists were there to help this meeting for the raising of funds for China Today because they wanted to see funds raised for China Today?

Mr. FANELLI. I object to that. The only evidence I have heard so far was that there was one Communist at that meeting, Earl Browder.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Hansu Chan?

Mr. BISSON. He was one of the editors of China Today.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that a pseudonym?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the real name of Hansu Chan?

Mr. BISSON. Chi.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Chi?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. He is an official of Communist China today; is he not?

Mr. BISSON. I am not certain whether he is an official today. He has been reported as such in the last 2 or 3 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you say that he is a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. He is a Communist; yes, today.

Mr. MORRIS. So, there we do know that Mr. Browder and Mr. Hansu Chan are Communists.

How about Frederick V. Field? Would you consider that he is a Communist today?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; he would be.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, just so the record could speak freely, counsel objected, and I do not know to what extent the Chair is going to permit objections by counsel—

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Sourwine—

Mr. SOURWINE. If you please. I should like to point out that this question has been asked before, the question in the plural, if he spoke with Communists, and he said "Yes"; and this witness was asked if he knew at that time that they were Communists, plural, and he said "Yes," which seems to me to be adequate foundation for the question which I asked.

Senator FERGUSON. I will take the objection merely as a suggestion to the Chair to see whether or not in the opinion of the Chair it is objectionable.

Will you repeat or read the question?

Mr. FANELLI. Senator, I withdraw my comment.

Senator FERGUSON. I am afraid that the witness does not remember. Do you know what the question is?

Mr. BISSON. I am afraid not.

Senator FERGUSON. Then, we had better have it read.

Mr. SOURWINE. In order to lay the necessary foundation——

Mr. FANELLI. I withdraw my comment.

Senator FERGUSON. Let us go right ahead.

Repeat the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Bisson, is it your understanding that any Communists who were on the platform with you at that meeting were there because they wanted to see funds raised for China Today?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that was why you were there?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Doesn't that mean you were cooperating or collaborating with them?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that you were cooperating or collaborating with them in furtherance of their objective?

Mr. BISSON. Objectives which I associated myself with at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. And at that time was that not a Communist Party objective: to raise funds for China Today? They would not have been there if that had not been; would they?

Mr. BISSON. I assume it was; yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Bisson, do you know what was at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York?

Mr. BISSON. 50 East Thirteenth Street?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. That was the Communist headquarters at that time; was it?

Mr. BISSON. I do not know.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know whether the Workers Bookshop was a Communist shop?

Mr. BISSON. I assume that it was. I do not know that shop.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know what the New Masses was? Was that a Communist front?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. So, the tickets for sale were sold at a Communist front, the New Masses, 31 East Twenty-seventh Street, and the other place was at the Workers Bookshop, 50 East Thirteenth Street?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. At least one of the places was a Communist-front place?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. We will put the whole ad in the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 714" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 714

[Advertisement in China Today, November 1934, p. 39]

BANQUET AND DANCE

Celebrate the appearance of

CHINA TODAY

and hear the following speakers

T. A. BISSON
EARL BROWDER
MALCOLM COWLEY

GEN. YAKHONTOFF
FREDERICK V. FIELD
HANSU CHAN

and enjoy

NATIVE CHINESE FOOD (SERVED CHINESE STYLE)

Dance to the music of the well-known

CLUB VALHALLA ORCHESTRA

Saturday, November 10th—Irving Plaza, 15th Street & Irving Place, New York
\$1.25 for Banquet and Dance Reservations in advance only. Service at 6:30 sharp.

50¢ Dance ticket entitles you to hear speakers at 8:30—65¢ at the door.
Tickets for sale at NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th Street; WORKER BOOKSHOP, 50

E. 13 Street, or at our Headquarters

Auspices

FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

168 West 23rd St.

Chelsea 2-9096

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, when you were working in General MacArthur's headquarters, and when you were working for the United States strategic bomb survey, did you make disclosure to your authorities that you had these Communist associations in the past?

MR. SOURWINE. By "authorities," you mean superiors, Mr. Morris?

MR. MORRIS. That is right. Your superiors and the people with whom you made application for employment?

MR. FANELLI. The answer is "yes" or "no" to them. Tell them you did or didn't.

MR. BISSON. I did not.

MR. MORRIS. Did you mention that you had written for this Communist publication, China Today, under a pseudonym?

MR. BISSON. I did not.

MR. MORRIS. Did you mention that you had spoken on the same platform with Frederick V. Field, Hansu Chan, and Earl Browder?

MR. BISSON. I did not.

MR. MORRIS. Did you think that they would have reposed confidence in you if you had?

MR. BISSON. I do not know.

MR. MORRIS. While you were in Tokyo, Mr. Bisson, did you ever meet with Mr. Philip Keeney?

MR. FANELLI. In connection with the last question just asked, he has some documents he would like to introduce. Do you want them now?

SENATOR FERGUSON. Answer the question. Then we will get to the documents.

MR. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How often did you meet with Mr. Keeney in Tokyo?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Keeney was a member of occupation headquarters. He was living in the same hotel with me. I saw him a number of times a week.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you say that you were on very close terms with Philip O. Keeney?

Mr. BISSON. I would not.

Mr. MORRIS. You did, however, meet him two or three times a week?

Mr. BISSON. We were working in different sections. He was in the educational work.

Mr. MORRIS. But even though you were working in different kinds of work, you did meet him two or three times a week, did you not?

Mr. BISSON. We were living in the same hotel and dining in the same hotel. Therefore, I met him several times a week. I would not know whether they were twice a week or six times a week.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a friend of yours, was he not, Mr. Bisson?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you had known him before he went out to Japan, had you not?

Mr. BISSON. No. I met him first in Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. You were then subsequently associated with him in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; were you not?

Mr. BISSON. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that he was disqualified from service in the Far East command?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know the reason for his disqualification?

Mr. BISSON. To the best of my knowledge he could not find out when he was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was: Did you know?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know why he was disqualified?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. And that did not interfere with your decision of becoming associated with him—he was treasurer, was he not, of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—and that did not interfere with your becoming associated with him in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy when you returned to the United States?

Mr. BISSON. It did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever know or have reason to believe that he was under Communist discipline or had voluntarily and knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Communist Party members in furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Susumo Okano? Did you ever meet Mr. Susumo Okano in Japan?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I think I did.

Mr. MORRIS. He was an official of the Japanese Communist Party, was he not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, he was the leader of the Japanese Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. He is.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you choose to describe him as a Japanese liberal who should be included in the Japanese Government?

Mr. BISSEX. I do not remember of describing him as a liberal. I may well have described him as one who could enter the Japanese Government.

Mr. MORRIS. I have now your article, which appears in *Pacific Affairs* of 1944, September 1944, in which you say, among other things, here:

There are many such liberals, including Takao Saito, expelled from the House of Representatives for denouncing the war against China; Kanju Kato, jailed for his aggressive and uncompromising trade-union leadership; Daikichiro Togawa, member imprisoned for suspected opposition to the war in China; Wataru Kaji, who has for years aided the Chinese armies in propaganda work; Tatsukichi Minobe, eminent constitutional lawyer driven from the House of Peers for his liberal views on the Emperor; Susumo Okano, Communist leader of the Japanese Peoples' Liberation Alliance, organized February 1944 in Yenan, China; Baroness Ishimoto—

and so forth.

Did you advocate that Susumo Okano listed among those other people as liberal by you be included in the Japanese Government?

Mr. BISSEX. I did.

Many I make a comment on that?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. You wanted to introduce something into the record at this time?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes. We have been discussing my Government connections in Japan and I should like to speak both to—

Senator FERGUSON. Before you go into that, I would just like to inquire from Mr. Morris how long he thinks this hearing will take.

Mr. BISSEX. I think I can finish this in 2 or 3 minutes.

Senator FERGUSON. It appears that we cannot finish today and we can finish in about an hour and a half, so we have a full meeting on Monday at 10:30, and, therefore, we will start this hearing sharply at 9 o'clock Monday morning.

We will recess now until 9 o'clock Monday morning.

If you do not finish at 10:30 when the committee comes in as a whole, you have another meeting at 2, do you not? We have another meeting at 2?

Mr. MORRIS. We have another meeting and another witness subpoenaed.

Senator FERGUSON. If there is any question we could start this one at 1 o'clock to finish it, so we would have 2½ hours.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you want to get this material in he is offering?

Mr. FANELLI. It won't take a minute, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. All right.

Mr. BISSEX. I want to note that Major General Willoughby, former head of G-2 in occupation headquarters at Tokyo, has charged before the committee that I was among certain people "unloaded" on headquarters from the States in the spring of 1946.

The fact is that the Deputy Chief of Government Section, Col. Charles L. Kades, invited me to join that section in the fall of 1945, when I was in Japan with the strategic bombing survey.

My commitments with the survey did not permit me to accept the offer at that time. By the spring of 1946 I had fulfilled these commitments, including the writing of one of the chapters in the official survey volume prepared by the Over-all Economic Effects Division, to which I was attached.

From the War Department I received later an official scroll of commendation for my contribution to the work of the strategic bombing survey.

Having completed my work with the survey, I took up the offer previously made by Government Section in Tokyo, stipulating that I stay only 4 months, and that my status be raised from the grade of P-7 to P-8, the highest professional category.

These matters are all subject of record and can be easily verified by investigation. It was under these conditions, which do not take on the character of being "unloaded" on occupation headquarters, that I assumed my duties with Government Section in April 1946.

With regard to my period of official service with occupation headquarters in 1946-47, the appropriate source to consult is my immediate superior, Brig. Gen. (later Maj. Gen.) Courtney Whitney, Chief of Government Section. He gave me a letter of commendation when I left the field.

Under the urgings of my official superiors in Government Section, I extended the stipulated term of 4 months to 13 months.

The letter he gave me reads as follows—

Senator FERGUSON. Just offer it and we will put it in the record.

Mr. FANELLI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you disclose to any of these people that you mentioned, Mr. Bisson, your past Communist associations?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. I will receive that commendation letter in the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 715" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 715

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS,
Tokyo, Japan, May 8, 1947.

Mr. T. A. BISSON,
Tokyo, Japan

DEAR MR. BISSON: It is with a sense of sincere regret that I note your departure from your post here for the United States. I have, however, realized for some time that your personal affairs required your presence at home, and that you were staying during the national and local elections at my request only at considerable personal sacrifice.

As special assistant to the Chief, Government Section, since early in 1946, you have devoted yourself indefatigably to the democratization of Japan. The advice and untiring assistance which you gave in the preparation of legislative programs during the several sessions of the National Diet contributed materially to the successful formulation and adoption of laws of a progressive and enlightened character fully in keeping with the liberal spirit of the new Constitution of Japan.

Nor can I commend too highly the vision and judgment which you exhibited in the development of plans for the deconcentration of political and economic power in Japan and the establishment of a social pattern in which a system of private enterprise may function free from monopolistic influences and totalitarian controls. In fact, the zeal, patience, and initiative with which you performed your manifold day-to-day duties have won the deep respect and admiration of all your colleagues in this headquarters, as well as my own gratitude and appreciation. We will all miss you.

With best wishes for your continued success, I am,

Very sincerely,

(Signed) COURTNEY WHITNEY,
Brigadier General, United States Army,
Chief, Government Section.

Senator FERGUSON. We will recess now, until 9 o'clock on Monday morning.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 9 a. m. Monday, March 31, 1952.)

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1952

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 9 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Hon. Homer Ferguson, presiding.

Present: Senators McCarran, Eastland, and Ferguson.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, committee counsel; Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, director or research. Senator FERGUSON. Come to order.

You may proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you put into the record the citation of the American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a correction of the previous statement.

The American Friends of the Chinese People, which was the organization that sponsored China Today, was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in its report of March 29, 1944, pages 40 and 147. It was not in existence at the time the Attorney General's list was promulgated. That is why it is not on his list.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean it had passed out of existence?

Mr. MANDEL. It had ceased existing at the time the Attorney General's list was put out.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't actually know why it wasn't on the Attorney General's list; do you?

Mr. MANDEL. I know only that the organization did not exist at the time the first Attorney General's list was put out.

Mr. FANELLI. I think it ought to be noted the Attorney General's list has many organizations that are out of existence such as the American League for Peace and Democracy. That is just for your information, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. You may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON, BERKELEY, CALIF. ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH A. FANELLI, ESQ.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, have you written in justification of the Soviet-German Pact?

Mr. BISSON. I have not, so far as I know.

Mr. FANELLI. He has one correction in his testimony of Saturday at any point where it is convenient.

Senator FERGUSON. Do it now.

Mr. BISSON. My position of mascot of Pacific Affairs was associate editor, not acting editor. The same is true for Michael Greenberg. In these years, Mr. Holland or Mr. Carter was the editor. What I wanted to indicate here is that I did not have editorial responsibility at the time, as this masthead shows.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did the masthead read, "associate editor?"

Mr. BISSON. Associate editor; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you perform the duties that an editor would normally perform?

Mr. BISSON. I performed on occasion routine editorial administration. I did not have editorial responsibility.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who decided what was going into the magazine?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Carter when he was editor or Mr. Holland.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Carter, himself, personally submitted manuscripts and decided what to reject and accept?

Mr. BISSON. Sometimes we had editorial sessions in which the whole group of editors would meet. There would be discussions there. The final decision in those discussions always lay with Mr. Carter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make recommendations to him?

Mr. BISSON. We all made recommendations, depending on what we felt about all of this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you the top man on the publication except for Mr. Carter?

Mr. BISSON. May I see the masthead of the Pacific Affairs?

Mr. SOURWINE. From your memory, not from the masthead.

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Belshaw was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there someone over you except Mr. Carter?

Mr. BISSON. I would like to see the masthead.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you remember?

Mr. BISSON. My memory is "No."

Mr. MORRIS. I want to refresh the witness' recollection by referring to our exhibit No. 71, which appears on page 307 of the public transcript. This is a letter from Wilma Fairbank to you dated October 19, 1943. Wilma Fairbanks writes:

DEAR ART: Harriet writes me that Chien Tuan-Sheng's article on local government is going to be published in the December issue of Pacific Affairs. I understand that you are now acting editor.

Mr. BISSON. "I understand"—she wasn't certain. I think that is quite clear and what she is saying is that she thinks I am the editor and would like me to take this into consideration. She wasn't certain. That would be my interpretation of it.

I assure you the point here is whether an article should go in or not and that was up to Mr. Carter.

Mr. FANELLI. You have answered the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with the question put to the witness, "Did you support the Hitler-Stalin Pact?" I would like to introduce into the record an article that appeared in Amerasia of September 1938, signed "TAB," which is entitled "Japan Picks Up the Pieces."

Senator FERGUSON. Is that your article?

Mr. BISSON. That is my article.

Mr. FANELLI. Let me see it, please.

Mr. MORRIS. I will show you this next article in order to save time.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you say about that article?

Mr. BISSON. I have not had a chance to complete reading it yet.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why haven't you had a chance to complete reading it?

Mr. BISSON. I would like to have my counsel read this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does Mr. Fanelli know whether you wrote this?

Mr. FANELLI. I would like to know what he has been asked and is being asked.

Senator FERGUSON. We are trying to find his knowledge.

Mr. BISSON. I have said I wrote it.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the answer we are waiting for.

Mr. MORRIS. I now offer you this article from Soviet Russia Today.

Mr. FANELLI. Senator, I have no objection to its being in the record, but it doesn't show any support of the Russian-China Pact.

Senator FERGUSON. It will speak for itself.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you the May 1941 issue of China Today and on page 5 is an article entitled "The Soviet-Japanese Pact in Historical Perspective," by T. A. Bisson. I ask you if you wrote that.

Mr. BISSON. I wrote that article.

May I look at it in more detail?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FANELLI. Would you mind waiting a minute while I read it, if you are going to ask him about this?

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel has asked permission to read the article, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long is the article?

Mr. FANELLI. Two pages. It will take me 2 minutes. I have not previously seen this article. I take it he is going to ask about its contents.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you plan to ask Mr. Fanelli any questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Why should counsel read it?

Mr. MORRIS. I have no reason.

Senator FERGUSON. It is what the witness knows about it, not counsel, unless there is some constitutional question in it, or legal questions that you do not want to answer on the ground that it would tend to incriminate you.

Mr. BISSON. May I consult with counsel? If so, I think it would be necessary for him to read it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you identify it as an article you have written?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. How long have you known counsel?

Mr. BISSON. About a week.

Senator FERGUSON. Who introduced you to your counsel?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Maxwell Stewart.

Senator FERGUSON. How long have you been in Washington now?

Mr. BISSON. Since Friday night?

Senator FERGUSON. Last Friday night?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you first meet your counsel? You said about a week.

Mr. BISSON. Half a week.

Senator FERGUSON. A half a week?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you meet your counsel?

Mr. Bisson. I first met my counsel Friday night.

Senator FERGUSON. Who took you to meet your counsel?

Mr. Bisson. I went by myself.

Senator FERGUSON. Nobody with you?

Mr. Bisson. Nobody was with me.

Senator FERGUSON. Was he in his office or in his home?

Mr. Bisson. He was at his office.

Senator FERGUSON. You said that Maxwell Stewart introduced you to your counsel.

Mr. Bisson. By introduced, I took to mean, got me in touch with him.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you contact Mr. Maxwell Stewart about counsel?

Mr. Bisson. Mr. Stewart telephoned me in Berkeley, Calif.

Senator FERGUSON. He telephoned you, or did you telephone him?

Mr. Bisson. He telephoned to me.

Senator FERGUSON. Had you been in contact with Maxwell Stewart before?

Mr. Bisson. I had not.

Senator FERGUSON. Who is Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. Bisson. You mean in terms of his business position?

Senator FERGUSON. What is his business?

Mr. Bisson. I think he is head of a public affairs committee, puts out some pamphlets.

Senator FERGUSON. He is the head of a public affairs committee that puts out pamphlets. What kind of pamphlets?

Mr. Bisson. I am not sufficiently aware of the type of pamphlets.

Senator FERGUSON. How long have you known Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. Bisson. I have known Maxwell Stewart 15—20 years, a long time.

Senator FERGUSON. Was he ever on the Institute of Pacific Relations with you?

Mr. Bisson. He was not, not that I know of.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he ever work in Government?

Mr. Bisson. I do not think so.

Senator FERGUSON. When did Maxwell Stewart get in touch with you?

Mr. Bisson. You mean the telephone call to which I referred?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes. When was that?

Mr. Bisson. To the best of my knowledge it was Wednesday.

Senator FERGUSON. Last Wednesday, Maxwell Stewart called you in California?

Mr. Bisson. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. When were you subpoenaed?

Mr. Bisson. The telegram arrived on Tuesday, I think.

Senator FERGUSON. The telegram arrived on Tuesday of last week saying that you were to come here?

Mr. Bisson. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. And Maxwell Stewart called you on Wednesday?

Mr. Bisson. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. What was your conversation with Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSEX. Maxwell Stewart said that he understood I was to testify here in Washington.

Senator FERGUSON. He understood you were going to testify here in Washington, and what else?

Mr. BISSEX. And suggested if I needed a lawyer he could recommend one.

Senator FERGUSON. What else?

Mr. BISSEX. Then he gave me his telephone number.

Senator FERGUSON. Maxwell Stewart's telephone number?

Mr. BISSEX. No; Mr. Fanelli's telephone number.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you tell him you wanted a lawyer?

Mr. BISSEX. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. You realize that many witnesses have appeared without lawyers?

Mr. BISSEX. I did not so realize.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever know a witness in a court case to have a lawyer? Have you ever appeared as a witness in a court case?

Mr. BISSEX. I have not. I am rather inexperienced in legal matters.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you ever attended a court trial?

Mr. BISSEX. I don't know as I actually have.

Senator FERGUSON. You don't think you have?

Mr. BISSEX. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you ever known a witness to have a lawyer before?

Mr. BISSEX. I just wouldn't know the answer to that question.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that the only conversation you had with Maxwell Stewart? You are under oath, you understand.

Mr. BISSEX. No; that is not the only conversation.

Senator FERGUSON. Tell us what the conversation was that you had with Maxwell Stewart. I have been trying to get it.

Mr. BISSEX. I also had a conversation with Maxwell Stewart in New York.

Senator FERGUSON. When?

Mr. BISSEX. Friday.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you go to New York and meet Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSEX. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. Where did you meet him in New York?

Mr. BISSEX. I met him at his offices.

Senator FERGUSON. He has an office in New York?

Mr. BISSEX. He has.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he telephone you from Washington or telephone you from New York?

Mr. BISSEX. He did not telephone me.

Senator FERGUSON. What?

Mr. BISSEX. Oh, you mean on the day that we are now speaking of, or earlier?

Senator FERGUSON. Now you told me that he telephoned you last Wednesday.

Mr. BISSEX. But we are now speaking about Friday, and I am asking you whether you are speaking of Friday or Wednesday.

Senator FERGUSON. I am talking about your first telephone call from Maxwell Stewart.

Mr. BISSON. That is exactly what I was not clear about. Now I am clear about it.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you have your first call from Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. On Wednesday afternoon.

Senator FERGUSON. From where?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know as he exactly stated. I presume he was in New York City.

Senator FERGUSON. You presume he was. You were where?

Mr. BISSON. In Berkeley.

Senator FERGUSON. How long did the telephone call take?

Mr. BISSON. I suppose 3 or 4 minutes.

Senator FERGUSON. What did you say to him? What did he say to you?

Mr. BISSON. I have told you what we said.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that the only conversation? He said: "You are going to be subpoenaed?"

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. "You are going to be subpoenaed?"

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. "Do you want a lawyer?"

Mr. BISSON. He asked me whether I needed a lawyer.

Senator FERGUSON. What did you say?

Mr. BISSON. I said I did not have one and I would like to have one.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he name the lawyer?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you who would pay for the lawyer?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ask him?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Was there anything said about paying the lawyer?

Mr. BISSON. There was not.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you a contract now to pay your lawyer?

Mr. BISSON. I have.

Senator FERGUSON. How much?

Mr. BISSON. \$250.

Senator FERGUSON. For what, for a day?

Mr. BISSON. For a day.

Senator FERGUSON. A day?

Mr. BISSON. No, \$250.

Senator FERGUSON. For the whole appearance?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. This was originally understood to be only a day's appearance.

Senator FERGUSON. It was to be \$250. Were you to pay it personally?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you pay any down?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you make an appointment with Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. How did you get to New York to see him if you did not make an appointment?

Mr. BISSON. I went down to New York City to see him.

Senator FERGUSON. You told us the conversation on Wednesday and there is nothing in it about you going to New York.

Mr. BISSON. There is nothing to prevent me from going to New York when I got here in Washington, is there?

Senator FERGUSON. Not a thing.

Mr. BISSON. That is exactly what I did.

Senator FERGUSON. You came to Washington when?

Mr. BISSON. I came to Washington on Friday morning.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you go to see your counsel?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Where did you go in Washington?

Mr. BISSON. I did not go anywhere in Washington.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you get off the train or plane?

Mr. BISSON. I was on a plane.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you get off the plane?

Mr. BISSON. I got off the plane, asked whether I could purchase an extension to New York, and returned to the plane.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you do that?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you contact anybody while you were here in Washington?

Mr. BISSON. I did not. I merely had time to make the shift.

Senator FERGUSON. Why did you change your mind about going on to New York?

Mr. BISSON. I didn't change my mind. The Government TR called for a San Francisco to Washington trip. I could not change that. What I could do was to extend it on my own funds.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you have another conversation on the telephone with Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. No; I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Where were you to meet Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. I was not. We made no arrangements to meet.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you went on to New York?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know where Maxwell Stewart's office was in New York?

Mr. BISSON. I did not know the exact address.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you go on to New York?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you see Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. Who else did you see in New York?

Mr. BISSON. I saw Mr. Holland.

Senator FERGUSON. You saw Mr. Holland?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you see anybody else?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Is Maxwell Stewart a lawyer?

Mr. BISSON. No; not as far as I know.

Senator FERGUSON. He is a public-relations man?

Mr. BISSON. I would not call him a public-relations man.

Senator FERGUSON. What is on his office door?

Mr. BISSEX. Public Affairs Committee.

Senator FERGUSON. Committee for what?

Mr. BISSEX. The committee publishes pamphlets. It does not necessarily mean—I do not think he operates for any person as a public relations expert in terms of his business.

Senator FERGUSON. What kind of pamphlets does he publish? What are the pamphlets?

Mr. BISSEX. I have not seen them for many years. They are small pamphlets, something of this size, a little larger, various subjects, most of which I think are domestic.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you go to see Stewart before you went to see Holland?

Mr. BISSEX. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. You went to see Stewart first?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You didn't have an appointment with him?

Mr. BISSEX. No.

Senator FERGUSON. You are sure about that?

Mr. BISSEX. That is right. He is my friend.

Senator FERGUSON. What was your conversation with Stewart about?

Mr. BISSEX. It revolved generally around the procedures in a committee hearing of this kind with hints to help me out in conducting myself.

Senator FERGUSON. How to conduct yourself?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. What did he tell you about that?

Mr. BISSEX. Well, there are a number of points we discussed. I suppose I can remember some of them.

One was to try to keep cool. Another was to make sure you knew the question before you attempted to answer it. Another was to look at a document that was read to you.

Senator FERGUSON. Look at it when it was read to you?

Mr. BISSEX. If I am not familiar with its contents.

Senator FERGUSON. To have your counsel read the document also?

Mr. BISSEX. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you that?

Mr. BISSEX. No, he did not say that. Just to make sure that I had the content of a document on which I was being questioned if my memory was not complete about it.

I do not remember any other details. He thought we should—it was almost lunch time then—go out for lunch.

Senator FERGUSON. How long did you talk with Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BISSEX. I suppose it was 15 or 20 minutes. We then telephoned Mr. Holland and made a luncheon appointment with him.

Senator FERGUSON. You and Stewart went to Holland?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And had luncheon with Holland?

Mr. BISSEX. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. What did you talk about there?

Mr. BISSEX. In general, the same problems.

Senator FERGUSON. How to conduct yourself before a committee?

Mr. BISSEX. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you talk about Owen Lattimore's testimony?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Was his name mentioned?

Mr. BISSON. I don't believe it was.

Senator FERGUSON. Think a minute.

Mr. BISSON. To the best of my knowledge, his name was not even mentioned.

Senator FERGUSON. Did Mr. Stewart say that he had talked to counsel, that the counsel would take your case?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. I think he said that he had talked to Mr. Fanelli.

Senator FERGUSON. And Mr. Fanelli would take your case?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you that Mr. Fanelli had any experience in this particular case?

Mr. BISSON. That is, my case?

Senator FERGUSON. No, in the IPR case.

Mr. BISSON. No; I don't think so, except that he told me he had been his lawyer here when he was here.

Senator FERGUSON. And Mr. Fanelli had represented Mr. Maxwell Stewart as a witness before the committee?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you knew Maxwell Stewart had been a witness here?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you as to whether Mr. Fanelli had represented anybody else before the committee?

Mr. BISSON. He did not.

Senator FERGUSON. That he had gotten other people to go to Mr. Fanelli to have Mr. Fanelli as a lawyer before this committee?

Mr. BISSON. He did not. We did not discuss any of that.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you discuss Mr. Budenz?

Mr. BISSON. We did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Was he mentioned?

Mr. BISSON. Not that I remember.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you that Mr. Fanelli was the man who had given certain evidence to the attorney for Mr. Lattimore?

Mr. BISSON. He did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Didn't he tell you that?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you that Mr. Fanelli had given evidence to Mr. Fortas, Abe Fortas?

Mr. BISSON. He did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Was the name of Abe Fortas mentioned?

Mr. BISSON. It was not.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you talk about any deportation cases?

Mr. BISSON. We did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Have we got about your conversation with Holland?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Were any of these documents mentioned?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. How long was your conversation with Holland?

Mr. Bisson. There was no separate conversation with Holland. It was a general conversation in the office and then we had lunch. As a matter of fact, as I remember, finally only Mr. Stewart and I went to lunch.

Senator FERGUSON. Holland did not go with you?

Mr. Bisson. Holland finally did not go to lunch.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you and Stewart went over to Holland's office?

Mr. Bisson. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. How long a time did you spend there?

Mr. Bisson. I would estimate a half or three-quarters of an hour.

Senator FERGUSON. You were about three-quarters of an hour at Holland's office?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Who suggested getting Holland?

Mr. Bisson. I expect I said that, since Mr. Holland is acting as head of the IPR it would probably be well if I saw him.

Senator FERGUSON. Who called Holland?

Mr. Bisson. Maxwell Stewart did.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you went to lunch with Stewart?

Mr. Bisson. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. Could you give us the conversation?

Mr. Bisson. I am afraid I don't recall any of the details. We passed on to general subjects then. We were discussing family matters, my son's position, and so on.

Senator FERGUSON. What is that?

Mr. Bisson. We had certain matters to deal with with reference to my son, and I asked him about his family. We were discussing mainly family matters over lunch.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you call the lawyer—he was not your lawyer then, because you had not talked to him——

Mr. Bisson. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Did Stewart call him?

Mr. Bisson. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Did anybody call him?

Mr. Bisson. No.

Senator FERGUSON. How did you know you were going to meet him Friday?

Mr. Bisson. I did not know I was going to meet him Friday.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you leave New York?

Mr. Bisson. I left New York right after lunch.

Senator FERGUSON. What time?

Mr. Bisson. On the 1:30 train.

Senator FERGUSON. You arrived here at what time?

Mr. Bisson. I think it was around 5 o'clock.

Senator FERGUSON. Where did you go then?

Mr. Bisson. I went to my hotel.

Senator FERGUSON. Where?

Mr. Bisson. Hotel Stratford.

Senator FERGUSON. Then where?

Mr. Bisson. I then telephoned Mr. Haaser.

Senator FERGUSON. Who is Mr. Haaser?

Mr. Bisson. I was directed to telephone him when I arrived.

Senator FERGUSON. By whom?

Mr. BISSON. Who directed me to do that?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. The telegram here.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you get him on the phone?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Then what?

Mr. BISSON. I reported I had arrived. He said the hearing was scheduled for——

Senator FERGUSON. About what time was that?

Mr. BISSON. I suppose that must have been about 5:30, a quarter of 6.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you had not contacted the lawyer yet?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you contact him?

Mr. BISSON. I made a telephone call to him after that.

Senator FERGUSON. You had his number because Maxwell Stewart gave it to you?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. Was he at his office?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; he was at his office.

Senator FERGUSON. You went to the office?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you appeared Saturday morning?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you have some questions, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just one or two.

What time did your plane get into Washington Friday morning?

Mr. BISSON. I think it was about 9 o'clock. I am not exactly certain.

Mr. SOURWINE. What time did you take off for New York?

Mr. BISSON. I think it was about a half an hour.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be about 9:30 that the plane took off for New York?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. What time did you get to New York?

Mr. BISSON. As I remember, the flight took about an hour or a little over.

Mr. SOURWINE. You got into LaGuardia Field?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be about 10:30 or a little later?

Mr. BISSON. 10:30 or a quarter to 11.

Mr. SOURWINE. What time did you get into Manhattan?

Mr. BISSON. I had to wait for the bags. I went in the limousine. I suppose it was 11 o'clock or 11:15.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you get off? Where did the limousine leave you?

Mr. BISSON. As I remember, I got off at the uptown stop.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was that?

Mr. BISSON. I wouldn't remember the exact street. It was around Fifty-seventh Street, something like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Fifty-seventh and what?

Mr. BISSON. Lexington.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then what did you do?

Mr. BISSON. My problem was I did not know where to get off the limousine because I did not know the address of Mr. Stewart's office.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is around a quarter to 12?

Mr. BISSON. No; this is a quarter after 11.

So I went into a drug store or something, and looked at a telephone book, and found his address and got a taxicab and went to his office.

Mr. SOURWINE. How is he listed in the telephone book?

Mr. BISSON. I think I looked up Public Affairs Committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the Manhattan telephone directory?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is the office?

Mr. BISSON. The office—I am not exactly certain. It is down—

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you go?

Mr. BISSON. It was about 20 blocks downtown, I think, a little below Forty-second Street, around Fortieth Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Fortieth and what?

Mr. BISSON. That is what I was trying to remember. I think it is on the east side of Fifth Avenue a couple of blocks.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all you can remember about it?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know the name of the building?

Mr. BISSON. I don't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does it have a name?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went there in a cab?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. You got there when? About 11:30?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just walked in on him unannounced?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he was there?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You talked with him for a while?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then one of you suggested calling Mr. Holland?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think it was you?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then Mr. Stewart did call Mr. Holland?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. He found him in?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Stewart had talked to Mr. Holland before about your coming?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you made any contact with Mr. Holland by mail or otherwise to let him know you were coming?

Mr. BISSON. I had not.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you went over to Mr. Holland's, you and Mr. Stewart?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. In a cab?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. What time did you leave to go to Mr. Holland's office?

Mr. BISSON. I think we must have got to Mr. Holland's office about 12 o'clock. It may have been a little before or after.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get right in to see him?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You talked with him for about how long?

Mr. BISSON. Well, our talk was interrupted. Mr. Shannon McCune came in. Maybe we talked for 10 or 15 minutes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. who?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Shannon McCune.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him?

Mr. BISSON. I know him to some extent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he with IPR?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does he do?

Mr. BISSON. I think he is a university teacher up in New York State somewhere, Syracuse, or something.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was he doing there? Do you know?

Mr. BISSON. He just happened to come into the office at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You talked with him for about 15 minutes in the group?

Mr. BISSON. No; he came in, he talked to Mr. Holland. Maxwell Stewart and I were on the side.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was an interruption?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you talked with Mr. Holland altogether about 15 minutes?

Mr. BISSON. I would say about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you went to lunch?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Mr. Holland to go to lunch with you?

Mr. BISSON. I think he said he had another engagement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask him to go with you?

Mr. BISSON. No. We were going out to lunch, but he had another engagement.

Mr. SOURWINE. So it was then about 12:15; is that right?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went out to lunch?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you eat near the office building there?

Mr. BISSON. No. We decided we didn't have too much time and we went down to the Pennsylvania Station eating house, I think one of the Savarin's there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you take a cab down there?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were taking your bags with you?

Mr. BISSON. We went down in the subway.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were taking your bags with you from place to place?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. The reason we did that was that it was quicker and very convenient from 1 East Fifty-fourth Street. You get on the subway there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at 1 East Fifty-fourth Street?

Mr. FANELLI. I didn't hear the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nobody asked you what you heard.

Mr. FANELLI. I am entitled to know the questions. I just didn't hear that. He had his hand over his mouth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Fanelli has repeatedly interrupted here. This time he has interrupted at a very important point in the examination.

Were you at 1 East Fifty-fourth Street?

Mr. BISSON. We were at Mr. Holland's office. That is the address.

Mr. FANELLI. I will object to "repeated interruptions." I have not made repeated interruptions.

Senator FERGUSON. The record will speak for itself.

Mr. FANELLI. I know. He need not describe it that way. It is not true.

Senator FERGUSON. You may proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. You took the subway down to the Pennsylvania Station?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You ate at the Savarin?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just the two of you?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you got on the 1 o'clock train for Washington?

Mr. BISSON. 1:30.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FANELLI. May I read this document? I am awaiting your ruling on it. I understood there was an objection to my reading it.

Senator FERGUSON. No; there is no objection to you reading it, but we do not want to delay the examination.

Mr. SOURWINE. Neither of those two items identified previously by the witness has been offered for the record. The purpose for waiting has been to give you an opportunity to read it.

Mr. FANELLI. I have been listening to your questions. I cannot do two things at once.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it your thought that you have the right or privilege to object to the offer of any of these for the record?

Mr. FANELLI. I have not objected to the offer. I understand this committee does not permit me to object.

I may make a suggestion. I have not objected to the offer. I would merely like to understand what is going on. I may have to confer with my witness about it.

Senator FERGUSON. Those two documents will be filed for the record. You may proceed now with the questioning.

(The documents referred to were marked Exhibits No. 716 and No. 717 and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 716

[Source: Amerasia, vol. III, September-February 1939-40]

TOPICS IN BRIEF

JAPAN PICKS UP THE PIECES

Somewhere in Europe, possibly in Switzerland, a Japanese mission is cooling its heels. Responding to Mr. Hitler's personal invitation, it had left Tokyo late in July to attend the Nazi Congress at Nuremberg. The Party consisted of General

Terauchi, Admiral Osami, and two distinguished Japanese businessmen. Its announced purpose was the strengthening of Japan's ties with Berlin and Rome under the "anti-Comintern" pact. Some reports indicated that the long-deferred military alliance with the Axis powers was about to be concluded, and that the Japanese mission was to touch up the final details. The group landed in Europe at the moment when the Soviet-German nonaggression pact was announced. Since then the Nuremberg Congress has been called off, thus completing the discomfiture of Japan's envoys.

The plight of this mission reflects in miniature the larger predicament into which Japan has been plunged by the Soviet-German pact. Throughout the first week, Japan's militarists and politicians fumbled for an answer to the acute dilemma. At Berlin they presented a feeble protest against violation of the "spirit" of the "anti-Comintern" pact, while privately they seethed at the lack of "advance information" on a move which affected their international position so profoundly. In China some of the acts of the Japanese military exhibited a childish exasperation; the slappings administered to German nationals obviously provided no answer to their problem.

Japan's difficulties were serious enough before conclusion of the nonaggression pact, which has greatly strengthened the possibility of effective intervention on behalf of China by the Soviet Union. For several months the Japanese leaders, counting on the European crisis to immobilize all opponents, had been pursuing a recklessly provocative policy in the Far East. Hostilities on the Manchurian-Mongolian frontier were permitted to reach serious proportions, apparently in the belief that they might discourage the formation of an Anglo-French-Soviet alliance. At the same time, the Japanese were carrying on a bitter campaign against foreign rights and interests in China. The effort to single out Britain for special attack at Tientsin was too transparent to go down; it was obvious that American and French interests stood or fell with those of Britain. From the beginning of Japan's campaign in the spring, in fact, there had been definite collaboration by London, Paris, and Washington in defense of their position in China. Secretary Hull's denunciation of the Japanese-American commercial treaty must have made this point clear in Tokyo, if it had not been realized earlier. But by this time Japan had gone too far to retreat. It was carrying the fight directly to Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and indirectly to the United States and France. For international support, it was relying on its "anti-Comintern" partners—Germany and Italy.

On the eve of the current European crisis, Japan's campaign had been temporarily checkmated. The essential issue revolved around the scope of the concessions which Japan could milk from the Craigie-Arita "formula" of July 24. In the beginning, the prospects appeared hopeful to Tokyo. The Japanese leaders were gambling for big stakes. Beyond the immediate policing issues affecting the British Concession at Tientsin, they looked for Britain's cooperation in consolidating their economic domination of "occupied" China, particularly in currency matters. And still further, they aimed to secure Britain's aid in coercing China into a "peace" maker. Japan hoped to gain a victory in China which it had proved unable to win by force of arms.

In the beginning of the Craigie-Arita negotiations, all went well. Secretary Hull's denunciation of the trade treaty, however, had considerably strengthened Britain's hand at Tokyo. After making the expected compromise on the policing of the Tientsin Concession, the British negotiators balked. Japan's demands on currency and other economic issues in North China were given lengthy consideration, involving consultation with Washington and Paris officials. On August 18th Britain essentially rejected these demands by stating that they could only be dealt with in multilateral conversations involving all interested powers. The stage was set for another turn of the Japanese screw. Ominous signs of renewed army pressure on British centers in China were evident as the European crisis entered its rising curve. At Shanghai a shooting affray, in which a British sergeant killed two China policemen of the local puppet regime in self-defense, was taken as the point of departure. Japanese military and naval officials met and conferred, demands were made by the local Japanese-dominated authorities, and a force of 6,000 Japanese troops was landed near Shanghai. At Hongkong, meanwhile, Japanese military forces had occupied the mainland areas along the Crown Colony's border, and extensive military-naval precautions were taken by the Hongkong authorities.

Announcement of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact occurred as Japan's preparations for renewed pressure on Britain were reaching a climax. The blow struck Tokyo with crushing force. Only a month before it had suffered the shock

of an action which registered the disapproval of the United States. Now it suddenly found itself deserted by Germany. It had nothing but its own strength—or lack of strength—to undergird the reckless moves which it engaged upon. An unfinished war with China, hostilities with Russia on Outer Mongolia's border, a serious conflict with Britain, latent tension with France, and the undisguised hostility of the United States—all these to carry on its own shoulders, plus the unpredictable effects on the sudden access of strength to the Soviet Union in the Far East. It was high time to reconsider and take stock of the new situation.

The first reactions were evident in China. A sudden damper was put on the anti-British campaign. No more was heard of the demands on the Shanghai Municipal Council, or of the 6,000 Japanese troops landed in the neighboring area. At Hongkong the Japanese troops were withdrawn from the borders of the Colony, and local Japanese officials discounted any talk of aggressive moves.

A more significant reaction appeared in Tokyo on August 28th, when the Hiranuma Cabinet resigned en bloc. The military-fascist extremists in Japan, who had been clamorously demanding an outright alliance with the Berlin-Rome axis, appear to have suffered their most decisive political setback of the past three years. Preliminary reports with regard to the composition of the new Cabinet indicate a decided falling off in the influence of army extremists. General Nobuyuki Abe, the new Japanese premier, is not a member of the extremist clique; his past associations and record tend to place him among the more moderate of the army elements. Even the new War Minister, General Shunroku Hata, comes from a wing of the army that cannot be classified as extremist. Most significant of all is the consideration being given to the appointment of Mamoru Shigemitsu, now Ambassador to London, as Foreign Minister. Prior to his service in London, Shigemitsu held the post of Ambassador at Moscow for a period of several years. An old career diplomat of the civilian school, Shigemitsu will undoubtedly be called upon to play a conciliatory role in relation to the Western powers. Another sign of discomfiture of Japan's military-fascist exponents may be seen in the projected recall from Rome and Berlin of Toshio Shiratori and Lieutenant-General Hiroshi Oshima. These two Ambassadors participated in the original formation of the "anti-Comintern" pact in November 1936, and during recent months had actively campaigned to convert the pact into an outright military alliance.

After the events of recent months in China, the new Japanese leadership may expect to find some difficulty in convincing the Western powers that it comes honestly bearing an olive branch. The real test is whether Japan is willing to give up its brutal attempt to subjugate the Chinese people. Of this there is as yet no sign. The Abe Cabinet reaffirms its intention of establishing the "new order in East Asia"—an "order" which involves not only the conquest of China but the eventual elimination of all Western interests in the Far East. The scenes at Tientsin are of too recent memory to be erased by a sudden shift of tactics dictated by temporary necessity. If cleverly applied, conciliatory tactics hold out more danger to China's efforts to maintain its independence than the recklessly arrogant policy of the Japanese extremists. To Britain, in particular, they would appeal with especial force at the present time. A bribe may often be more effective than a blow. In order to conclude a "deal" that would sacrifice China, Britain would have to receive a *quid pro quo*. Is the present Japanese Cabinet able to make such an offer? And would it be garnished with the plea that Japan must be conserved as a makeweight against the increased strength and influence which the Soviet Union can exert in the Far East? It is to be hoped that any such offers, if tendered, will be recognized for what they are worth.

In the ultimate disposition of Far Eastern affairs, moreover, reckoning must be had with another power—the United States. Editorial reaction to Secretary Hull's denunciation of the Japanese-American trade treaty, as shown in a representative selection of newspapers from coast to coast, is indicative of what the American people have come to believe on the current issues of Far Eastern policy. Approval of Secretary Hull's move is virtually unanimous, while a surprisingly large majority favors implementation of this act by severance of America's trade in war materials with Japan. The result of a nationwide Gallup poll, announced on August 30th, shows that 81 percent of Americans approve the abrogation of the American-Japanese trade treaty, while 82 percent believe that the United States should refuse to sell war materials at the end of six months when the treaty expires. There can be little doubt that, short of a complete reversal of its attempt to dominate China, Japan can expect no aid or support from the United States. This country, as a result of our misnamed Neutrality Act, has already rendered—and is still rendering—far too much assistance to Japan's undeclared

war on the Chinese people. Today popular opinion overwhelmingly approves the adoption of measures which will bring to an end America's partnership with Japan's war makers. It would be unfortunate if small but powerful groups representing the vested interests of minorities should bring to bear sufficient influence to thwart this expressed will of the American people.

T. A. B.

EXHIBIT No. 717

[Source: China Today, May 1941]

THE SOVIET-JAPANESE PACT IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

(By T. A. Bisson)

Interpretations of the Soviet-Japanese pact have about equally the number of its interpreters. All sorts of motivations have been ascribed to it, some of which obviously cancel each other out. Hitlerian diplomacy may be very clever, but even the Nazis cannot square the circle. Germany cannot be at once the father of the pact and the object against which it is directed.

The plain fact seems to be that the pact was greeted with considerable reserve in Berlin and Rome. For this, the reasons are fairly obvious. Germany had hoped to induct the U. S. S. R. into the Axis-Japan alliance via a Soviet-Japanese agreement. It did not achieve this aim. The neutrality pact signed at Moscow on April 13 was clearly an independent transaction, which cuts two ways. If it bars Soviet aid to the United States and Britain in a war against Japan, it also bars Japanese aid to Germany in the event of a Soviet-German collision.

In concluding this agreement with Japan, as in its earlier pact with Germany, the Soviet Union joins neither of the opposing coalitions into which the world has been divided. Rather is the independence of its position strikingly demonstrated. To recognize this fact, it is only necessary to look at the course of Axis diplomacy during the war.

Last September Tokyo adhered to the Axis by signing the military alliance drafted by Hitler in Berlin. But the full scope of the Hitlerian project was still unrealized. It required the Soviet Union as a full-fledged member in order to be completed. Adherence of the U. S. S. R. would have rounded out the Axis-Japan alliance on a grand scale—Eurasian, two-continental. But the Soviet Union has not entered this projected military combination, any more than it entered the original Berlin-Rome Axis in August 1939. It has, instead, signed a separate nonaggression pact with Germany and a separate neutrality pact with Japan, thus fending off both these powers and retaining the maximum degree of diplomatic independence for itself. There is nothing to prevent the Soviet Union from concluding neutrality or nonaggression pacts with Britain and the United States tomorrow, if these powers seriously desired such agreements. The major restriction on the Soviet Union's freedom of action comes in this respect—that it will not join the Anglo-American front in war against either Germany or Japan. This result, of course, is not especially welcome to those British or American circles which would like to see the U. S. S. R. come into the war on their side. They have merely the negative satisfaction that the Soviet Union is also pledged not to join the Axis-Japan alliance in war against the Anglo-American coalition.

What have been the historical factors which have led to the evolution of Soviet policy along these lines? For to those who are willing to look facts in the face, there is nothing mysterious or enigmatic about the development of Soviet policy during recent years. The Soviet-German pact of August 1939 was a logical result of the course taken by British diplomacy in Europe during the immediately preceding years. Similarly, the **Soviet-Japanese pact of April 1941** is the logical outcome of British and American policy in the Far East since 1937.

At this time it is instructive to look back for a moment upon the Anglo-French diplomacy of appeasement in 1933-1939, to which the United States—by its embargo on the Spanish Loyalists and its failure to embargo the Japanese militarists—was also a party. In all three countries—Britain, France, and the United States—a large body of opinion condemned appeasement as suicidal for the democracies, argued that it served to strengthen Germany, Japan, and Italy and encourage the spread of their aggressions, and advocated a policy of collective restraint of the Fascist aggressors. At Geneva, through Maxim

Litvinov, the Soviet Union championed this policy of collective security and fought for its application by a united front of all powers opposed to Fascist aggression. The ruling groups in London, Paris, and Washington thought otherwise, and translated their belief into a series of actions which demonstrated their essential unity of outlook with the Fascist powers. Britain, France, and the United States stubbornly persisted in "building up" the aggressors by one surrender after another—the Anglo-German naval agreement, the Ethiopian fiasco, the rearmament of Germany, the Rhineland remilitarization, "nonintervention" in Spain, the Austrian occupation, and, finally, the Munich pact by which Czechoslovakia was sacrificed.

In the Far East, Britain, France, and the United States failed to extend effective help to China, but continued to arm Japan liberally. Official Washington, it must be reemphasized, did not oppose the diplomacy of appeasement but pursued a policy of "parallel action" which supported Chamberlain to the hilt. We twisted our neutrality laws in such a way as to ban the shipment of American arms to the Loyalists in Spain, even while we permitted an enormous flow of war supplies to Japan. American statutes were twisted and distorted, but there was no contradiction in the intent and effects of the policy which these distortions allowed us to pursue. It enabled the Fascist troops of Mussolini and Hitler to win in Spain, and it helped the Japanese armies to overrun China.

The betrayal of democracy by the democracies during the appeasement era is the factor mainly responsible for the difficulties in which we find ourselves today. It defeated the program of collective resistance to Fascist aggression, which could alone have maintained peace, and crushed the League of Nations. It started the train of "little nation" casualties—numbering Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Spain before the European war broke out in September 1939. It built up Germany's strength to the point at which Hitler could openly launch his drive for conquest and hegemony.

It also accomplished one further result. It drove the Soviet Union out of the concert of the democracies. The Munich Pact enforced a temporary international isolation of the U. S. S. R. Although Soviet interests were vitally affected by the decisions reached at Munich, Chamberlain and Daladier did not see fit to include the Soviet Union in the negotiations which decided Czechoslovakia's fate. The Munich Pact reduced to a travesty the mutual assistance treaties which the U. S. S. R. had concluded with Czechoslovakia and France. By breaking Czechoslovakia, moreover, Britain and France opened up a path for Hitler toward the Soviet Ukraine. Did they hope that Munich would usher in a German-Soviet war? Only nine months later these powers were seeking a military alliance with the U. S. S. R. at Moscow. The latter chose to reject this alliance, to sign a non-aggression pact with Germany, and to remain neutral in the ensuing war—a war, he it noted, caused not by the Soviet-German pact but by the Anglo-French-American policy of appeasement in the 1933-1939 era. In order to ensure peace, Britain, France and the United States would have been obliged to oppose Fascist aggression rather earlier, by some five years at least, than 1939. The Soviet Union chose to stay out of what it considered an imperialist war, which the Anglo-French-American rejection of a collective security program, designed to restrain the aggressors and keep the peace, had made possible.

When we turn to the Far East, we are struck by an amazing coincidence. The same broad pattern of events as occurred in Europe has been repeated there. The Anglo-American failure to restrain Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931-1933, indeed, marked the opening phase of the appeasement era, encouraging Hitler and Mussolini to follow Japan's example. After the Japanese wholesale assault on China began in 1937, the diplomatic parallel between European and Far Eastern appeasement becomes even more striking. Washington officials issued a continuous series of statements condemning Japan's activities, but the United States consistently supplied more than half of Japan's imports of war materials; if the British and Dutch empires are added in, the democracies have supplied more than three-quarters of such imports. In 1940, despite sharp declines in November and December, we still shipped Japan goods valued at \$227 million, only \$5 million less than the 1939 total. Nor have we ever given adequate aid to China—in munitions, which China needed 1:58st, support by either the United States or Britain has been negligible.

Our continued refusal to embargo Japan (even at the current rate we are still supplying more than \$100,000,000 worth of goods annually to Japan, including the bulk of its petroleum imports) and to give adequate aid to China (plane shipments are just beginning on a very limited scale) has had the same

results in the Far East as the policy of appeasing Hitler and Mussolini had in Europe. It has kept Japan's military machine in good running gear, spread Japanese aggression from Manchuria to Indo-China, and raised the spectre of a Japanese onslaught against Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines. And once again the Soviet Union, this time by a neutrality pact with Japan, has sharply dissociated itself from the logical outcome of Anglo-American policy in the Far East. The pact signifies quite clearly that the U. S. S. R. will take no part in a Japanese-American conflict, if such a conflict occurs. It means that the United States cannot expect Soviet assistance in a war against Japan, any more than Britain has received Soviet assistance in its war with Germany. The Soviet Union obviously feels that such conflicts have been made possible as much by British and American support of the German and Japanese aggressors, as by the aggressiveness of the Nazis and the Japanese militarists themselves. So far as lies in its power, it is evidently determined not to engage in them.

For Americans, therefore, the Soviet-Japanese pact constitutes a sharp challenge—a challenge to think through the implications of our Far Eastern policy. Some have been quick to say that the pact has freed Japan's hands for an attack in the south Pacific, and that it thus encourages a Japanese-American conflict. But if Japan's hands are really free for such an attack, which may be the subject of some doubt, what has actually freed them? What has spread Japan's aggression from Manchuria to Indo-China? It is not the neutrality pact signed at Moscow. It is rather the consistent unwillingness of the United States and Britain to oppose the spread of that aggression, either by effective embargoes against Japan or effective aid to China. If Britain and the United States must now prepare to fight Japan in the Far East, it is because of their own failure to oppose Japanese aggression in the past—first in 1931, but more especially since 1937.

This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the U. S. S. R. has been the single power that has consistently supported China's struggle against the Japanese invasion since 1937, not only by diplomatic notes but in actual deeds. Its loans to China, considerably larger than ours, have been translated into finished munitions for the Chinese armies; we have been satisfied to send trucks and petroleum. While our war trade with Japan boomed, the Soviet-Japanese trade turn-over rapidly dwindled from over 50 million yen in 1936 to a few hundred thousand yen in 1939-1940. Throughout the period since 1937, the Soviet Union was making it less possible for Japanese aggression to spread by offering real and consistent opposition to it. This opposition was not wholly without risk—it involved severe military conflicts with Japan on the borders of Manchoukuo in 1938 and 1939. Had we joined hands firmly with the Soviet Union after 1937 in opposing Japanese aggression, we could have long since brought it to a halt. We have not assumed the lesser risks of firm and unequivocal opposition to Japanese aggression, but we have accepted the greater risk of permitting it to spread and offering it aid and comfort in the process. We were loath to see the threat when Japan merely devastated China; today we see the threat of our tin and rubber supplies in southeast Asia quite clearly. The threat exists because of our policy—American, British and French policy—and not because of a Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact.

Nor has the Soviet Union, in signing this pact, agreed to give up its policy of extending aid and support to China. It has notified Chungking that it will continue to send military supplies to the Chinese armies. This aspect of the neutrality pact has, in fact, been sharply attacked by some of the more aggressive Japanese circles. The recognize the sharp distinction which Moscow has drawn—a distinction between maintenance of peaceful relations with Japan and its people, and continued opposition to Japanese aggression in China.

It is this distinction which many supporters of China's struggle in this country would like to see drawn by the American Government. The American people have no quarrel with the Japanese people. But they are distinctly opposed to Japanese aggression in China, and are anxious to see that adequate American aid is given to the Chinese people's struggle for freedom. They are not satisfied that Washington is applying this program with sufficient vigor. Concrete measures of support for China continue to lag. Complete and unequivocal denial of American aid to Japanese aggression has yet to be effected. Such a policy is still the best insurance against a Japanese-American war in the Pacific. Signs of hesitation on Washington's part, or any remnants of the old feeling that a "deal" might be arranged with Tokyo at China's expense, would be the surest invitation to catastrophe.

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Chairman, may I consult with my counsel on this question?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I would like to consult with him as soon as he reads the article.

Senator FERGUSON. You want to consult with him about that article?

Mr. BISSON. I want to consult with him about the problem that has arisen at this point in the hearing.

Senator FERGUSON. What is the problem?

Mr. BISSON. The material that has just been submitted and the questions that are presumably to be asked.

Senator FERGUSON. If you want to confer with your counsel you may.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have a few questions to ask after that point. They are on a different matter. Perhaps we can save time and get them in while counsel is reading that. The witness can interrupt counsel if he feels at any point he needs to consult him. These are other matters entirely.

What does the phrase "Corbett group" mean to you?

Mr. BISSON. How would you spell that?

Mr. SOURWINE. C-o-r-b-e-t-t—Corbett group.

Mr. BISSON. I have never heard of it.

Oh! Corbett group.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I said.

Mr. BISSON. Is that in terms of a Mr. Corbett who wrote a study of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you what the phrase meant to you.

Mr. BISSON. It means nothing to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you in Peking, China, in the winter of 1937-38?

Mr. BISSON. Up to nearly or about the beginning of December. Maybe I was there the first week in December.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. John K. Fairbank there at the time you were there? The winter of 1937?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see him there in Peking at that time?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mrs. Fairbank there, Wilma Fairbank?

Mr. BISSON. I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. Owen Lattimore there?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mrs. Lattimore there?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see him?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Frequently?

Mr. BISSON. I would not say frequently; occasionally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Socially?

Mr. BISSON. Socially.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. Reischauer there at that time?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see him?

Mr. BISSON. I think I saw him once or twice.

Mr. SOURWINE. Socially?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Northern California?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend such a meeting in December of 1949?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. At that meeting, did you do anything indicating that you favored reorganizing Communist China?

Mr. BISSON. I would suppose that in a discussion group in the course of the conference I may have so indicated; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any memory as to whether you did?

Mr. BISSON. I think I probably did.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you in favor of it at that time?

Mr. BISSON. I was. May I extend my answer to that question, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Senator FERGUSON. Could I ask one question? What part of November was it?

Mr. SOURWINE. It was December.

Mr. BISSON. December.

Senator FERGUSON. Then we were at war.

Mr. BISSON. No; that is exactly the point. We were not at war with Korea at that time, and at that time there was considerable sentiment in favor of a recognition of the Peking government. It was by no means a limited group that so felt that way about the situation at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. The entire World Affairs Council, or the majority of it at this meeting was in favor of recognizing Communist China; wasn't it?

Mr. BISSON. I have here a statement of the world trade department of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. This appeared, I suppose, about 2 months before the conference, October 18, 1949. Under a heading, "Realistic policy in China recommended by chamber," there are these statements:

Adoption of a realistic and positive policy by the United States toward the Far East, particularly China, in place of the present watchful waiting by the State Department has been strongly urged by the chamber's board of directors. Recommendations of the board include first, continued American private business and trade with the Chinese as far as possible without dangerously increasing that country's war potential.

(2) Give all possible aid to and continue financial support of American privately endowed enterprises, educational, medical, and missionary.

(3) Keep open our Embassy and consular offices in China, staffing them with the ablest personnel available so that we may meet with our best capacities the serious problems still ahead.

(4) Accept the fact that we may soon have to recognize in such areas as they control the Communist Government as the de facto government, whether we like it or not.

This established policy is crystallized in our new recommendations into a strong, clear position now necessary in the face of indecision of crises.

Recognition of the Chinese Government as the de facto government is essential. It is thoroughly realistic and necessary. Nothing could be gained by declaring an embargo against the Communists.

I merely want to indicate I was not adopting a unique position at that time.

As you have indicated, most of the conference which is now under reference seemed to favor that policy. The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce also did.

Mr. SOURWINE. You recall the question I asked you a few minutes ago about Corbett?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I direct your attention to page 253 of our printed hearings, part 1, where appears the text of a letter dated May 29 from Edward C. Carter to W. L. Holland, the last paragraph of which reads:

Last week we had a special meeting on Soviet policy in the Pacific made up of some members of Corbett's group, but it was an ad hoc meeting. Those present were: Kathleen Barnes, Lockwood, Grajdanzev, Corbett, Muhle, Bisson, Moore, Field, James Allen, Bill Carter, E. C. Carter, and Owen Lattimore, and Leaning.

Mr. BISSON. I had completely forgotten that particular meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does this refresh your memory?

Mr. BISSON. It does.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that meeting.

Mr. BISSON. I remember nothing at all about it. If I had remembered anything about it, I think I would have recalled when you first mentioned it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what is meant by "Corbett's group"?

Mr. BISSON. It is still very vague to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you remember about it?

Mr. BISSON. Apparently I can only recall what you just stated, that this seems to be a group that is studying Soviet policy problems.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember any of the members whose names I read there?

Mr. BISSON. I do know—remember as attending that meeting?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Kathleen Barnes?

Mr. BISSON. You are asking do I know these members?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Lockwood? Would that have been William Lockwood?

Mr. BISSON. Probably; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Grajdanzev?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would that have been Andrew Grajdanzev?

Mr. BISSON. Probably.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Corbett?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. That is why I originally asked you whether this was Charles Corbett.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it Percy Corbett?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know both a Charles and a Percy Corbett?

Mr. BISSON. Not to my knowledge; no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a Corbett connected with the IPR?

Mr. BISSON. Yes, it must have been Percy Corbett.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was his connection with the IPR?

Mr. BISSON. I remember him as doing a study on international peace problems. Is there any indication he published a book on international paths to peace, or something of that kind?

Mr. SOURWINE. There is no indication right here as to what he may have published, Mr. Bisson.

Do you know a Mr. Muhle?

Mr. BISSON. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever know anyone with that name?

Mr. BISSON. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You appeared to have attended a meeting with him for the purpose of studying Soviet policy.

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember that person.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Moore?

Mr. BISSON. I would have to know his first name. There are lots of Moores.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could it have been a Miss or Mrs. Moore?

Mr. BISSON. It could have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could it have been Harriet Moore?

Mr. BISSON. It might have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any memory as to whether it was?

Mr. BISSON. I have no memory as to whether it was at that particular meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Mr. Field?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would that be Frederick Vanderbilt Field?

Mr. BISSON. I would not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no memory of a meeting?

Mr. BISSON. Not of this meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a James Allen?

Mr. BISSON. Would you spell that?

Mr. SOURWINE. A-l-l-e-n.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know a James Allen?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Apparently you attended a meeting with him.

Mr. BISSON. That meeting has completely passed from my memory.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Bill Carter?

Mr. BISSON. I do; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Mr. BISSON. I think he is the son of E. C. Carter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. E. C. Carter?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know Mr. Owen Lattimore?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know a Mr. Leaning?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. To the best of your knowledge, sir, do you know, or did you ever have any reason to believe, that any of these persons who have been named as attending this meeting were under Communist discipline or had voluntarily, knowingly cooperated or collaborated with Community Party members in the furtherance of Communist Party objectives?

Mr. BISSON. Would you read the list?

Mr. SOURWINE. Kathleen Barnes.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Lockwood.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Grajdanzev.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Corbett.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Muhle.

Mr. BISSON. I don't think I know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Moore.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Field.

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Bill Carter.

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. E. C. Carter?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Owen Lattimore?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Leaning?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how many times you met with Mr. Corbett's group for the study of Soviet policy?

Mr. BISSON. Would you give me the date of this again?

Mr. SOURWINE. No; my question is: Do you know how many times you met?

Mr. BISSON. This will help me to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember whether you met as many as 10 times?

Mr. BISSON. Could you give me the date of the meeting?

Mr. SOURWINE. This was in May 1940.

Mr. BISSON. May 1940?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. To the best of my knowledge, I never attended that meeting again, that group. If I was at that particular group at that time, I have no remembrance of being at any other meeting of that group.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think you might have attended a meeting of that group at some other time?

Mr. BISSON. I doubt it very much.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend other meetings for the purpose of studying Soviet policy?

Mr. BISSON. I did not. You are speaking of this group?

Mr. SOURWINE. No.

Mr. BISSON. No; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to find out what could have confused you in your mind if you did not do it elsewhere and did not do it here except once, so there should not be any problem for you.

Mr. BISSON. The problem here is very simply this: You have given me an indication that I attended one meeting of this group. When you gave me that indication, the group meant nothing to me and it still does not as far as my memory is concerned, and I have no memory ever meeting with that group again. At that time I was not in the IPR. I may have been invited on that particular occasion and may not have been invited to that group again.

I am inclined to think that is the situation, because my memory is so defective.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have nothing further on that point.

Mr. FANELLI. Could we take a 2-minute recess at this point?

Senator EASTLAND (presiding). We will take a 2-minute recess.

(Short recess.)

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, have you read this article: 'The Soviet-Japanese Pact in Historical Perspective'?

Mr. BISSON. I have looked it over.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you the author of that article?

Mr. BISSON. I am.

Mr. MORRIS. May I read this one sentence here?

For to those who are willing to look facts in the face, there is nothing mysterious or enigmatic about the development of Soviet policy during recent years. The Soviet-German pact of August 1939 was a logical result of the course taken by British diplomacy in Europe during the immediately preceding years. Similarly, the Soviet-Japanese pact of April 1941 is the logical outcome of British and American policy in the Far East since 1937.

I introduce that and the whole article, and suggest that the whole article be placed in the record bearing on the questions addressed to the witness that he did not support the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939.

Senator EASTLAND. How long were you with the IPR?

Mr. BISSON. I was with the IPR for 2 years, a little over 2 years?

Senator EASTLAND. Were you associated with Mr. Field?

Mr. BISSON. May I make a correction to a statement he just summarized there?

Mr. FANELLI. Answer the question first.

Mr. BISSON. I think in the summary of his concluding sentence to which my mind was paying attention, he said that I said that I had not supported this pact. I think my original statement was to the best of my knowledge, which you did not add.

Mr. FANELLI. Answer the Senator's question.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you associated with Mr. Field?

Mr. BISSON. I was.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you know the officials of the institute?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Senator EASTLAND. I want you to be perfectly frank. You considered the institute—and I want you to think before you answer the question—you considered and so said that the institute was a Communist-dominated organization, did you not?

Mr. BISSON. I never said anything of that kind.

Senator EASTLAND. You deny that?

Mr. BISSON. The Institute of Pacific Relations?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes. I want you to think now. Think before you answer. Before you place yourself in the position that you never made a statement, think.

Mr. BISSON. Have you completed your statement?

Senator EASTLAND. I want you to answer my question.

Mr. BISSON. To the best of my knowledge in the slightly over 2 years that I was connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, I saw no evidence that it was an organization that was controlled by Communist influence.

Senator EASTLAND. You say, "to the best of my knowledge," you saw no evidence. Is that what you said?

Mr. BISSON. I am prepared to say I saw no evidence.

Senator EASTLAND. You also state flatly that you never made the statement that it was Communist-controlled?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to Yen-an in 1937?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there any prearrangements made on that trip, prearrangements with Communist authorities?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What arrangements were made?

Mr. BISSON. May I begin at the beginning?

Senator EASTLAND. No, sir; I want you to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Just tell us about the prearrangements.

Mr. BISSON. Lattimore and I decided we wanted to go to Yen-an. Mr. Snow, who had been in the area and had come out, was in Peking. We therefore naturally contacted him to see whether there was any possibility of making contacts that would enable us to get into the area.

Mr. MORRIS. When you say "we," you mean you and Mr. Lattimore?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Lattimore and me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Snow arrange for you to get permission to go into Yen-an?

Mr. BISSON. I know nothing about the details of what Mr. Snow did. All I know is that he apparently, through persons that he knew, received assurances that we could enter the area and so notified us some 3 or 4 weeks later.

Mr. MORRIS. He notified you arrangements had already been made and you did have permission to go into the area?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. He notified you and Mr. Lattimore of that fact?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. How did he notify you?

Mr. BISSON. He just told us.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, did you meet Mao Tse-tung in your trip to Yen-an?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have an interview with him?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write up that interview in Amerasia of October 1937?

Mr. SOURWINE. What Mr. Morris wants to know is whether this article in the named issue is one written by you.

Mr. BISSON. Yes; that is what I am trying to decide at this moment. Yes, apparently I wrote this interview. But apparently, as it indicates in the foreword there was an interview given to all of us.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone help you in writing this article?

Mr. BISSON. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Are the facts stated here true, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. BISSON. They are.

Mr. MORRIS. May that be introduced?

Mr. EASTLAND. It will be entered in the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 719," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 719

[Source : Amerasia, vol. 1, September-February 1937-38, pp. 360-365]

MAO TSE-TUNG ANALYZES NANKING IN INTERVIEW

(By T. A. Bisson)

EDITORS' NOTE.—During the latter part of June, three members of the editorial board of AMERASIA, T. A. Bisson, Philip J. Jaffe, and Owen Lattimore made a trip together into the Chinese Soviet area in Shensi Province. During a stay of several days in the capital, Yenaufu (Fushin), they interviewed extensively most of the important political and military leaders. Much of the material gathered is not yet in sufficiently organized fashion for publication, but the following interview with Mao Tse-Tung, at the time Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, is here presented in the hope that our readers will be the better able to follow the future developments in the now accomplished united front between the Communist and Kuomintang Parties. The following interview was written by T. A. Bisson, though all three of the editors were present during the interview. Since this interview was given 2 months before the completion of the united front, its significance becomes more apparent in the light of such consummation. A discussion of the Communist-Kuomintang rapprochement is given in another article in this issue, *THE FAR EAST AT THE CROSSROADS*, by P. J. Jaffe.

QUESTION: What has been the evolution of Nanking's policy toward Japan since 1931? Is it possible to distinguish several phases in this development?

ANSWER: Two periods may be distinguished. The first period began with September 18, 1931, and ended with the Kuomintang Second Plenary Session in July 1936. In this period the Kuomintang continued the policy which it had really initiated in 1927; it depended on imperialism, made concessions to imperialism, and suppressed the people.

After September 18 it gave up Manchuria unconditionally. Due to the Shanghai War the Chinese bourgeoisie were afraid of Japanese imperialism. They had prepared no defense works at all in the coastal provinces and were ready to give up these provinces to Japan. During the Shanghai War they prepared to move to Loyang as the provisional capital, and then to Sian if necessary. Only after Nanking saw that Japan began the Shanghai War as a means to legalize the seizure of Manchuria, and that the Japanese troops had no intention of occupying the coastal provinces, and that Great Britain and the United States made some efforts against Japan—only then did Nanking decide not to move the capital. So they returned to Nanking, but they were still afraid of Japan and continued so until after the North China developments in November-December 1935.

In 1935 Japan wanted to occupy North China at once and so frightened Nanking that it signed the Ho-Umezu compromise agreement. This attitude prevailed until the Fifth Congress, in November-December 1935. At that time Nanking continued to say that if peace was still possible it didn't want to fight, i. e., it was prepared to surrender further.

Only in July 1936, at the Second Plenary Session, did Nanking begin to change its tone toward Japan. At this session it declared that if Japan would not further violate Chinese sovereignty, would not take more territory, it would not fight. Thus it explained the limit of sacrifice it was prepared to make, defining this as the maintenance of the status quo. The actual steps to represent this change of line were the negotiations between Chang Ch'un and Kawagoe, when Nanking rejected the Japanese demands. From 1931 to 1936 this was the first time that Nanking showed any evidence of a change in its capitulation policy.

QUESTION: Are these periods related to an inner political struggle at Nanking? If so, what are the main groups involved in this struggle? What social-economic forces do these groups represent?

ANSWER: Now we shall consider the reasons for Nanking's change of policy. Three main factors were responsible for the change:

(1) The anti-Japanese struggle waged by the Chinese people, the patriotic troops, the Communist Party, and the Red Army. This includes the Manchurian volunteers, the Nineteenth Route Army, Chi Hung-chang's army which fought the Japanese in Chahar in 1933, the actions of the Red Army, the student movement, and the National Salvation movement of wide masses of the people.

The Kuomintang thought that Japanese aggression could not be resisted. We know that the Manchurian volunteers have resisted and are still resisting. The

Kuomintang thought that the anti-Japanese movements of the people would give Japan a pretext to carry its aggressions further. Actually, these actions gave such serious blows to Japanese imperialism that they dared not easily occupy more territory; they discouraged and disheartened the Japanese. The Kuomintang thought of the Communists as the eternal, irreconcilable enemy, but did not look upon Japan as the enemy. So the Kuomintang sought to exterminate the Communists, but the Communist united-front policy acquired such a great influence in the country that it forced the Kuomintang to take stock of the success of this policy. This was the first cause leading to a change in Nanking's policy toward Japan. From this point the Kuomintang began to realize that in the people lay the real and whole national strength. Thus it began to feel a little more bold and courageous, and its fear of Japan was lessened by this movement.

(2) The second factor was the international situation. The sympathy of the Soviet Union with China in its struggle against Japanese aggression may be taken for granted. Also the capitalist world is divided into two rival sectors: the one in favor of peace and the status quo; the other the Fascist aggressors and provokers of a new world war. The relative change in British policy in the Far East also had much influence on Nanking. From these two factors came the third factor conducive to Nanking's change.

(3) The differentiation in the ruling class and party at Nanking. There are several groups and cliques, but fundamentally there are two blocs—the pro-Japanese and the anti-Japanese. This differentiation had already begun in September 1931. But only with the North China autonomy movement of 1935 did a kind of public opinion form within Kuomintang areas that China must and could resist Japanese aggression. Formerly this opinion was shared by only a few persons; now it became more general. At this time this opinion became so widespread that it exerted an influence on Nanking politics and policy, having a real effect for the first time.

These three factors, taken together, made the Kuomintang reconsider its former policy, and obliged Nanking to change from compromise and concession to resistance.

QUESTION: What groups or individuals at Nanking favor or oppose the united front? What evidence is there of progress toward the democratization of the Nanking government? Do you expect further progress along this line in the near future?

ANSWER: We come now to the next phase, that of the present and the future. The change in Nanking's policy, which began during the Chang Ch'un-Kawagoe negotiations, continued and was clearly expressed in the Third Plenary Session in February. In this session Kuomintang policy really began to change in various fields. After this session the Kuomintang's attitude to Japan became stronger, and a policy of internal peace was formally adopted by Nanking, i. e., no civil war. This development was closely related to the policy of the Communist Party, which had long propagated the necessity of centralizing all Chinese forces to fight Japan.

The most needed thing, however, is a change of Kuomintang policy in relation to democracy. On this question, Nanking did not resolutely give up its military policy, its dictatorship; this change has not been made by the Kuomintang. This is now the most important task—the realization of democratic reform. In order to consolidate internal peace and unite the country, democracy is the most important requisite. Without it the task of resisting Japanese aggression cannot be achieved. So in this period the mass slogans of the movement are these: (1) Internal peace; (2) Democracy; (3) Anti-Japanese war—all under the general slogan of the national united front and a democratic country. In this second period, the three factors noted above as influencing the Kuomintang's policy will have an increasing influence on the Chinese people. With the help of these three factors, we can realize the three slogans. As to the groups opposing the united front, these may be considered under three heads:

(1) On the international side, chiefly Japanese imperialism. But Japan does not stand alone. Germany is in this Fascist bloc, and also Italy. They want to induce the Chinese ruling class to join their front. They want China not only as a colony but also as a force to fight against the peace front. This is the first menacing factor.

(2) The pro-Japanese clique within the Chinese ruling class, and Trotskyism in the social sphere. They fought and are fighting against the united front policy and the three main slogans. This is the second factor of danger.

(3) The danger of irresolute, wavering elements. These exist in the ruling class and in society; they agree with the principle of fighting Japan, but not

with giving democratic rights to the people. Their difficulty is that they have a foot on two different boats; in the end they will either be drowned or else will stand with both feet on the Japanese boat. This is the element which provoked the students to fight at Shih Ta in Peiping on May 4, and which keeps the National Salvation leaders in prison. Yang Li-Kuei of Shih Ta (Peiping Normal University) is one of these elements.

These three groups occupy virtually the same standpoint. They are opposed to the united front policy of the Chinese people. Whether the tasks or slogans can be realized depends on whether the anti-Japanese elements, the democrats and liberals, all those who are for consolidation can overcome these three kinds of opponents. If so the slogans can be realized, if not. * * * The outcome will be decided by the struggle between these two forces.

As to how the struggle between these two is proceeding, it should be observed that the anti-Japanese front has taken the first steps toward success. The main feature is that China was prevented from entering the Fascist front, and turned to the anti-Fascist front. On this point Japan has been defeated. The Communist Party has done all in its power to prevent China from entering the Fascist front. This was expressed in the long period of its work before the Sian coup, in its efforts for the concentration and centralization of all Chinese forces in the united front. It was also expressed in the peaceful solution of the Sian incident, instead of exploiting it on the lower plane of trying to create an advantage for ourselves in the civil war. It was further expressed in the actions taken by the Communist Party after Sian, directed toward the uniting of all Chinese forces to fight Japan.

QUESTION: What political advantages were gained by foregoing the possibility of forming a united Northwestern Army during the Sian incident and after?

ANSWER: In the first place, China did not enter the Fascist front. Secondly, the work of unification of all patriotic forces in China to fight Japan achieved the first step toward success. Only by such a policy can China be saved.

QUESTION: Does not acceptance of Nanking as leader of the national forces tend to confuse the students and other mass organizations? What lines of action can be laid down to avoid this difficulty?

ANSWER: We are convinced that the students and masses will see clearly the whole situation and will have no doubt of the success of the Communist policy. The masses will have no doubt about the question of leadership. The leader depends not on the weight of forces, but by the program and the efforts which will be made by this leader. The Communist Party does not have its own partial interest to serve. It only has the interests of the majority of the people, of the nation, the toiling masses. If the fight will succeed, if Japan is turned back, if events move in this direction it means that the movement is under the leadership of the Communist Party. The way pointed out by the Communist Party cannot be obstructed by any kind of force. If the whole nation goes the way of the Communist Party program, then the iron wall of the enemy front will be broken. Whether it be Japanese influence, the pro-Japanese groups, or the wavering elements—one and all will be destroyed by the struggle of the people led by the Communist Party. The life of these elements will not be long. We, not they, will have the long life. Our American friends will see the result.

QUESTION: In the student elections at Yenching after the Sian incident, the left forces seemed in doubt as to what course to pursue. They did not strongly contest the election and as a result the reactionary students obtained control of the higher offices in the union. More recently, a meeting of Yenching student union delegates, called by the new leadership, voted to withdraw from the Peiping Student Union.

ANSWER: Such conditions were the result of one side of the Sian incident. In the beginning this was an anti-Chiang-Kai-shek uprising—a feature that changed only after the efforts made by us. Later it was converted into general union, under the acknowledged authority of Chiang Kai-shek; and it was the Red Army which thus converted mutiny into consolidation. By this move the Communists did not capitulate, but on the contrary Communist influence and strength have greatly enlarged over the bigger part of China. At first sight, it may seem that Red influence at Yenching has diminished; but this is not really true. In point of fact, Red influence and authority are not decreasing but are increasing in many other cities, places, and universities throughout the country.

QUESTION: May not Britain be strengthening China as against Japan to prevent war and protect her interests, and by balancing one against the other utilize them both against the Soviet Union? Could not this also envisage a

Fascist military dictatorship at Nanking that might later attempt to crush the Chinese Communists?

ANSWER: The strengthening of British influence in China is a contradictory phenomenon of today. In the fight against Japan, because of China's colonial position, it is possible for a third Power to strengthen its position in China. Can it then be said that this is pushing the tiger out the front door and letting the wolf in the back door? No; that would not be correct. This question must be treated differently.

Japan cannot be considered as the same imperialist Power as Britain. One is tied up with the aggressive front, the other is not. To treat them equally would not be right. If we treated them as equal imperialist Powers, we would in the end have to fight them both, or have to fight all imperialism at once. This would be wrong and dangerous. It is a conclusion drawn only by Trotskyists, that we must fight against all imperialists. On its face it seems very revolutionary, but it really drives Britain to the side of Japan; it is making a net to catch yourself with.

The policy of the Communist Party is just the opposite. We must get help to fight Japan from any country which opposes it. We know from experience that if China is subjugated by the Fascist Powers, as in the case of Manchuria, there is little value to be gained from Trotsky's beautiful phrases. As to the help extended by other imperialist Powers to China, this must be different from that of the Japanese. The policy of such Powers must be different from that of Japan. Principally it must differ on this point, that China's sovereignty must be preserved.

Formerly Great Britain was the leader in the crusade against the Soviet Union, the holy task of the British Empire was to fight against Bolshevism. Now Germany and Japan are taking over this task, and Britain is changing its attitude toward the Soviet Union. England now adopts a conservative policy of maintaining its own position. Although Britain does not like the Soviet Union, yet this situation means Britain cannot like Germany and Japan very much. Of course, the Anglo-Saxon people have always prided themselves on their freedom of thought. They can have any kind of thought they like, but in the end they must come to the conclusion that it is better to preserve their privileges with the help of the Soviet Union. Thinking is not always the same as acting.

It is impossible for Britain to establish the kind of Far Eastern balance of power which you have outlined. It is true that Britain long ago adopted the balance of power policy and has traditionally followed it. But if two sides of the balance are unequal, it is necessary to add here and subtract there in order to achieve a balance. Under contemporary world conditions, any such balance can only be temporary. In Europe, Britain also wants to establish a balance, but the Fascist Powers may be depended upon to destroy any balance that is set up. To help itself, Britain is obliged to help the democratic forces. In some cases, because of the rapid advance of the Fascist Powers, Britain must utilize anti-Fascist forces. So it cannot obstruct the growth of the revolutionary anti-Fascist forces. The policy of compromise, of balance of power, allows the revolutionary forces to grow. The example of France and Spain well illustrates this process. In these two countries there exist certain pro-Fascist forces, but it is too dangerous for Britain to permit these elements to get power. Although England does not like the united-front governments, it must somehow cooperate with them. There are many contradictions in British policy. Its compromise procedure also helps the Fascists rise, but the flood of Fascism carries the revolutionary wave up with it and thereby the Soviet boat floats higher.

The same reasoning holds true in the case of China. Britain may wish to set up a balance in the Far East, but Japan wants to dismember China. To establish a balance, Britain must adopt the policy of uniting China. If it helps to unite China, that is good. With the realization of the united front, the uniting of the country, the cessation of civil war, there is a great opportunity for China's free development. How can you prevent the growth of the Chinese revolutionary movement under these circumstances?

The situation has some analogy to the position of France in Spain. The Huangpu clique faces two enemies—the Communist Party and Japan. If it forms an alliance with Japan to fight the Communists, then it plays the part of Franco. As in Spain, there would be a civil war of the revolutionary forces against the Huangpu clique, i. e., Franco. If the Huangpu clique wants to fight Japan determinedly, then it must use the unified strength of the Chinese nation. Then it must unite with the Communist Party. So it cannot obstruct

the growth of the Communist Party. Either way, the influence of the Communist Party will increase.

As to a Kuomintang military dictatorship, it is very clear that from September 18, 1931, to now Nanking has always been a military dictatorship. In the first period, there was dictatorship plus a pro-Japanese policy. Now that it has changed its foreign policy, it must also change its internal policy. It is impossible for the Kuomintang at one and the same time to suppress the people and fight against Japan. It may be true that Nanking is not deeply and permanently committed to an anti-Japanese policy. There is not yet the anti-Japanese war, not yet democracy. This can only be a temporary situation. The present period bears a transitional character: it is passing from one situation to another. We are now in the midst of this transitional period.

The same holds true in the world at large. So it is possible to observe many unhealthy phenomena. In China we see the arrest and trial of the National Salvation leaders, the suppression of the mass movement, the remnants of the old policy not yet fully given up. On the other side is the struggle of the healthy trend against the evil remnants. It is not necessary to be over-anxious because we can see the other side. Look at the struggle that is going on objectively; this struggle is the specific character of this period. If some Kuomintang members maintain the old policy and don't want to change, they are free to adopt this attitude. But the new anti-Japanese, democratic forces are growing up, and will call a halt to the activities of these people.

Mr. Bisson. May I extend my remarks on this question of the trip to Yen-an?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. Bisson. The trip to Yen-an was part of a general study of far-eastern political conditions, I was making that year.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you reading that?

Mr. Bisson. I am referring to a paper that I have in front of me.

Senator EASTLAND. Who wrote that?

Mr. Bisson. I did.

It was part of a general field of study of far-eastern political conditions that I was making that year. I was making it under the auspices of a Rockefeller Research grant given to me as a member of the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association.

The importance of Yen-an in the international and the political picture of the Far East at that time was very great. The major political issue at that time concerned relations between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists.

In Japan where I went first, the Japanese were very interested in this relationship. I was in Japan for 2 or 3 months until the first part of the year studying political conditions there. I then went on into Korea for a week or so, then into Manchuria for another week or two and came into north China at sometime toward the end of March 1937.

I visited the Nationalist capital of Nanking in March to April 1937, and then wanted also to visit the Chinese Communist capital to complete my study of political conditions in the Far East.

By undertaking this trip to Yen-an I was carrying through the purpose for which the Rockefeller Foundation made the research grant. This was one of the vital areas of the far-eastern political developments at that time and it was necessary for me to visit it if my research trip was to be complete. As a matter of fact, at these interviews we were told by the Chinese Communist leaders that negotiations were going on for the conclusion of a truce between the two sides in fear of a Japanese attack. So that when we came out of Yen-an we were able to confirm reports that up to that time had only

been reports and rumors. In other words, I was more sure of my data on one of the more crucial issues in the Far East at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. BISSON. Except to say that as a result of this year's field study I published a book, *Japan in China*. This is a whole volume. I suggest that the committee should indicate that there was not just a trip to Yen-an. This was a general study of the Far East resulting in a book published 6 or 8 months later.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you leave a copy of that book with the committee for study?

Mr. BISSON. It is my only copy. It is an out-of-print book now.

Mr. SOURWINE. We will return it. I know it is out of print.

Mr. BISSON. Yes; certainly.

May I say the war in China broke out during the middle of this year. It interrupted my trip to South China which I was intending to make that year. The Japanese occupied North China.

Most of this book was written in manuscript while the Japanese were occupying Peking. I had to smuggle the manuscript out of Peking under the eyes of the Japanese and through Japan in order to bring it home.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have a few questions, Mr. Chairman.

While you were in Yen-an, did you address a mass meeting?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who else spoke at that mass meeting?

Mr. BISSON. My remembrance is that Mr. Jaffe and Mr. Lattimore also spoke.

Mr. SOURWINE. Philip Jaffe and Owen Lattimore?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Senator EASTLAND. What was the object of the mass meeting?

Mr. BISSON. The object of the mass meeting was to meet the western guests and to let the Chinese Army see us and become aware of the fact that we were among them.

Senator EASTLAND. You mean the Communist army see you?

Mr. BISSON. The troops in command is what I am saying.

Senator EASTLAND. It was a Communist army, was it not?

Mr. BISSON. The Chinese Communist troops; yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Say that then. Go ahead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Chu Teh one of the speakers?

Mr. BISSON. He was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall anyone else who spoke there?

Mr. BISSON. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you speak in Chinese?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you speak in English?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who translated it for you?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember. It was one of our local interpreters.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see any of the other Caucasians out of the four who composed your party while you were in Yen-an?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; there were two other persons there, Mrs. Edgar Snow—and one reason why Mr. Snow wanted us to go in was because he wanted us to bring his wife up. She was there. That was one reason why we cooperated in making the contacts.

The other person there was Agnes Smedley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were there many foreigners, foreign to Yenan, non-Communists?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember any others.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wasn't the place full of tourists?

Mr. BISSON. The place was not full of tourists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see any missionaries while you were there?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Lattimore had testified before this committee under oath that there were a lot of tourists around when you were there?

Mr. BISSON. A lot of tourists?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. There were a lot of tourists in——

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he so testified?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just wondered if you had known it. You did not see any missionaries while you were there?

Mr. BISSON. I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you left, did anyone give you or any members of your party messages to be taken to other persons in other places?

Mr. BISSON. I think probably there were messages we took back to people in Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, communications were very bad and they crowded around you to try to get you to take messages, did they not?

Don't accept my word for that. Tell me what happened.

Mr. BISSON. I am not certain of that. I don't remember any crowding around us. I am willing to say we probably took some messages.

Senator EASTLAND. Regardless of whether they crowded around you or not, did a number of people attempt to ask you to carry messages out for them?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all.

Senator EASTLAND. About how many?

Mr. BISSON. I suppose two.

Senator EASTLAND. Then other people contacted other members of the party, did they not?

Mr. BISSON. Other people? I am not sure who you mean.

Senator EASTLAND. Other Chinese contacted other members of your party to take messages out?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember the Chinese——

Senator EASTLAND. What did you say at that mass meeting?

Mr. BISSON. As I remember, I said the same thing I had said in a meeting at——

Senator EASTLAND. I did not ask you what you said at a meeting before. Just tell me what you said at that mass meeting.

Mr. BISSON. I indicated that the lull in Japanese-Chinese relations at that time was, in my opinion, false: that the Japanese were very likely preparing an active invasion of China. Therefore, I advocated that this group and other groups in China should attempt to settle their differences in order to present a firm and effective defense against possible Japanese attack.

May I extend my remarks? May I amplify what I said?

Senator EASTLAND. Wait just a minute. I will let you extend your remarks.

That was the line that the Communists were using then, was it not, for the Nationalists?

Mr. BISSEX. That was the line most Chinese were using.

Senator EASTLAND. Answer my question. That was the Communist line?

Mr. BISSEX. That was the line that almost all Chinese were using.

Senator EASTLAND. Was it the Communist line? Answer the question "Yes" or "No."

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Mr. FANELLI. Answer the question.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, you desire to extend your remarks. Do so.

Mr. BISSEX. I want to extend my remarks on two points here.

The political issue that was paramount at that period was the issue "Could China defend herself against Japanese attack if it came?"

Therefore, in my talks in China, wherever it was, that was the crucial problem that I was dealing with. I remember a talk that I gave in Peking maybe a month or 2 before, before this Peking group. I think you can verify this to some extent, at least through recollection in regard to Col. David Barrett, who was the American military attaché there, who I remember attended that meeting. He was an old friend of mine, and we had been in school together.

At that meeting I said, "There is a lull at present. I think it is deceptive. I think the necessities are that all groups in China get together."

On that occasion I emphasized particularly the southwestern groups because there were a couple of groups involved here.

I have one other point; that is, that while it is true that the Communists were trying to get China united at that time, it is also true that sentiment all over China was in favor of unity at that time. It was growing very strong in Nanking. Official policy there was veering toward—

Senator EASTLAND. I want you to be fair with the committee. Arrangements for you to go into Communist areas were made by Communists. You were one of the few people who got to go into Yen-an, were you not?

Mr. BISSEX. There were—

Senator EASTLAND. You were one of the few Caucasians that got to go there, were you not?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes; although I would not say they were few. There was a considerable group that went.

Senator EASTLAND. You testified you only saw two there.

Mr. BISSEX. Others went later.

Senator EASTLAND. Agnes Smedley is one of them. She is buried in Communist China, is she not?

Mr. BISSEX. I don't know.

Senator EASTLAND. You know she is a Communist. You saw a Communist there. You met the chief or the head of the Communist Party in China who is now the dictator of China. They entertained you and they gave a mass meeting, had a big mass meeting for you to speak to. To be perfectly frank, you were considered a pro-Communist, were you not, by the Chinese?

Mr. BISSON. By no means. We were considered as people who had come in and were visiting that area. They had not seen western people for many years.

Senator EASTLAND. They could not get in. Why was it you could get in?

Mr. BISSON. Other people could get it if they wanted to get in. It was not an impossible feat.

Senator EASTLAND. It was practically an impossible feat, as you well know, and if you wanted to be entirely frank, sir, you would admit it, because you know that is true. It was an impossible feat except for fellow travelers, those who were considered sympathetic to communism, whether they were Communists or not.

I am not accusing you of being a member of the Communist Party. I do not know whether you were or not, but isn't a fact now, that they considered you sympathetic to their objectives in China and let you in, entertained you and gave a mass meeting for you to speak to?

Mr. BISSON. I am not prepared to say that—

Senator EASTLAND. Why?

Mr. BISSON. That they considered us sympathizers.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you think they would have called a mass meeting for somebody to make a speech to take issue with the policies of their government?

Mr. BISSON. I stand by my original statement.

Senator EASTLAND. I want you to answer that question, though.

Mr. BISSON. What is the question?

Senator EASTLAND. In dictatorships, do they call mass meetings at which people speak and take issue with the government?

Mr. BISSON. No. The answer is "No."

Senator EASTLAND. Of course they do not. Then, if you were not considered pro-Communist, why did they call a mass meeting for you to address it?

Mr. BISSON. We were considered guests, western guests who had arrived.

Senator EASTLAND. They do not call mass meetings for guests to take issue with their policies. If they called that for you, it was their impression that you were sympathetic with those objectives; is that right?

Mr. BISSON. I see no reason to accept that statement. I was there as a political observer and so were the others which were entertained as one might expect outsiders would be entertained.

Senator EASTLAND. But you certainly do not ask me to believe that they called mass meetings for foreigners to address and by so doing vouch for those foreigners unless they think those foreigners are sympathetic with their objectives. In fact, that was the object of the mass meeting, was it not, to help solidify sentiment behind the policies of the Communist government?

Mr. BISSON. I do not see that that was the object. The object was just as much to show the western guests that were in the city at that time.

Senator EASTLAND. You have just testified that no dictatorship, Communist dictatorship would call a mass meeting to be addressed by a foreigner who would take issue with their government. How do

you square that statement that you made a minute ago with your statements now?

Mr. BISSON. I see no real contradiction. We were not there—I did not intend to take issue with their policy.

Senator EASTLAND. Of course you did not intend to take issue with their policy.

Mr. BISSON. I was willing to be a friendly guest. I was interested in observing what I could see. I was not interested in disputing their policies. What I was anxious to do was to talk to them, to have them——

Senator EASTLAND. You made a speech at the mass meeting and you are 100 percent right when you say you were not there to take issue with their policies.

Mr. BISSON. I was there to find facts.

Senator EASTLAND. Wait a minute. Is it not true that mass meeting was called because you were sympathetic with those policies?

Mr. BISSON. No; I would not accept that.

Senator EASTLAND. You may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, did you ever make any protests when China was attacked by the Communists in the period of 1946 and following?

Mr. BISSON. When China was attacked?

Mr. MORRIS. When the Chinese Government was attacked by the Chinese armies from the north, did you protest on behalf of China on that occasion?

Mr. BISSON. I don't understand the idea of the Nationalists——

Mr. FANELLI. If you understand the question, answer it.

Mr. MORRIS. The Nationalist Government was attacked by the Chinese Communists, was it not?

Mr. BISSON. The Communists were perhaps attacked by the Nationalists.

Mr. MORRIS. You defended your action, your previous association with Communists, on the grounds that you were interested in the integrity and the defense of the Chinese Government.

Hasn't that been your defense to your Communist associations all along?

Mr. BISSON. I don't understand that question. I am very sorry about this.

Mr. MORRIS. You do know, however, there was a war between the Chinese Government and the Communist armies?

Mr. BISSON. There was a civil war going on.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you express any support for the Chinese Nationalist Government for the period of 1946 to 1950?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so.

Mr. MORRIS. You expressed no concern whatever for the Chinese Government under those circumstances?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so.

Senator EASTLAND. Why?

Mr. BISSON. For much of this period, I was in Government service and could not express an opinion.

Senator EASTLAND. When you were in Government service, what about that?

Mr. BISSON. I do not understand.

Senator EASTLAND. You say "for much of the period I was in Government service and could not express an opinion."

Now, the time you were not in Government service——

Mr. BISSON. I was in Government service in 1946 and 1947.

Senator EASTLAND. The time you were not in Government service now.

Mr. BISSON. I was engaged in writing a book in 1947-48 and wrote no articles at all at that time, either on Japan or China.

Senator EASTLAND. You were never hesitant to express an opinion at any other time, were you?

Mr. BISSON. Senator, what I am trying to say is that on some of these other occasions, I was regularly writing for periodicals when I was with the Institute of Pacific Relations and when I was with the Foreign Policy Association.

In these later years I was not in that position. I wrote virtually no articles. I was either in Government service or writing a book.

Senator EASTLAND. When is it that a Government official cannot express an opinion? I thought we had a bunch of pro-Communist statements coming out of the State Department during that time, pro-Chinese Communists.

Mr. BISSON. I assure you I could not write articles on the Chinese political situation from the Government section in occupation headquarters. I was not permitted so to write.

The CHAIRMAN. From where? You say you were not permitted, from where?

Mr. BISSON. I was on duty as an official in General MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo in the first part of the period referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not permitted to write?

Mr. BISSON. I was doing official duty, and as a Government official I was not engaged in writing articles. If I wanted to write an article——

The CHAIRMAN. Your answer, which I caught, was you were not permitted to write. Is that true? What is the fact?

Mr. BISSON. Well, put it this way: That a Government official——

The CHAIRMAN. You are under oath; are you not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. A Government official in that capacity would not normally be writing articles for periodicals. If you say "could he never write an article?" the answer would be that, if he went through channels and they got special permission and his article was read properly, that article might be published.

I did not go through any such effort to get an article published at that time. I was busy with my official duties.

The CHAIRMAN. You departed from your first answer. You said in your first answer: "I was not permitted to write."

Mr. BISSON. I do not consider that a departure.

The CHAIRMAN. You have left that entirely and you have smudged that over with another statement.

Mr. BISSON. I do not consider that a departure.

The CHAIRMAN. I do consider it a departure. Not being permitted to write is one thing and not writing is another.

Mr. BISSON. A Government official——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking for any answer except to clarify your first answer.

Do you want to stand on your first answer, or on the rest that you have stated?

Mr. BISSON. Let me state it this way: A Government official did not normally engage in articles for periodicals. On special occasions he might receive permission. That is the testimony I should like to make to that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you want to recede from your first answer you were "not permitted to write"?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell the committee what your job was at Tokyo in the period terminating in 1947?

Mr. BISSON. I was acting as Special Assistant to the Chief of Government Section.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, did you negotiate with Mr. Holland in connection with the possibility of your taking up IPR work when you terminated your Government contract at Tokyo?

Mr. BISSON. I do not so remember. I may have.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this letter?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a document from the files of the IPR dated August 21, 1946, addressed to Mr. T. A. Bisson, with the typed signature of William L. Holland, secretary general. It is a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recall having received that letter? Will you read the first paragraph, please?

Mr. BISSON (reading):

This is just a note to say hello and to ask whether you have now had enough of MacArthur and are in a mood to think of IPR work again. I have been wondering whether you have made any definite plans yet about returning and about working on any particular project for the IPR. Though there's no great rush I would be interested to hear your ideas regarding this, so that I can make preliminary arrangements about finances. As you know, I am ready to request a grant that will enable you to work for 6 months on a project coming within the general scope of our international research program.

Mr. MORRIS. Does reading this rather refresh your recollection as to whether Mr. Holland did write this?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will that be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 720" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 720

AUGUST 21, 1946.

Mr. T. A. BISSON,
c/o Mrs. T. A. Bisson, 40 Richards Rd.,
Port Washington, L. I., New York.

DEAR ART: This is just a note to say hello and to ask whether you have now had enough of MacArthur and are in a mood to think of IPR work again. I have been wondering whether you have made any definite plans yet about returning and about working on any particular project for the IPR. Though there's no great rush, I would be interested to hear your ideas regarding this, so that I can make preliminary arrangements about finances. As you know, I am ready to request a grant that will enable you to work for six months on a project coming within the general scope of our International Research Program. I assume you will want to write on some aspect of Japanese politics or economics, but it would be a good idea if you could submit a brief outline of two alternative studies which I could present to Sansom and the research advisers. I would hope to have the project done under the nominal auspices of the American Council even though it is financed by the International Research Fund.

If you preferred to work part-time on some other job, I don't believe there would be any objections, although we would still hope that you could finish your report within nine months, and could also make some part of it available in the form of a Conference paper by April 30, 1947.

Will you let me have your reactions on this?

I wrote Harold Quigley recently suggesting that he with Miriam Farley, Herbert Norman and yourself might organize an informal study group in Tokyo to meet occasionally with some of the Japanese who might take the lead in a new Japanese Council of the IPR. I know you don't have much time for these extra-curricular activities but I do hope you can lend a hand.

We greatly miss not having more news from you and I wish you could take the time to write a general newsletter which you could share with your family and the IPR staff. How about it?

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, *Secretary-General*.

P. S.—Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the announcement.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. H. H. Fisher, of the Hoover Research Library?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you had any negotiations with him for employment?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this?

Mr. MANDEL. It is a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter, the carbon being taken from the files of the IPR. It is dated May 20, 1947, addressed to Mr. T. A. Bisson, with the typed signature of William L. Holland, secretary general.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you this letter and ask you if you will read the first paragraph and answer whether or not you can recall having received this letter. Read that aloud, please.

Mr. Bisson (reading):

Welcome back to the land of the loyalty tests! We are all looking forward to seeing you, and I hope that you can spare us a day or two at the office before you go on your vacation. I hope you will also take a couple of days to visit some of the university people at Berkeley and Stanford. I have written H. H. Fisher, director of the Hoover Library at Stanford, asking him to see you and tell you something of his Far East research program. It is possible that you may see some suitable opening for work there next year. At Stanford, you might also try to see Claude Buss if he is still around.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall if Mr. Holland wrote that letter?

Mr. BISSON. I never said I do not recall.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you recall?

Mr. BISSON. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Will that be received?

Senator EASTLAND. It will be admitted.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 721," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 721

MAY 20, 1947.

Mr. T. A. Bisson,

% *San Francisco Institute of Pacific Relations*.

417 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

DEAR ART: Welcome back to the land of the loyalty tests! We are all looking forward to seeing you and I hope that you can spare us a day or two at the office before you go on your vacation. I hope you will also take a couple of days to visit some of the university people at Berkeley and Stanford. I have written H. H. Fisher, Director of the Hoover Library at Stanford, asking him to see you and tell you something of his Far Eastern research program. It is possible that

you may see some suitable opening for work there next year. At Stanford, you might also try to see Claude Buss, if he is still around. At Berkeley, I hope you will see Woodbridge Bingham and George McCune in the History Department. George is writing a conference paper for us on political developments in Korea. If you get time, you might also see Conliffe and Kerner.

Staley may want you to talk to the IPR group in San Francisco and I hope you can do so. You may not have heard that the IPR in San Francisco is being amalgamated into a San Francisco World Affairs Council and, as a result, there is a good deal of bad feeling between the San Francisco and New York offices. Carter and I will be interested to know what you hear about all this. The main point of disagreement at present is the recent move by the San Francisco people pressing for a national merger of the American IPR and the FPA plus, possibly, some other organizations. As you can imagine, there is a good deal of resistance to the idea from many quarters.

All the best,

Yours,

WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, *Secretary-General*.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked for the Board of Economic Warfare; did you not?

Mr. BISSEX. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. For what period of time?

Mr. BISSEX. For the period from January 1942 to May 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your assignment there?

Mr. BISSEX. My assignment there was to analyze the economic weakness and vulnerability of Japan in order to enable advantage to be taken of such weaknesses as we could detect in conducting the war against Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. While you worked in the Board of Economic Warfare, did you supply material to the IPR which you have obtained in your work for that Board?

Mr. BISSEX. While I was working at the Board—

Mr. MORRIS. Did you supply the IPR with information and material from the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. BISSEX. I might have; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us about it?

Mr. BISSEX. I do not remember any specific details.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify this letter?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a memorandum from the files of the IPR dated September 14, 1942, headed "MF, WWL from RB, and WLH."

Mr. BISSEX. May I see that?

Mr. MORRIS. You may see the letter.

Mr. BISSEX. This is the photostat that you have just mentioned?

Mr. MORRIS. I have the photostat. Will you read the first paragraph?

Mr. BISSEX. (reading):

Bisson has returned Miriam's interesting draft on recent developments in Japanese-occupied southeast Asia. Obviously reflecting the line taken in his own BEW job, he thinks current studies are less valuable than fundamental analysis of the prototypes of recent Japanese activity—Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, north and central China. Such studies, he maintains, would imply current practices. He and Peake predicted a month ago the Greater East Asia Ministry.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know who MF is?

Mr. BISSEX. I should think that would be Miriam Farley.

Mr. MORRIS. And WWL?

Mr. BISSEX. William Lockwood.

Mr. MORRIS. WLH?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Holland.

Mr. MORRIS. And RB?

Mr. BISSON. Robert Barnett, I should suspect.

Mr. MORRIS. It was the common practice that you know of the IPR staff to use initials in exchanging memoranda?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

May I make a comment on this, Mr. Chairman?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. As I read that first paragraph, and so far as my memory goes, this was not a case of my sending Government material to Miss Farley. This was a case of Miss Farley writing a draft about Japanese developments in southeast Asia.

Mr. MORRIS. You do recall this particular incident?

Mr. BISSON. Let me continue.

Mr. MORRIS. I am not going to direct a line of questions to that, and it is not related to the previous question.

I do want you to recall the fact that Miss Farley did send a draft to you.

Mr. BISSON. You have her private memoranda?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

Mr. BISSON. May I say—

Mr. MORRIS. It has nothing to do with Government, and there is no indication it has anything to do with BEW material.

Mr. BISSON. I see.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you send BEW material to Miss Farley?

Mr. BISSON. I did not. That is what startled me.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the last two paragraphs?

Mr. BISSON (reading):

They have supplied no new information, which is a disappointment, but not one which should surprise us.

Who is "they"?

Mr. MORRIS. The first two preceding paragraphs deal with "Peake and Bisson."

Then the other one says: "On page 14, Peake and Bisson suggest." The next one reads: "On page 16, the terms 'rigid' and later 'wholesale' seem too extreme to Peake and Bisson."

The last or next to the last paragraph reads:

They have supplied no new information which is a disappointment—but not one which should surprise us.

Read the last paragraph, please.

Mr. BISSON (reading):

Bisson says that Jessup has fought through red tape and succeeded in getting a whole file of BEW Pattern of Occupation Reports for use at Columbia. Bisson sees no reason why the IPR should not have the stuff, too. The approach should be made through Jessup who now knows the ropes.

Mr. MORRIS. I am asking you if that refreshes your recollection, or whether or not you did supply IPR with BEW material.

Mr. BISSON. I did, but I would like to make a comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's straighten that out, Senator Eastland.

This does refresh your recollection? That is the question.

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did furnish the material?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any comment to make?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. The comment is that this was not material that referred to policy matters. This happened to be a study that I was making myself. It was merely a collection of Japanese techniques in regard to occupation documents of all kinds.

When the Japanese were in Manchuria, what kind of documents came out in terms of their methods of occupying and controlling that area. The same for other parts of China, for southeast Asia, a technical series of documents with no comment, no policy recommendations, no policy treatment here at all.

So, under those circumstances, it would be quite possible for a Government arrangement to be made with a private organization that the documents go to.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will this document be received in the record as the document that refreshed the witness' recollection on that series of questions?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 722" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 722

(Handwritten:) Barnett
W. Holland

700 JACKSON PLACE NW.,
Washington, D. C., September 14, 1942.

MF

WWL from RB

WLH

Bisson has returned from Miriam's interesting draft on recent developments in Japanese-occupied Southeast Asia. Obviously reflecting the line taken in his own BEW job, he thinks current studies are less valuable than fundamental analyses of the prototypes of recent Japanese activity—Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, North and Central China. Such studies, he maintains, would imply current practices. He and Peake predicted a month ago the Greater East Asia Ministry.

From our point of view, his suggestion helps little. We've done most of the descriptive job. Comprehensive reanalysis calls for staff which even BEW with its bulging expense accounts cannot snag.

Peake and Bisson made several comments on points of fact. On page 2, they suggest that the Japanese are less intransigent than they sound and really hope for a negotiated peace. This is a *Gripsholm* opinion of considerable generality. The Japs treated Sassoon tough, but held out sweet hopes to other businessmen.

On page 14, Peake and Bisson suggest that properties are not confiscated outright but expropriated legally and held in trust in accordance with The Hague rules of war. This is a question of fact upon which they are informed and we are not. However, as other cases of similar Japanese practices, they cite Japanese dealings with Chinese owners in China. I cannot agree in the importance which they attach to *pro forma* practices of the Japanese. The test of their importance would appear when the Japs began to retire for good. Where this has happened in China, property has been ruthlessly destroyed.

On page 16, the terms "rigid" and later "wholesale" seem too extreme to Peake and Bisson.

They have supplied no new information which is a disappointment—but not one which should surprise us.

Bisson says that Jessup has fought through red tape succeeded in getting a whole file of BEW Pattern of Occupation Reports for use at Columbia. Bisson sees no reason why the IPR should not have the stuff, too. The approach should be made through Jessup who now knows the ropes.

Mr. BISSON. May I be excused for a few minutes?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

(Short recess.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, while you were in Tokyo, did you meet with other members of the IPR in furtherance of the work of the institute?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How often did you do that?

Mr. BISSON. Well, I would say maybe three or four times.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the people you met with?

Mr. BISSON. When Mr. Holland came through, I would meet with him. I think he came through once or twice—probably twice while I was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Who else?

Mr. BISSON. There were also efforts being made to reorganize the old Japanese Council that had been dissolved by the Japanese militarists when the war broke out. I remember, it seems to me, attending one or two meetings where they were trying to get a group together that would not be an official Japanese Council because they could not, under the existing circumstances, but they might become an embryo for development of a new Japanese Council.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with Miriam Farley for that purpose?

Mr. BISSON. Miriam Farley was also in occupation headquarters. We probably met.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with Herbert Norman for that purpose?

Mr. BISSON. We might have, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Harold Quigley?

Mr. BISSON. Yes, I should think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the fourth paragraph in the letter of August 21, 1946, that has already been introduced in the record?

Mr. BISSON (reading):

I wrote Harold Quigley recently suggesting that he with Miriam Farley, Herbert Norman, and yourself might organize an informal study group in Tokyo to meet occasionally with some of the Japanese who might take the lead in a new Japanese Council of the IPR. I know you don't have much time for these extracurricular activities but I do hope you can lend a hand.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with members of the Japanese Council?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. BISSON. The only thing I remember about it is that this group and some Japanese scholars whose names I am sure you will ask and I do not think I can recall—

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with Yanaibara?

Mr. BISSON. I might have been there.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Yokota?

Mr. BISSON. Possibly, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Matsukata?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You knew him well?

Mr. BISSON. He was one of the members of the old Japanese Council of the IPR.

Mr. MORRIS. You knew Matsukata?

Mr. BISSON. Matsukata.

Mr. MORRIS. And Saionji?

Mr. BISSON. No, I do not remember him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever remember meeting him?

Mr. BISSEX. I don't remember meeting him in Tokyo. I think he was at the 1936 Yosemite conference.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this letter, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter from the files of the IPR dated October 8, 1946, addressed to Mr. T. A. Bisson, Government Section, SCAP, APO 500, care of Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif., with the typed signature of William L. Holland, secretary general.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you this letter and ask you if you will read aloud the first paragraph of this letter?

Mr. BISSEX. I was trying to take a look at the letter.

Mr. MORRIS. If you read it aloud, it may refresh your recollection and we will not lose time.

Mr. BISSEX (reading):

I am most grateful to you for your letter of September 22 containing the very interesting report on recent developments in the Japanese IPR. On the whole the group strikes me as a very able and progressive one and I hope very much that you can unofficially convey my warmest good wishes to them (particularly to Yanaibara, Yokota, Matsukata, and Saionji). Will you also please tell Matsuo that I hope he can write me more frequently and let me know if there is any way we can assist the new group; e. g., by supplying more IPR publications.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that letter refresh your recollection as to the fact you did meet with these Japanese in the formation of a Japanese Council of the IPR?

Mr. BISSEX. I think I indicated in every case, except Mr. Saionji, whom I did not remember, that I had met with them. Obviously I did.

Mr. MORRIS. You did that work regularly for the IPR?

Mr. BISSEX. Regularly.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us how frequently you did it.

Mr. BISSEX. This was one operation to get this group restarted. We may have had one or two meetings about it. It was not a regular thing. That is why I objected to the term "regular."

Mr. SOURWINE. There was not anything irregular about it?

Mr. BISSEX. It was irregular rather than regular. So far as the meetings were concerned on this project, that is.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the purpose of the committee to determine the extent to which you did need these people because very often the files do not show?

Mr. BISSEX. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will this be received?

Senator EASTLAND. It will be received.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 723" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 723

OCTOBER 8, 1946.

Mr. T. A. BISSEX,

Government Section, S. C. A. P.,

APO 500, c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR ART: I am most grateful to you for your letter of September 22 containing the very interesting report on recent developments in the Japanese IPR. On the whole the group strikes me as a very able and progressive one and I hope very much that you can unofficially convey my warmest good wishes to them (particularly to Yanaibara, Yokota, Matsukata, and Saionji). Will you also please tell Matsuo that I hope he can write me more frequently and let me know if there is any way we can assist the new group, e. g., by supply more IPR publications.

I am interested to hear of the symposium on current problems and hope you can arrange to supply me with two or three copies of the various chapters as they are completed. Are they to be in Japanese or in English, and if the latter, will any arrangements be made to publish them in Japan?

I would like you to convey to the new group my earnest hope that they will make an early start on one or two projects of fundamental scholarly research, preferably not too closely related to immediate political issues. You might point out that the chances of readmittance to the IPR will be greatly improved if they can demonstrate that they are conducting a scholarly research program by well-qualified people. Though I can make no promises at this moment, it is conceivable that we might be able to give some financial assistance next year for an important piece of research subject, of course, to the necessary approval of SCAP. You will know better than I what subjects are feasible after discussing the matter with the group—but you and Herb Norman and Andrew might keep in mind the standing economic history of Japan (or, alternatively, of Japan since 1868). There may be other noteworthy studies in Japanese sociology, economics, or give some consideration to the possibility of completing, perhaps in modified form, one or two of the older Japanese Council projects in the International Research Program. For instance, Nasu's studies on Japanese agriculture and on rural standards of living were never really completed to a point where he felt justified in printing it in English, though we did put out a mimeographed edition. I fully realize that Nasu may not be the right man now to continue the study, but it should be possible to make some arrangement to bring it more up to date by including a few chapters on the principal agriculture developments during the war years, and also by revising the existing study (parts of which were censored by the authorities in 1941). This is something which you might discuss with Andrew so that there would be a minimum of overlapping with his own study of Japan's agriculture. Another possibility that strikes me as promising would be a book of writings on Japanese agrarian problems during the past decade, somewhat along the lines of *Agrarian China*, prepared by Chen Han-seng some years ago.

Another unfinished project which could be considered was one on the Japanese family system; in view of the fact that we have recently published Olga Lang's book on the Chinese family, it would be interesting to have a corresponding study from Japan based either on the original project or on some other outstanding Japanese book in this field.

Quigley may also have some suggestions for work in the field of political science and diplomatic history, but this may get too much into the field of political controversy.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. HOLLAND,
Secretary General.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Bisson, did you ever meet with Tung Pi-wu?

MR. BISSON. Yes.

MR. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances? Who was Tung Pi-wu?

MR. BISSON. He was one of the older members of the Chinese Communist group at Yen-an. He was there when we were in Yen-an.

MR. MORRIS. Did he come to the United States later on?

MR. BISSON. He did.

MR. MORRIS. Did you meet him at that time?

MR. BISSON. I probably met him in New York; yes.

MR. MORRIS. What was he doing in New York?

MR. BISSON. He was attending the founding conference of the United Nations as the Chinese Communist delegate officially recognized.

MR. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances of your meeting with Tung Pi-wu in New York?

MR. BISSON. As well as I remember, he came along with a couple of other Chinese who were with him, his aides or something, to the IPR, and we had a chat with them. We may even have had lunch with the group. I am not sure as to whether we went to lunch.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you discuss the interest of China with him?

Mr. BISSON. I have no recollection as to what was actually discussed at that time. It probably concerned his operations at the United Nations Conference and what he thought of the founding conference.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he think of it?

Mr. BISSON. His aspects of his trip to the United States, and so on.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he think of it?

Mr. BISSON. I say it probably concerned that. I wouldn't remember the details.

Mr. MORRIS. Are they the only times you met Tung Pi-wu in New York?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give an expression of support to Ernst Thaelmann?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances?

Senator EASTLAND. Repeat that, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give an expression of support to Ernst Thaelmann? Who was he?

Mr. BISSON. He was an imprisoned German Communist leader.

Senator EASTLAND. He was the head of the Communist Party in Germany, was he not?

Mr. BISSON. He was imprisoned.

Senator EASTLAND. But before he was imprisoned he was the head of the Communist Party in Germany?

Mr. BISSON. Before he was imprisoned he was.

Senator EASTLAND. He had been a candidate for president of the Communist Party in Germany, had he not?

Mr. BISSON. He had.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you join in an expression of support to him?

Mr. BISSON. I would not answer "Yes" to the question as so expressed.

Senator EASTLAND. What did you do?

Mr. BISSON. On that occasion, as I remember the details, the daughter of the Socialist Prime Minister of Norway was coming to this country to conduct a general campaign to gain popular support for freeing a political prisoner held by Hitler. I went as a member of a group to receive her when she came to this country.

Senator EASTLAND. Who was the political prisoner?

Mr. BISSON. The political prisoner was Mr. Thaelmann. He was one of the victims of Hitler's tyranny.

Senator EASTLAND. He locked up a Communist agitator who was attempting, by revolution, to overthrow his government and set up a Communist dictatorship that was subservient to the Soviet Union.

Mr. FANELLI. There is no question there.

Senator EASTLAND. Yes, there is.

And you expressed your support of him; is that right?

Mr. BISSON. Not quite in that way.

Senator EASTLAND. You know you expressed your support of him, regardless of "not quite that way"?

Mr. BISSON. I expressed my support of a campaign to get him out of jail under the Hitler regime.

Senator EASTLAND. So he could set up a Communist government in Germany?

Mr. BISSON. That is your interpretation, Mr. Senator.

Senator EASTLAND. Is it not yours? Was that not what you wanted?

Mr. BISSON. I was primarily concerned that this was a symbol of political oppression by the Nazis in Germany.

Senator EASTLAND. Who else did you intercede for? Hitler had thousands of political and racial persecutees in jail in Germany. Did you intercede for any of the others?

Mr. BISSON. I was generally opposed, yes, to all of them.

Senator EASTLAND. Answer my question. Did you intercede for any of the others?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Who?

Mr. BISSON. So far as I remember I was——

Senator EASTLAND. Who was it you interceded for?

Mr. BISSON. I do not know a specific name.

Senator EASTLAND. He had Catholic leaders in prison. Did you intercede for any of them?

Mr. BISSON. Not that I know of.

Senator EASTLAND. He had leaders of the extreme right in prison. Did you intercede for any of them?

Mr. BISSON. Not that I know of, not by name.

Senator EASTLAND. Of course you did not. He had racial persecutees in prison. Did you specifically intercede for any of them?

Mr. BISSON. Not for a specific individual.

Senator EASTLAND. You did intercede specifically for the head of the Communist Party in Germany; did you not?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Senator EASTLAND. Of course you were not a Communist sympathizer and were not pro-Communist. You deny all that?

Mr. BISSON. I do.

May I say in extension of my remarks here that so far as I remember I engaged on occasion in general acts against the Hitler tyranny.

Senator EASTLAND. Of course you did. All Communists did.

Mr. BISSON. This happened to be one instance.

Senator EASTLAND. All Communists did that, but no Communist would intercede for the release of the Catholic leadership which was anti-Communist. No Communist would intercede for the release of the leaders of the extreme right like Count von Plettenberg who were in prison. All the Communists all over the world interceded for the release of Ernst Thaelmann so he could get up a government.

I may say you were following the regular Communist line as laid down by Moscow. You say you are not a Communist. Maybe you are not.

Mr. BISSON. May I comment that this campaign was after all headed by a Social Democrat personage, the daughter of the Socialist Prime Minister of Norway.

Senator EASTLAND. That is the Communist strategy all over the world, to put some Social Democrat out in front. All the front organizations in the country had some big name that did not know what was happening behind the scenes. But I cannot understand that when the chips were down that you always turned up on the Red

side of things. I cannot understand if you were not a Communist how you were used.

Mr. BISSEON. The point I am making here is people of all political persuasions were against this political imprisonment. They operated for all of them.

Senator EASTLAND. Yes; but it is very strange that you just picked out of all of them that Communist leader to specifically help.

Mr. MORRIS. Do we have any document that reports the fact that Mr. Bisson did in fact support Ernst Thaelmann, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a publication called International Press Correspondence which has previously been identified as the official organ of the Communist Internationale. It is volume 15, No. 50, dated October 5, 1935, and on page 1263 is an article entitled "The World-Wide Campaign for Thaelmann," which publicizes the activities of the international release committee which is working for the release of Thaelmann there appears as a member of the committee the name of Bisson and Field.

I offer this page for the record.

Mr. BISSEON. Was that committee headed by Sonya Branting?

Mr. MANDEL. All the names are given.

Mr. BISSEON. She was the daughter of the Socialist Prime Minister.

Senator EASTLAND. That is the alibi to hide behind if it is charged it was a Communist set-up. It will be placed in the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 724" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 724

THE WORLD-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR THAELMANN

We have received the following statement from the International Release Committee:

In all parts of the globe, even the most remote, the struggle for the release of Thaelmann is on the increase. New groups of trade-unionists, intellectuals, new great organisations and factories take the fate of the menaced German fighters for peace into their protecting hands.

The two great Congresses of French trade-unionists, that of the C. G. T. and of the C. G. T. U., adopted resolutions of protest against the imprisonment of Thaelmann, Mierendorff, Ossietzky, Brandes, and Maddalena. Jouhaux, the well-known French trade-union leader, declared at the opening of the C. G. T. congress that Caballero and Thaelmann are to be elected as honorary chairmen of this great congress. Many hundred union and branch secretaries of the two congresses, representing the French trade-union movement, which is now marching in a united front, signed a protest and demanded the release of Thaelmann, Mierendorff, Claus, Kayser, and of the thousands of imprisoned trade-unionists captured in the illegal struggle for the trade-unions in Germany.

In the United States of America the well-known Swedish lawyer, Sonia Branting, daughter of the former Swedish Prime Minister, Hjalmar Branting, is touring the country on behalf of the International Thaelmann Release Committee. Prominent American intellectuals have formed a Branting reception committee and are organising a campaign of meetings, lectures, and conferences all over the country. The committee includes Judge Anna Cross; Bisson, Secretary of the Committee on Foreign Relations; Field, director of the Institute; the lawyers Hays, Ernst, and Lucile B. Milner. The leader of the Socialist Party of the United States, Norman Thomas, a leading figure in American public life, has quite recently agreed to sit on the committee. The American press featured the first lectures of Sonia Branting in extensive articles.

The "New York American" pointed out that Sonia Branting was well-acquainted with conditions in Germany as she had been a delegate to the recent penal reform congress held in Berlin and had received a lasting impression of the level to which the administration of justice had sunk in Germany. The "New York Post" reported a lecture of Sonia Branting at length. She had especially stressed

the barbarism of the methods of sterilisation, a procedure even applied as a punitive measure to political opponents. Sonia Branting drew a true picture of the German machinery of justice which obeys the commands from above and which will judge Thaelmann at just such commands from above. The "New York Times," in reporting a lecture of Miss Branting, quotes the attitude of the speaker to the coming Olympic Games, which are to be held in Germany. The paper points out that nonparticipation in the Olympic Games is an act of protest against the persecution of opponents in the Third Reich and would be an act of sympathy on the part of the civilised world for the men and women humiliated and tormented in Germany. The "New York Tribune" writes that Miss Branting received a telegram from leading French writers and journalists, asking her to form a release committee in the United States for the liberation of Thaelmann and all other imprisoned anti-fascists.

On October 5 a great Thaelmann meeting will be held in Yorkville. Sonia Branting and a number of other prominent speakers will speak. On October 17 a great banquet will be held with the participation of men and women prominent in the intellectual life of New York. Sonia Branting will speak. The great mass meeting on October 25 will to a certain extent be a culminating point. It is to be held in New York for the release of Thaelmann and of all German anti-Nazi prisoners. The mass movement against the Nazi terror in the United States has already provoked the New York Nazis to outbursts of impotent rage and provocative threats. They have announced that they would organise counter-demonstrations. But the rising anti-Nazi feeling in the United States will nip in the bud the provocative plans of the Hitlerites, especially after the tremendous success of the Bremen affair.

Even in the distant islands of New Zealand a wide mass movement is in progress on behalf of Thaelmann, Micendorff, Ossietzky, etc. A great conference of trade-unions, peace societies, and student clubs adopted a resolution demanding the release of Thaelmann, held in custody unlawfully for nearly three years, the release of all other anti-Nazi prisoners, and the cessation of the persecution by the Hitler regime of political and religious opponents.

A delegation of three handed the German consul, Herr Penseler, a copy of this resolution on behalf of the working population of New Zealand. The consul declared that his government had informed him that Thaelmann was being "decently treated." He promised to forward the resolution to the Hitler government.

The New Zealand committee of the Movement Against War and Fascism has addressed a mass appeal to the workers, trade-unionists, and farmers of New Zealand.

In Spain the popular movement for the release of Thaelmann has been considerably intensified during recent weeks. A committee composed of intellectuals and representatives of various parties appointed September 14 as Spanish Thaelmann Day. A public meeting was held in one of the largest halls of Madrid which holds 5,000 persons. Over 15,000 people came to buy tickets. Representatives of the Radical Party, of the Republicans, of the Socialists, and a number of non-party intellectuals spoke. A unanimously adopted resolution demanded the release of Thaelmann and of the imprisoned German anti-fascists.

On the same day a mighty mass demonstration took place in Valencia, in which a number of representatives sent by other Spanish cities were present, and here as well as in Madrid the speakers included representatives of all progressive parties.

In five cities of the Balearic Islands mass demonstrations were held on the same day demanding the release of Thaelmann.

In almost every Spanish prison the political prisoners celebrated Thaelmann Day in their own particular way. About fifty letters came out of the prisons, fifty letters representing the result of discussions between thousands of captive workers. In these letters the prisoners, themselves victims of the terror, express their indignation at the barbarians now ruling Germany and demand the release of Thaelmann.

A campaign has been undertaken in Spain to get five million signatures for a petition to release Thaelmann. In Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, etc., one sees posters and stickybacks everywhere demanding the release of Thaelmann.

The Spanish Legal Commission of Inquiry into the Thaelmann Trial, whose chairman is Victoria Kent, the well-known lawyer, recently adopted a resolution protesting against the further imprisonment of Thaelmann. The resolution was signed by the following jurists, all practising at the Madrid bar: Viktoria Kent, Luis Zubillaga, Enrique Porua, Francisco Lopez, de Goispechea, Benito Pavin,

E. Ortega y Gasset. A delegation presented this petition of protest to the German consul in Madrid. A great number of Spanish newspapers printed the text of this petition and declared their sympathy with the demand for the release of Thaelmann.

In the Scandinavian countries the campaign against the Hitler terror is making good progress. In Norway a release committee for the liberation of German anti-fascists is in the course of formation. Prominent scientists and writers, teachers' organisations, Socialist student clubs, and intellectuals have expressed their willingness to cooperate with the committee. In September the Oslo "Dagbladet" published a lengthy article on the scandalous sentence passed on Claus and Kayser. Various individuals prominent in public life have addressed an open letter of protest to Hitler, demanding the rescinding of the death sentence passed on Claus and Kayser. The whole action and the names of the leading personalities participating in it was described in a detailed communiqué issued by the official Norwegian news agency.

A world-wide movement is now on foot to free the German fighters for liberty, who are now threatened by death! The liberation of Dimitrov and the release under duress of Berthold Jakob have shown that only the mighty pressure of international public opinion can save our courageous and tormented brothers. The trial of the 25 anti-fascists of Neu-Koelln, now in press in Berlin and revealing the barbarous methods employed by German justice, has warned the workers of the whole world that our menaced comrades are in deadly danger. Thus in this Berlin trial, which is ultimately intended to bring Thaelmann's head under the axe, a number of perjuries, the falsification of sworn statements and false testimony by bribed Nazi witnesses have already been proven beyond a doubt.

Although the world is already in motion against the horrors of the Hitler regime, those harbingers of the horrors of the coming war—this movement is as yet only a start. Only if it is tremendously increased can Ernst Thaelmann and the other hostages of the Nazi war policy be wrested from the clutches of the fascist incendiaries and warmongers and restored to liberty.

(English Edition, International Press Correspondence, vol. 15, No. 50, 5th October, 1935, p. 1263.)

Senator EASTLAND. Who approached you to become a member of that committee?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know anyone approached me.

Senator EASTLAND. You just volunteered?

Mr. BISSON. I may have discussed it with Mr. Field.

Senator EASTLAND. In fact now, to be frank, Mr. Field got you to become a member of that committee, did he not?

Mr. BISSON. I may have gotten Mr. Field to become a member of the committee. We were seeing each other in terms of our far-eastern work at that time.

Senator EASTLAND. You and Freddie Field, of course.

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Field was then in the IPR.

Senator EASTLAND. I understand he was.

Mr. BISSON. I was in the Far Eastern Policy Association. We were both interested in far-eastern matters both officially and otherwise.

Senator EASTLAND. I understand Mr. Field was in other things, too.

How did you get your job with the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. BISSON. To the best of my knowledge—

Senator EASTLAND. Wait a minute. Why say "To the best of my knowledge"? You know very well who recommended you for a place on the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. BISSON. I don't know. I don't remember specifically.

Senator EASTLAND. What is the best of your knowledge?

Mr. BISSON. I would probably have had support from the head of the Foreign Policy Association, Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy.

Senator EASTLAND. But you don't know you did?

Mr. BISSON. He was my official superior in the organization that I was working with.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you know him?

Mr. BISSON. How could I help but know him. He was my superior. He was the president of the Foreign Policy Association. I was a member of the research staff there. I feel sure that I have a recommendation from him for that position.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you have a recommendation from Mr. Field?

Mr. BISSON. I might have.

Senator EASTLAND. What about Mr. Earl Browder?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know Mr. Browder?

Mr. BISSON. I have met him.

Senator EASTLAND. Where did you meet Earl Browder?

Mr. BISSON. We spoke on the same lecture platform.

Senator EASTLAND. Where?

Mr. BISSON. In New York.

Senator EASTLAND. What lecture platform was that?

Mr. BISSON. I think it was a meeting that was concerned with the magazine China Today.

Senator EASTLAND. What about Jack Stachel? Did you know him?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember knowing him.

Senator EASTLAND. You don't remember knowing him?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you been in Browder's office?

Mr. BISSON. Have I?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I have not.

Senator EASTLAND. Where did you speak; in Union Square?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember. I expect it was in some restaurant or dining place.

Senator EASTLAND. In some restaurant?

Mr. BISSON. It was an evening, as I remember, an evening engagement. We probably had dinner first and then we had speeches.

Senator EASTLAND. You and Browder had dinner and had speeches.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the occasion that there has been testimony about here already?

Mr. BISSON. I am a little confused as to exactly which meeting that has reference to.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many meetings did you ever speak at with Mr. Browder?

Mr. BISSON. It is this China Today meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Answer the question.

Mr. BISSON. One.

Mr. SOURWINE. Only one?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the one we have had testimony about?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think that was in a restaurant?

Mr. BISSON. That was my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a memory of speaking with Browder at some time with him in a restaurant?

Mr. BISSON. No; I do not have any specific memory.

Senator EASTLAND. The tickets for that banquet were sold by New Masses and the Worker Book Shop, which was a Communist headquarters, were they not?

Mr. BISSON. A Communist headquarters?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes; 50 East Thirteenth Street. Is that not Communist headquarters?

Mr. BISSON. I do not know. Not to my knowledge.

Senator EASTLAND. You do know New Masses was a Communist Party publication?

Mr. BISSON. I do.

Senator EASTLAND. I will tell you now that the tickets for this lecture that you made with Mr. Browder were sold at the Communist Party headquarters and New Masses. Was Mr. Hansu Chen present?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I think he was.

Senator EASTLAND. He was a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. I have no reason to know he was.

Senator EASTLAND. He was one of the speakers who appeared with you and Browder; was he not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. As a matter of fact, to be perfectly fair, Chen is a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. I know him as such today.

Senator EASTLAND. You know him as such today. Frederick Field was a speaker also?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. There was Bisson, Browder, Field, and Chen who were the speakers?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. They were all Communists but you?

Mr. BISSON. I do not say that.

Senator EASTLAND. You just said you knew Chen was a Communist. You know Earl Browder is a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. It was not clear at that time what is clear today.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you mean to say it was not clear to you that Earl Browder was a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; but I am speaking of the other two individuals, Mr. Field and Mr. Hansu Chen.

Senator EASTLAND. It was not clear to you Freddie Field was a Communist?

Mr. BISSON. Not at that time; no.

Mr. MORRIS. When you worked for the Board of Economic Welfare did you testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. To what extent did you testify before the House committee?

Mr. BISSON. I am not sure what you mean "to what extent."

Mr. MORRIS. How frequently did you testify?

Mr. BISSON. I was called before them once.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a second appearance?

Mr. BISSON. I do not think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there a planned second appearance?

Mr. BISSON. Not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you discuss with IPR confreres of yours the possibility of having a second appearance before the Dies committee?

Mr. BISSON. I may have. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what efforts you made in order to clear yourself before the Dies committee? Did you ask the IPR to help you?

Mr. BISSON. I may have. As I remember, there was a counsel of the BEW at that time and I can't remember his name, but it seems to me he gave us some help and came along to the session with me.

Mr. MORRIS. The counsel to the Board of Economic Warfare went to the hearings?

Mr. BISSON. This particular person.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his name?

Mr. BISSON. I cannot recall his name.

Mr. MORRIS. To what extent did you ask the IPR to help you in your appearance before that committee and before the——

Mr. BISSON. To my knowledge very little. My chief efforts were getting help from the agency with which I was connected.

Mr. MORRIS. You did, however, have the IPR to help you?

Mr. BISSON. I may have. I do not recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this letter, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a letter on the letterhead of "353 Willard Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md." It is a handwritten letter addressed to "Dear Mr. Carter" and signed "T. A. Bisson." Date, April 26, 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that letter taken from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. MANDEL. It was.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that letter, please?

Mr. BISSON (reading):

DEAR MR. CARTER: I appreciate very much your generous assistance on the moving expenses, which will ease things up for us on the transfer very materially. If our dates work out, I should be ready to take up my new duties on June 2 or 3.

Thanks very much for sending me the copy of Buell's characteristic letter. I find the BEW appropriation bill has just gone in, so I may still have to run the gauntlet here early in May before the Kerr committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that go into the record?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes, sir.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 725" and was read in full.)

Senator EASTLAND. What was the Kerr committee?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do you have any recollection of that committee?

Mr. MANDEL. The Kerr committee was a special committee of the House of Representatives, a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee which at that time dealt with loyalty cases.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you write this letter?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Senator EASTLAND. What do you mean "so I may still have to run the gauntlet of the Kerr committee"?

Mr. BISSON. It means I would have to appear before the Kerr committee.

Senator EASTLAND. Does it not mean more than that? Does it not mean there was a probability in your mind your loyalty to your country might be questioned?

Mr. BISSON. It was a security test; yes.

Senator EASTLAND. That was in April 1943, April 26, while this country was at war with Germany and Japan. Did you not mean here "So I may still have to run the gauntlet here early in May before the Kerr committee" that you thought your loyalty to your country might be questioned?

Mr. BISSON. It might be questioned; yes. It still remained to be proved.

Senator EASTLAND. I understand that, but you thought conditions were such that your loyalty might be questioned. Why did you think your loyalty might be questioned? You were bound to have known the reasons that would cause them to question your loyalty to your country.

Mr. BISSON. There was a group of 12 or 15 BEW individuals who were undergoing this scrutiny. Several of them appeared before the Dies committee.

Senator EASTLAND. How did you know you would be called?

Mr. BISSON. Some of them had been called and therefore I assumed I would be called, too.

Senator EASTLAND. Why did you assume you would be called?

Mr. BISSON. I was among the group that was being investigated and they were dealing with us in a more or less similar way.

Senator EASTLAND. What had you done?

Mr. BISSON. Nothing.

Senator EASTLAND. What was the accusation against you? Why were they investigating your loyalty?

Mr. BISSON. I would not know.

Senator EASTLAND. You are bound to know. On what basis were the others being questioned as to their loyalty?

Mr. BISSON. I do not know the details.

Senator EASTLAND. You do not know the details? You say that you knew they were investigating others, Mr. Bisson. Is that true?

Mr. BISSON. That is true.

Senator EASTLAND. How did you know they were investigating them? From talking to them?

Mr. BISSON. The names were generally known.

Senator EASTLAND. You had talked to them about their appearances, had you not?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; although I remember no specific individuals that I talked to.

Senator EASTLAND. Of course if you talked to them about their appearance before the committee, you certainly knew that the basis was that their loyalty was being questioned?

Mr. BISSON. When I talked with them we were primarily concerned as to what the situation would be before the committee.

Senator EASTLAND. You know very well that if you asked a man about his appearance, you asked him on what grounds they were questioning him. Didn't you do that?

Mr. FANELLI. The answer is yes or no. You either did or did not.

Mr. BISSON. I was not sure what ground I would be questioned on.

Senator EASTLAND. You did not ask what grounds you would be questioned? When you asked the other people who had been called before that committee about their appearance, you certainly asked them the grounds on which their loyalty was questioned, did you not?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Senator EASTLAND. You did not?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember so asking.

Senator EASTLAND. How do you know it was a security check on them if you did not do that?

Mr. BISSON. This was the general assumption.

Senator EASTLAND. You asked them? You say you knew it was a security check. How did you know?

Mr. BISSON. The Kerr committee was organized, as I remember after the Dies committee.

Senator EASTLAND. Is your answer you just assumed?

Mr. BISSON. I had not finished my answer. Since the Kerr committee was organized later, we assumed that perhaps the same group would go before that committee.

Senator EASTLAND. On what ground? The ground of loyalty?

Mr. BISSON. It was a security test.

Senator EASTLAND. That is a loyalty test?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Why was it you thought you would be called before them and questioned about your loyalty?

Mr. BISSON. I would not know. I don't recall.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you mean to tell me with your country at war and you an official of the American Government who was called before a committee of the American Congress to determine whether you were loyal to your country or not, in other words, whether you were a traitor or not, you would not know on what grounds your loyalty was questioned? Or you would not know on what grounds there was suspicion of treason against you? Do you mean to tell me that?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. That is exactly what I said. I went before the committee. I knew nothing of what I was being charged with.

May I add a statement here? I have just been called a traitor before this committee.

Senator EASTLAND. No, you have not.

Mr. FANELLI. Let's get on.

Senator EASTLAND. Let's straighten the record out. You have not been called a traitor. I said there was a question as to your loyalty by the Kerr committee; that that meant there was a question as to whether you were guilty of treason or not, and with an accusation like that you were certainly bound to know the facts on which it was based. Whether it was true or not I do not know. I am making no charges against you.

Mr. BISSON. May I be excused for a second?

Senator EASTLAND. No; I want to proceed with the hearing.

Mr. BISSON. I would like to go outside for a second.

Senator EASTLAND. All right.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this letter, please, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a handwritten document from the files of the IPR on the letterhead of the Board of Economic Warfare, Washington, D. C., dated April 14, with no year given, addressed to "Dear Mr. Carter," signed T. A. Bisson, and the initials in the corner are ECC, WLH, KP, and HA.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that letter, please?

Mr. BISSON (reading) :

EXHIBIT No. 726

DEAR MR. CARTER: I cannot begin to tell you how heartening the letters from New York have been. There has been no second hearing yet, which is all to the good. In fact, the weight of the letters may be alone sufficient to prevent one, though I am not too sanguine on this point. The Kerr committee has to feel strong enough to reject the transcript of my testimony before the Dies committee, and the letters are therefore just what is needed.

Unless complications develop, I am expecting to be at the Princeton conference this week end where I shall hope to have a chance to discuss things with you.

Please express my thanks and pass on this word to any who may inquire. I appreciate your efforts more than I can say.

Sincerely,

T. A. Bisson.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write that letter?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that refresh your recollection whether the IPR aided you in your difficulty in Washington at that time?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you testify further on that subject?

Mr. BISSON. One of the things that we were doing was securing letters from persons that knew us in our previous careers that could testify to our loyalty to the United States and also to our general competency in the field that we were in. Mr. Carter, among others, was attempting to help me out in getting letters of that kind. I remember, for instance, that one letter came from Dr. Hu Shih who was, if not then a little later or a little earlier, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony you can now recall this where you could not recall it 5 minutes ago?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You seem to have a clear memory now.

Mr. BISSON. I had forgotten who helped out on these letters. I knew about the letters but I had not read that the IPR, through Mr. Carter, was helping me get those letters. There is nothing unusual——

Mr. MORRIS. There was no implication anything was unusual. We are asking if you had used the instrumentality of the IPR to aid you in your difficulty in Washington.

Mr. BISSON. The answer is "No." I had asked my personal friend, Mr. Carter, to help me, and he was helping to get those letters.

Mr. MORRIS. May that letter go in?

Senator EASTLAND. It is submitted.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 726" and was read in full.)

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a handwritten letter from the files of the IPR on the letterhead addressed "353 Willard Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md.", dated April 30, 1943, addressed to "Dear Mr. Carter" and signed T. A. Bisson.

Senator EASTLAND. Right here, to save time, all these letters and documents will be admitted into the record unless challenged by the witness and his attorney. Then I will pass on them.

Mr. MANDEL. Attached thereto is a carbon copy from the files of the IPR dated April 30, 1943, addressed to "Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain." It is unsigned.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that letter, please?

Mr. BISSON. You mean the ink letter?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; the one in your handwriting.

Mr. BISSON (reading) :

EXHIBIT No. 727

I enclose copy of a letter to Dr. Chamberlain for your information. My hunch is that the case here will develop into a large and politically significant fight. At the moment, however, it looks as though Watson and Dodd will provide the test cases over which the battle in Congress will be waged, leaving the rest until after that decision is reached.

Sincerely,

T. A. BISSON.

May I comment on that?

Mr. SOURWINE. May I see that letter while you are phrasing your comment?

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to know, too, if that second letter is a letter written by you?

Mr. BISSON. I will see.

The comment I wanted to make on this original one was that Watson and Dodd had had their salaries stopped apparently that the decision hinged on that because it was a question whether the salaries would be stopped before a decision had been reached, in other words, before the court test or the loyalty hearing, or whatever it was, that was concluded and a decision was reached as to whether the person was cleared or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that other letter a copy of a letter you wrote? What is the date of that?

Mr. BISSON. That is April 30, 1943.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom is it addressed?

Mr. BISSON. Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that a letter you wrote?

Mr. BISSON. May I look at it? It is a long letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. BISSON. Yes; that is a letter I wrote to Dr. Chamberlain.

Mr. SOURWINE. May they go in the record?

Senator EASTLAND. I ordered them all in the record unless they are challenged.

(The letters referred to were marked "No. 727" (read in full), and "No. 728" and is as follows:)

APRIL 30, 1943.

DR. JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN,

510 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. CHAMBERLAIN: Some of the recent developments in the handling of the congressional investigations here may be of interest to you. Three persons have appeared so far before the Kerr committee. As you know, Schuman was exonerated while Dodd and Watson were convicted. It seems possible that hearings of the others involved will be delayed until Dodd and Watson are ousted from office by congressional vote.

The ouster will apparently be attempted through attachment of riders to appropriation bills indicating that no funds from any source shall be utilized to pay the salary of the accused. Passage seems likely in the House, but a stiffer

fight is in prospect in the Senate, doubtless with considerable attendant publicity. The issues in debate will probably extend beyond the narrower problem involved into such broader questions as to whether Dies, Fish, and the other isolationists or the accused were correct in estimating the course of international developments in the past decade and as to whether political liberalism can survive in this country in the near future if this preliminary attack succeeds.

The normal arbitrary procedures of a congressional committee have, of course, been applied in this case. The Dies committee permitted a legal representative of each agency involved to attend the hearing as an observer, but not to participate in the hearing or act as legal counsel for the accused. The Kerr committee has refused to permit a representative of the agency involved to attend the hearings even as an observer. No list of charges is furnished to the accused in advance of the hearing.

In one case certain members of the Kerr committee sought to pin the accused down to "Yes" or "No" answers, thus seeking to prevent the introduction of evidence into the hearing. This created a dispute within the committee which was finally resolved in favor of the accused. On the next day the same members of the committee again sought "Yes" or "No" answers and refused to be bound by the previous committee decision. When the accused picked up his papers and prepared to leave, however, the atmosphere cleared and the accused was again allowed to proceed with the introduction of evidence.

The Kerr committee's report on the Watson-Schuman-Dodd case (Congressional Record, April 21) has applied an extraordinary definition of "subversive" to certain organizations, defining them as such by reason of the judgment of the "court of public opinion" in the United States. Association with organizations so defined then involves the individuals concerned in "subversive activity."

The Kerr committee is on firmer legal ground apparently when it connects an individual with organizations listed as subversive in a statement by the Attorney General (cited by Dies on the floor of Congress last January). There is some question, however, as to whether this list was merely an interoffice memorandum within the Justice Department to which the Attorney General's name became attached by some unexplained means. This point would bear clearing up because it affords by far the strongest ground that has ever been afforded Dies in his campaign.

All of this information may be already known to you, but I have set it down here on the chance that some of the details may be new to you and of interest. I presume you have seen the 26-page statement issued by the Federal Communications Commission in defense of its employees.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have a question, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify these letters, please, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a handwritten letter from the files of the IPR on the letterhead "353 Willard Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md." dated April 21, 1943, addressed to "Dear Mr. Carter," and signed "T. A. Bisson." An attachment thereto is a carbon copy of a letter from the files of the IPR addressed to "Hon. John H. Kerr, chairman, Special Subcommittee of Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives," with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this is already introduced in the record as Exhibit 260.

Mr. Bisson, will you read your letter, please?

Mr. BISSON (reading):

DEAR MR. CARTER: My formal letter of resignation here went in yesterday, effective for June 1. Stone just called me and the decision was made final.

The replies by Kerr make it seem that the matter may not be carried any further for the moment. Formal clearance, however, seems unlikely.

May I again express my deep appreciation for your help?

Sincerely,

T. A. Bisson.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify these letters, please?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here several carbon copies of letters from the files of the IPR. The first one is dated April 12, 1943, addressed to "Dear Dr. Evans, The Rockefeller Foundation", with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter. The second one is a carbon copy of a letter dated April 12, 1943, addressed to Miss Pearl Buck, with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter.

The third is a carbon copy of a letter dated April 12, 1943, addressed to Dr. Goodrich with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter.

The next is a carbon copy dated April 12, 1943, addressed to Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter.

And finally, a carbon copy of a letter dated April 12, 1943, addressed to Mr. Richard J. Walsh, with the typed signature of Edward C. Carter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, these all seem to be worded in the same fashion. The first paragraph begins:

The Dies Committee is after T. A. Bisson who for the past year has been working for the BEW. Bisson desires a few of his friends to write letters testifying to his loyalty as an American citizen, adding anything that the writer feels free to say.

That seems to be the form that Mr. Carter followed in all of these letters, Mr. Chairman. The letters will speak for themselves. May they go into the record?

Senator EASTLAND. They are ordered in unless there is objection.

(The letters referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 729" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT 729

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York City, April 12, 1943.

Dr. ROGER F. EVANS,

*The Rockefeller Foundation,
49 East 49th Street, New York City.*

DEAR DR. EVANS: Here is a copy of my letter to Honorable John H. Kerr, Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., regarding Mr. T. A. Bisson.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

Copies of the following letter were sent to: Miss Pearl Buck, R. D. 3, Perkasio, Pennsylvania; Dr. L. Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University, New York City; Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, Fortune Magazine, Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Plaza, New York; Mr. Richard J. Walsh, Asia Magazine, 40 East 49th Street, New York City.

129 EAST 52ND STREET,
New York City, April 12, 1943.

DEAR ———: The Dies Committee is after T. A. Bisson who for the past year has been working for the BEW. Bisson desires a few of his friends to write letters testifying to his loyalty as an American citizen adding anything that the writer feels free to say.

Enclosed is a copy of what I have written. Would you feel free to write directly to Honorable John H. Kerr, Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sending a copy of your letter to T. A. Bisson at 353 Willard Avenue, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

Mr. MORRIS. This was not written by Mr. Bisson but it bears on the point of to what extent the IPR was an instrumentality in obtaining signatures or sending testimonial letters for Mr. Bisson.

Mr. BISSON. "To what extent Mr. Carter was." He was not necessarily acting as an IPR official but as an individual.

Mr. MORRIS. These were from the files of the IPR, Mr. Chairman. Senator EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. BISSON. Are you turning to a new subject?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have some comment?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. I think it is pertinent to this last half or three quarters of an hour's testimony to note that I was under investigation at this same time by the Civil Service Commission. As some of you may probably remember from that period, people were hired in a great hurry and went into the departments in large numbers and then the Civil Service Commission proceeded to conduct its routine investigation.

In the spring of 1943 the Civil Service Commission's formal clearance for me was suitable and fit for Government employment and that came through. They had conducted this investigation during the whole period when the Dies committee and the Kerr committee were operating. The decision of the Civil Service Commission was that I was suitable and fit for Government employment as indicated by that formal clearance.

I do not have a copy of that with me, but I presume this fact I am now stating can be verified.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, at that point may I interrogate very briefly?

I have before me what purports to be a copy of the Form 3721 personal history statement which this witness executed in connection with his Board of Economic Warfare employment. I do not ask this go in the record because this is not the best evidence. The committee is securing and will have in its possession later today a photostatic copy of the original form. I ask that the photostatic copy go in.

Senator EASTLAND. Yes, proceed.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 730" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 730

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1952.

Honorable PAT McCARRAN,

*Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR McCARRAN: As requested in telephone conversation between my secretary and Miss Walker of your staff, I am enclosing a photostat copy of Form 3721, filled out by Mr. Thomas Arthur Bisson, born November 8, 1900. This is the only personal history statement for this person we were able to locate in our files.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT RAMSPECK, *Chairman.*

Inclosure 142384.

Form 572A
June 1942

SPECIAL ATTENTION

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
APR 10 1942

PERSONAL HISTORY STATEMENT

1. Name (Print): **Thomas Arthur Bisson**

2. Address: **920-16th Place South Arlington Va.**

3. Place of Birth: **New York N.Y.** (Country) **U.S.A.**

4. Date of Birth: **November 8 1900**

5. Title or Position: **Principal Economist**

6. Agency or Department: **Econ. Warfare Board (Far East)**

7. If a married woman, give full maiden name:

8. If naturalized-born, give the following information:

(a) Date of arrival in U. S.: (Month) (Day) (Year)

(b) Port of entry:

(c) Name of vessel or other means of arrival:

(d) Place of naturalization:

(e) Date of naturalization:

(f) Court of naturalization:

(g) Naturalization certificate No.:

(h) Name under which naturalized:

9. If citizenship was derived through parent or through marriage, give following information regarding person through whom citizenship was derived:

(a) Name and relationship:

(b) If husband, date and place of marriage:

(c) Date of arrival in U. S.: (Month) (Day) (Year)

(d) Port of entry:

(e) Name of vessel or other means of arrival:

(f) Place of naturalization:

(g) Date of naturalization:

(h) Court of naturalization:

(i) Naturalization certificate number:

(j) Name under which naturalized:

10. (a) Name of father: **Rock Bisson**

(b) Address: **Rechered**

(c) Date and date of his birth: (Month) (Day) (Year)

(d) Name of mother (including maiden name): **Marie Louise (F. Bernard) Bisson**

(e) Address: **Legation Park, Morris Plains, N. J.**

(f) Place and date of her birth: (Month) (Day) (Year)

11. EDUCATION -- GIVE IN BLANKS BELOW A DETAILED STATEMENT OF YOUR EDUCATION, INCLUDING DATES:

(a) Elementary school: attended from **September 1906** to **June 1915**

(b) High school: Name and location: **Englewood High School, Englewood, N. J.**

attended from **September 1915** to **June 1919**

(c) College or grade or technical school: Name and location: **Princeton College, New Jersey**

attended from **September 1919** to **June 1923**

(d) Highest year completed: **Senior**

(e) Name of source pursued and degree, if any, received: **History major B. A.**

18. EXPERIENCE

RECORD, WITH A SUMMARY OF COMMERCIAL WORK OF ALL YOUR EXPERIENCES, BEGINNING WITH YOUR FIRST FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT AND INCLUDING YOUR PRESENT EMPLOYMENT. LIST EMPLOYERS BY CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER AS APPROPRIATE, WITH ADDRESSES AND NAMES OF SUPERVISORS WITH WHOM YOU HAVE WORKED YOUR PREVIOUS. IF IN THE MILITARY OR NAVAL SERVICE DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS, GIVE NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS, AND DATE AND LOCATION OF SERVICE WITH RANK AND GRADE, DATE, TYPE OF DISCHARGE, AND DATE OF THE END OF SERVICE.

Place of Employment	Date of Employment	Name and Location of Employer	Position and Salary	Name, Position, and Present Address of one Supervisor and one Associate in each employment	Reasons for leaving (if discharged or forced to resign, give location of training, one paragraph about it, etc.)
China	Sept. 1924	Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions	Educational Director 750-840	Mr. George T. Scott, North China, P. O. Box 1000, Peking, P. O. Box 1000, Peking, P. O. Box 1000, Peking	Work disrupted by the Chinese Nationalist revolution
New York	Sept. 1928	Postgraduate study, Col. William H. Thompson	✓	Mr. L. C. Goodrich, Chinese Department, Columbia University	Sought employment after death of father
New York	Sept. 1929	Foreign Policy Association, 226 St. St., N. Y. C.	Research Fellow in Far East 1200-1400	General Frank R. McCoy, President, General F. McCoy, now with Department of State, War Office - British Empire section	Called to government service
Wash. D. C.	Jan. 1942	Board of Economic Warfare, Commerce Bldg.	Principal Economist 55400	Mr. Kuyper, Chief of Foreign Economic Warfare, Mr. Kuyper, Chief of Foreign Economic Warfare, Mr. Kuyper, Chief of Foreign Economic Warfare	(Called to the Board)

(1) List previous work as continuing for employment, continue on another page.

21. Indicate marital status by check: Single ☐ Married ☒ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ **Married**

22. Name and date of birth of wife: **Kanagawa Japan October 25 1900**

23. If divorced, give complete details: (a) Date (month) (day) (year) (b) Name of court (c) Name of court

24. Have you children or dependents? (a) Name (b) Name (c) Name (d) Name (e) Name (f) Name (g) Name (h) Name (i) Name (j) Name (k) Name (l) Name (m) Name (n) Name (o) Name (p) Name (q) Name (r) Name (s) Name (t) Name (u) Name (v) Name (w) Name (x) Name (y) Name (z) Name (aa) Name (ab) Name (ac) Name (ad) Name (ae) Name (af) Name (ag) Name (ah) Name (ai) Name (aj) Name (ak) Name (al) Name (am) Name (an) Name (ao) Name (ap) Name (aq) Name (ar) Name (as) Name (at) Name (au) Name (av) Name (aw) Name (ax) Name (ay) Name (az) Name (ba) Name (bb) Name (bc) Name (bd) Name (be) Name (bf) Name (bg) Name (bh) Name (bi) Name (bj) Name (bk) Name (bl) Name (bm) Name (bn) Name (bo) Name (bp) Name (bq) Name (br) Name (bs) Name (bt) Name (bu) Name (bv) Name (bw) Name (bx) Name (by) Name (bz) Name (ca) Name (cb) Name (cc) Name (cd) Name (ce) Name (cf) Name (cg) Name (ch) Name (ci) Name (cj) Name (ck) Name (cl) Name (cm) Name (cn) Name (co) Name (cp) Name (cq) Name (cr) Name (cs) Name (ct) Name (cu) Name (cv) Name (cw) Name (cx) Name (cy) 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25. Name and relationship of dependents: Son - Thomas Noel; Daughter - Jean; Mother - Marie L. Peterson

26. List all outstanding debts, and to whom owed: \$2,000 - Mrs. John F. Williams (my wife's mother); \$1,000 - Mrs. Mary Cochran (sister). These amounts are secured on our house at Fort W. and are being paid.

8. Have you ever been arrested? (a) <i>No</i> (Yes or No)		(b) If so, give details, such as date, place, court, nature of each judgment and all disposition.	
10. Have you ever been adjudicated bankrupt or have assignments for benefit of creditors? (a) <i>No</i> (Yes or No)		(b) If so, give date, name, and location of court.	
12. Within the past 10 years have you used alcoholic beverages in excess? (a) <i>No</i> (Yes or No)		13. Have you ever been arrested, fined, or imprisoned for any breach or violation of any law, police regulation, or ordinance whatsoever? (a) <i>No</i> (Yes or No)	
14. Have you ever been arrested, fined, or imprisoned for any breach or violation of any law, police regulation, or ordinance whatsoever? (a) <i>No</i> (Yes or No)		15. Have you ever been arrested, fined, or imprisoned for any breach or violation of any law, police regulation, or ordinance whatsoever? (a) <i>No</i> (Yes or No)	
16. List all Federal Civil Service Applications filed, and Federal Civil Service examinations taken, giving name of exam, nature, date, and grade received. <i>None</i>			
17. List members of your family or relatives, by and name of the person, giving name, address, occupation, and place of birth. <i>Robert Goldwell - Consultant on Latin America, from Manila to Hong Kong</i> <i>Kenneth Goldwell - American Consul General, Canton, China</i>			
18. List members of your family or relatives residing in any foreign country, giving name, address, occupation, and place of birth. <i>Mr. William Cochran - Fasting for China (1) - Medical missionary in charge of hospital</i> <i>Brother-in-law (husband of Mary Williams Cochran)</i>			
19. Are you a member of any Communist or German Bund organization or any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States or of any other member of any organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States? If so, name the organization. If so, give complete details in the space immediately below, or on a sheet to be attached hereto.			

1. List your neighbors during the past five years, including your present local address. Give also the names of, and the present addresses of, your nearest neighbors to each name, or the names of relatives, friends, neighbors, or relatives, neighbors.

From Jan. 1937 to Dec. 1937 on investigation trip in Japan, China, Korea, Manchuria.

From Jan. 1938 to Sept. 1939 at 115 Constitution Road, Port Washington, N.Y.
 PERSONAL: Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Jones, 115 Constitution Road, Port Washington, N.Y.
 The name is in diary & evidence.

From Oct. 1939 to Feb. 1940 at 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.
 PERSONAL: Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Jones, 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.
 Mr. F. L. Jones, 351 1st Ave., Port Washington, N.Y.

From Jan. 1940 to Feb. 1940 at 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.
 PERSONAL: Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Jones, 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.

From Jan. 1940 to Feb. 1940 at 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.
 PERSONAL: Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Jones, 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.

From Jan. 1940 to Feb. 1940 at 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.
 PERSONAL: Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Jones, 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.

From Jan. 1940 to Feb. 1940 at 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.
 PERSONAL: Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Jones, 40 Riverside Rd., Port Washington, N.Y.

I certify that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

April 1, 1940

J. A. Brown
 Signature of applicant

ARTICLES: (written in)

New York Times

" " Herald Tribune

Magazine of Wall Street

The Nation

The New Republic

Pacific Affairs

Political Science Quarterly

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science

China Today

The Saturday Review of Literature

America

BOOKS: (written)

Japan in China - Macmillan, 1938American Policy in the Far East, 1931-1940. Inquiry Series,
Institute of Pacific Relations. 1940.In addition, the Reports, Bulletin, Pamphlets and
Headline Books.Headline Book - Shadow Over Asia - War Department
published 30,000 copies for distribution to army camps.

ORGANIZATIONS: (membership)

American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

American Committee for Non-Participation in
Japanese Aggression.

American Friends of the Chinese People.

Was probably on the mailing list of the American
League for Peace and Democracy. Never a dues-paying member.
JAB:son

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall filing a personal history statement while you were with BEW?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were asked for that?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was some time after you had actually begun work?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you actually went to work did you file a Form 57, or an application form of any sort?

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember. Presumably there was some form. I do not recall at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not recall how you made application for work with the Board?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was head of the Board of Economic Warfare when you went to work?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Perkins, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he remain the head of that Board throughout your entire tenure?

Mr. BISSON. No. I think he was replaced by the Vice President.

Mr. SOURWINE. What Vice President?

Mr. BISSON. Mr. Wallace.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. BISSON. I am not sure just when that occurred, presumably in 1942.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. Wallace still the head of the Board when you left?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you filed this personal history statement—it is dated April 1, 1942—does that strike any discord with your memory? Are you willing to accept that as the date it was filed?

Mr. BISSON. I think that would be right.

Mr. SOURWINE. The purpose of that statement was to inform the Government as a basis for a civil-service check-up of where you had worked and what you had done; is that correct?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had this statement typed up, did you not?

Mr. BISSON. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the portions of the statement which you had typed out did you give any information about your connection with IPR?

Mr. BISSON. I had no connection with the IPR before that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had not?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then the answer would be "No"?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give any information about your connection with the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give any information about your connection with American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give any information about your connection you may have had with the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give any information about your connection with the International Release Committee that we have spoken about here?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give any information about your connection with Amerasia?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is the information that you were furnishing as the basis for the check-up that the Civil Service Commission was going to make on you?

Mr. BISSON. No; this, as I remember, was a check sheet asked by our employer in our section. It was not a sheet that was to be filed with the Civil Service Commission. He wanted to know the jobs we had held and what our background was in general.

Mr. SOURWINE. You felt you were answering that question and giving him the desired information even though you did not give any of these items of information I have referred to?

Mr. BISSON. Certainly. It did not necessarily mean one was to give every possible organization that one had been connected with. He was primarily interested in the career background.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you had filed this, weren't you subsequently told that you should have made mention of some of these organizations you belonged to?

Mr. BISSON. I may have been; yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you? You remember if you had been told that.

Mr. BISSON. I think I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you get the application form back, the Form 3721 back, and make additions to it in your own handwriting?

Mr. BISSON. I may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you make the additions under the heading "Membership organizations," with the first the American Council of the IPR?

Mr. BISSON. I may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just said you had no connection with the IPR.

Mr. BISSON. I had no business connection with them. That merely a membership. I assumed you were referring to a business connection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you add, in your own handwriting, the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression?

Mr. BISSON. I may have; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you add American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. BISSON. I may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you add "Was probably on the mailing list for American League for Peace and Democracy; never a dues-paying member"?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. Incidentally, may I make a comment on that point?

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me continue, please.

Your purpose for adding these was because you had been told there should be some mention of the organizations you belonged to on this sheet; is that right?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You added them?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why didn't you add your membership in the International Release Committee?

Mr. BISSON. In terms of my background, that was so unimportant that it never even occurred to me. My only relation with that committee, so far as I know, was this one occasion on which this greeting was made.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why didn't you add your connection with Amerasia? Was that completely unimportant in regard to your background?

Mr. BISSON. Amerasia was a magazine. It was not really an organization. I may have thought that a magazine was not called for here.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know why you didn't add it in?

Mr. BISSON. I would say that would be the reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it the reason? You said it must have been.

Mr. BISSON. Yes. That was the reason. That is the only magazine among that list so far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions.

Mr. BISSON. I would like to make one point here; that is, this takes on the appearance here of a very formal business. My recollection was that this was handled very informally. There was just a memorandum coming around saying "Get up some kind of sheet showing what your background was." I got that sheet up. That was the original one.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is a printed form; isn't it? The original one is a printed form?

Mr. BISSON. No. The original one was not. It was merely a typewritten manuscript that I typed out myself. Later on the head of our section said, "We want more information than has been given on these. Let's make them more complete and adequate." This was not a formal filing of applications for anything. It was merely an inter-office procedure.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were already employed by BEW?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had been employed there January 22, 1942?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You worked there until July 10, 1943?

Mr. BISSON. That was my formal severance date.

Mr. SOURWINE. This form 3721 is dated April 1, 1942. That is more than 3 months after you began working there?

Mr. BISSON. Yes, but what I am saying is that the first operation on that was just a memorandum saying "Set down some of your background for us for the use of the person that is in charge of this department."

Then later on it may have become formalized. I had forgotten there was a formal form. The thing was made more complete.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean your hiring by BEW was a very informal thing?

Mr. BISSON. This was not hiring.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking about the time you were hired. It was a very informal thing. You made no formal application. You were not required to give a statement of your employment?

Mr. BISSON. On the contrary. I think I did give a formal statement of employment. This was an informal thing within the department afterward.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether or not Dr. H. H. Fisher consulted personnel of the IPR in connection with his desire to increase the teaching and library facilities in the Far East in connection with his Hoover War Library?

Mr. BISSON. In connection with what?

Mr. MORRIS. His Hoover War Library.

Mr. BISSON. Did he consult with IPR?

Mr. MORRIS. With IPR personnel including yourself?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what you know about it?

Mr. BISSON. I do not know the details on it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he consult with you on it?

Mr. BISSON. What is the date of this?

Mr. MORRIS. In 1945.

Mr. BISSON. Yes. I do not remember the details.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that letter, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a memorandum from the files of the IPR dated January 24, 1945, headed "RD from ECC."

Senator EASTLAND. Who is RD?

Mr. MORRIS. Who is RD?

Senator EASTLAND. Was it Raymond Dennett?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. How do you spell it?

Mr. BISSON. D-e-n-n-e-t-t, I think.

Mr. MORRIS (reading):

EXHIBIT No 731

RD FROM ECC

Yesterday Dr. H. H. Fisher of the Hoover War Library came in in connection with Stanford's desire to increase its teaching and library facilities on the Far East.

In addition to meeting Grajdanzev and Bisson, I arranged for him to have a talk with Salisbury, who will doubtless report to you the substance of his conversations.

Does that refresh your recollection on the fact that you had a conversation with Dr. H. H. Fisher in connection with the question that was put to you?

Mr. FANELLI. He said he did, as I recall.

Mr. BISSON. My original statement was that I probably did talk with him; that I didn't remember the details.

Mr. MORRIS. Doesn't this indicate you did as a matter of fact talk with him?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall the conversation?

Mr. BISSON. I cannot. I said at the time I did not recall the details. I do not recall the details.

Mr. MORRIS. May this go into the record to establish the fact there was a conversation?

Senator EASTLAND. It will be admitted.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 731" and was read in full.)

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever write for the publication, Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. On how many occasions did you write for Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. BISSON. At least once.

Mr. MORRIS. With whom did you negotiate in your writings for Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. BISSON. Presumably it would be with the editor.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you negotiate with Jessica Smith?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I probably did.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you negotiate with her?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Jessica Smith?

Mr. BISSON. It has been indicated she is the editor of—

Senator EASTLAND. Was she? Testify, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know her personally?

Mr. BISSON. I do not actually remember seeing her.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you carry on negotiations?

Mr. BISSON. I don't know. Presumably by letter.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that your only recollection on the subject?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember signing a letter entitled "To All Active Supporters of Democracy and Peace," which is an open letter calling for greater unity of anti-Fascist forces and strengthening the forces against aggression, released on August 14 by 400 leading Americans, which appeared in Soviet Russia Today in September 1939?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may it be admitted into the record? I just call attention to this first point which seems to be called for in this open letter?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes; it may be admitted. When was it published?

(Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 732" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 732

[Source: Soviet Russia Today, 1939, September]

TO ALL ACTIVE SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

The text of an Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, released on August 14 by 400 leading Americans.

One of the greatest problems confronting all those engaged in the struggle for democracy and peace, whether they be liberals, progressives, trade-unionists, or others, is how to unite their various forces so as to achieve victory for their

common goals. The Fascists and their allies are well aware that democracy will win if its supporters are united. Accordingly, they are intent on destroying such unity at all costs.

On the international scene the Fascists and their friends have tried to prevent a united antiaggression front by sowing suspicion between the Soviet Union and other nations interested in maintaining peace.

On the domestic scene the reactionaries are attempting to split the democratic front by similar tactics. Realizing that here in America they cannot get far with a definitely profascist appeal, they strive to pervert American antifascist sentiment to their own ends. With the aim of turning antifascist feeling against the Soviet Union they have encouraged the fantastic falsehood that the U. S. S. R. and the totalitarian states are basically alike. By this strategy they hope to create dissension among the progressive forces whose united strength is a first necessity for the defeat of fascism.

Some sincere American liberals have fallen into this trap and unwittingly aided a cause to which they are essentially opposed. Thus, a number of them have carelessly lent their signatures to the recent manifesto issued by the so-called Committee for Cultural Freedom. This manifesto denounces in vague, undefined terms all forms of "Dictatorship" and asserts that the Fascist states and Soviet Russia equally menace American institutions and the democratic way of life.

While we prefer to dwell on facts rather than personalities, we feel it is necessary to point out that among the signers of this manifesto are individuals who have for years had as their chief political objective the maligning of the Soviet people and their government, and it is precisely these people who are the initiators and controllers of the committee.

A number of other committees have been formed which give lip service to democracy and peace while actually attacking the Soviet Union and aiding reaction. Honest persons approached by such committees should scrutinize their aims very carefully and support only those groups genuinely interested in preserving culture and freedom and refusing to serve as instruments for attacking the Soviet Union or aiding Fascism in any other way.

The undersigned do not represent any committee or organization, nor do they propose to form one. Our object is to point out the real purpose behind all these attempts to bracket the Soviet Union with the Fascist states, and to make it clear that Soviet and Fascist policies are diametrically opposed. To this end we should like to stress ten basic points in which Soviet socialism differs fundamentally from totalitarian fascism.

1. The Soviet Union continues, as always, to be a consistent bulwark against war and aggression, and works unceasingly for the goal of a peaceful international order.

2. It has eliminated racial and national prejudice within its borders, freed the minority peoples enslaved under the Tsars, stimulated the development of the culture and economic welfare of these peoples, and made the expression of anti-Semitism or any racial animosity a criminal offense.

3. It has socialized the means of production and distribution through the public ownership of industry and the collectivization of agriculture.

4. It has established nationwide socialist planning, resulting in increasingly higher living standards and the abolition of unemployment and depression.

5. It has built the trade-unions, in which almost 24,000,000 workers are organized, into the very fabric of its society.

6. The Soviet Union has emancipated woman and the family, and has developed an advanced system of child care.

7. From the viewpoint of cultural freedom, the difference between the Soviet Union and the Fascist countries is most striking. The Soviet Union has effected one of the most far-reaching cultural and educational advances in all history and among a population which at the start was almost three-fourths illiterate. Those writers and thinkers whose books have been burned by the Nazis are published in the Soviet Union. The best literature from Homer to Thomas Mann, the best thought from Aristotle to Lenin, is available to the masses of the Soviet people, who themselves actively participate in the creation of culture.

8. It has replaced the myths and superstitions of old Russia with the truths and techniques of experimental science, extending scientific procedures to every field, from economics to public health. And it has made science and scientific study available to the mass of the people.

9. The Soviet Union considers political dictatorship a transitional form and has shown a steadily expanding democracy in every sphere. Its epoch-making new

Constitution guarantees Soviet citizens universal suffrage, civil liberties, the right to employment, to leisure, to free education, to free medical care, to material security in sickness and old age, to equality of the sexes in all fields of activity, and to equality of all races and nationalities.

10. In relation to Russia's past, the country has been advancing rapidly along the road of material and cultural progress in ways that the American people can understand and appreciate.

The Soviet Union has an economic system different from our own. But Soviet aims and achievements make it clear that there exists a sound and permanent basis in mutual ideals for cooperation between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. on behalf of world peace and the security and freedom of all nations.

Accordingly, the signers of this letter urge Americans of whatever political persuasion to stand firmly for close cooperation in this sphere between the United States and Soviet Russia, and to be on guard against any and all attempts to prevent such cooperation in this critical period in the affairs of mankind.

Among the 400 signers of the open letter are:

Dr. Thomas Addis, professor of medicine, Leland Stanford University
 Helen Alfred, executive director, National Public Housing Conference
 Prof. Newton Arvin, professor of English, Smith College
 Dr. Charles S. Bacon, honorary president, American Russian Institute, Chicago, Ill.
 Frank C. Bancroft, editor, Social Work Today
 Maurice Becker, artist
 Louis P. Birk, editor, Modern Age Books, Inc.
 T. A. Bisson, research associate, Foreign Policy Association
 Alice Stone Blackwell, suffragist, writer
 Marc Blitzstein, composer
 Anita Block, Theater Guild playreader
 Sterling Bowen, poet
 Richard Boyer, staff writer, The New Yorker
 Millen Brand, writer
 Simon Breines, architect
 Robert Briffault, writer
 Prof. Dorothy Brewster, assistant professor of English, Columbia University
 Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, associate professor of English, New York University
 Fielding Burke, writer
 Katherine Devereaux Blake, teacher
 Meta Berger, writer, widow of the first Socialist Congressman
 Prof. Robert A. Brady, professor of economics, University of California
 J. E. Bromberg, actor
 Bessie Beatty, writer
 Vera Caspary, scenario writer
 Maria Cristina Chambers, of the Authors' League
 Prof. Robert Chambers, research professor of biology, New York University
 Harold Clurman, producer
 Robert M. Coates, writer
 Lester Cohen, writer
 Kyle Crichton, editorial staff of Collier's Weekly
 Miriam Allen De Ford, writer
 Paul De Kruif, writer
 Pietro Di Donato, writer
 William F. Dodd, Jr., chairman Anti-Nazi Literature Committee
 Stanley D. Dodge, University of Michigan
 Prof. Dorothy Douglas, department of economics, Smith College
 Muriel Draper, writer
 Prof. L. C. Dunn, professor of Zoology, Columbia University
 Prof. Haakon Chevalier, professor of French, University of California
 Harriet G. Eddy, library specialist
 Prof. George B. Cressey, chairman of the department of geology and geography, Syracuse University
 Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology, New York University
 Kenneth Fearing, poet
 Prof. Mildred Fairchild, professor of economics, Bryn Mawr College
 Alice Withrow Field, writer
 Sara Bard Field, writer
 William O. Field, Jr., chairman of the board, American Russian Institute
 Irving Fineman, writer

Marjorie Fischer, writer
 Angel Flores, writer, critic
 Waldo Frank, writer
 Wanda Gag, artist
 Hugo Gellert, artist
 Robert Gessner, department of English, New York University
 Prof. Willystine Goodsell, associate professor of education (retired), Columbia University
 Mortimer Graves, of the American Council of Learned Societies
 Dr. John H. Gray, economist, former president of the American Economics Association
 William Gropper, artist
 Maurice Haiperin, associate editor, Books Abroad
 Earl P. Hanson, explorer, writer
 Prof. Samuel N. Harper, profesosr of Russian language and institutions, Chicago University
 Rev. Thomas L. Harris, national executive secretary, American League for Peace and Democracy
 Dashiell Hammett, writer
 Ernest Hemingway
 Granville Hicks, writer
 Prof. Norman E. Himes, department of sociology, Colgate University
 Charles J. Hendley, president, Teachers' Union of the City of New York
 Leo Huberman, writer
 Langston Hughes, poet
 Agatha Illes, writer
 Rev. Otis G. Jackson, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Flint, Mich.
 Sam Jaffe, actor
 Orrick Johns, poet
 Matthew Josephson, writer
 George Kauffman, playwright
 Prof. Alexander Kaun, associate professor of Slavic languages, University of California
 Fred C. Kelly, writer
 Rockwell Kent, artist
 Dr. John A. Kingsbury, social worker, administrative consultant, WPA
 Beatrice Kinkaid, writer
 Lincoln E. Kirstein, ballet producer
 Arthur Kober, playwright
 Alfred Kreymborg, poet
 Edward Lamb, lawyer
 Dr. Corliss Lamont, writer, lecturer
 Margaret I. Lamont, sociologist, writer
 J. J. Lankes, artist
 Jay Leyda, cinema critic
 John Howard Lawson, playwright
 Emil Lengyel, writer, critic
 Prof. Max Lerner, professor of government, Williams College
 Meridel LeSueur, writer
 Meyer Levin, writer
 Prof. Charles W. Lightbody, department of government and history, St. Lawrence University
 Robert Morris Lovett, Governor of the Virgin Islands, an editor of the New Republic
 Prof. Halford E. Luccock, Yale University Divinity School
 Katherine DuPre Lumpkin, writer
 Klaus Mann, lecturer, writer, son of Thomas Mann
 Prof. F. O. Matthiessen, associate professor of history and literature, Harvard University
 Dr. Anita Marburg, department of English, Sarah Lawrence College
 Dr. George Marshall, economist
 Aline MacMahon, actress
 Clifford T. McAvoy, instructor, department of romance languages, College of the City of New York
 Prof. V. J. McGill, professor of philosophy, Hunter College
 Prof. Robert McGregor, Reed College
 Ruth McKenney, writer

Darwin J. Meserole, lawyer
Prof. Herbert A. Miller, professor of economics, Bryn Mawr College
Harvey O'Connor, writer
Clifford Odets, playwright
Shaemus O'Sheel, writer, critic
Mary White Ovington, social worker
S. J. Perelman, writer
Dr. John P. Peters, department of internal medicine, Yale University Medical School
Dr. Emily M. Pierson, physician
Walter N. Polakov, engineer
Prof. Alan Porter, professor of German, Vassar College
George D. Pratt, Jr., agriculturist
John Hyde Preston, writer
Samuel Putnam, writer
Prof. Paul Radin, professor of anthropology, University of California
Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, professor of industrial engineering, Columbia University
Bernard J. Reis, accountant
Bertha C. Reynolds, social worker
Lynn Riggs, playwright
Col. Raymond Robins, former head of American Red Cross in Russia
William Rollins, Jr., writer
Harold J. Rome, composer
Ralph Roeder, writer
Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, former head of Jewish Joint Distribution Board
Eugene Schoen, architect
Prof. Margaret Schlauch, associate professor of English, New York University
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, professor of government, Williams College
Prof. Vida D. Scudder, professor emeritus of English, Wellesley College
George Seldes, writer
Vincent Sheean, writer
Viola Brothers Shore, scenario writer
Herman Shumlin, producer
Prof. Ernest J. Simmons, assistant professor of English literature, Harvard University
Irina Skariatina, writer
Dr. F. Tredwell Smith, educator
Dr. Stephenson Smith, president, Oregon Commonwealth Federation
Hester Sondergaard, actress
Isobel Walker Soule, writer, editor
Lionel Stander, actor
Christina Stead, writer
A. E. Steig, artist
Alfred K. Stern, housing specialist
Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, department of sociology, Columbia University
Donald Ogden Stewart, writer
Maxwell S. Stewart, associate editor, the Nation
Paul Strand, producer and photographer
Prof. Dirk J. Struik, professor of mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Robert Tasker, scenario writer
C. Fayette Taylor, aeronautical engineer, head of automotive laboratories, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
James Thurber, artist, writer
Rebecca Janney Timbres, social worker, writer
Jean Starr Untermeyer, poet
Louis Untermeyer, poet
Mary Van Kleeck, economist, associate director, International Industrial Relations Institute
Stuyvesant Van Veen, artist
J. Raymond Walsh, economist
Dr. William Henry Walsh, physician
Prof. Harry F. Ward, professor of Christian ethics, Union Theological Seminary
Lynd Ward, artist
Morris Watson, New York Newspaper Guild
Clara Weatherwax, writer

Max Weber, artist

Dr. Gerald Wendt, director of science and education, New York World's Fair.

Rev. Robert Whitaker, clergyman and lecturer

Albert Rhys Williams, writer

Dr. William Carlos Williams, writer

Ella Winter, writer

Richard Wright, writer

Art Young, artist

Leane Zugsmith, writer

Mr. MORRIS. In Soviet Russia Today in September 1939.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. The one point is:

The Soviet Union continues as always to be a consistent bulwark against Fascist aggression and works unceasingly for the goal of a peaceful international order.

Senator EASTLAND. Did this witness sign this?

Mr. MORRIS. He has stated he is one of the signers of this letter.

Senator EASTLAND. That was on the eve of the attack on Finland?

Mr. MORRIS. No, this is September 1939, subsequent to the announcement of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Senator EASTLAND. It was on the eve of the attack on Finland.

Mr. MORRIS. It was before, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this offered for the record?

Mr. BISSON. I signed that.

Senator EASTLAND. Had Poland been attacked at that time?

Mr. BISSON. Not that I know of.

Senator EASTLAND. Not that you know of?

Mr. BISSON. I don't think so. My field was primarily the Far East, Mr. Chairman.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you mean to say because you are a far eastern expert you would not know whether Germany attacked Poland in September 1939 or not?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Theodore Draper?

Mr. BISSON. I may have.

Mr. MORRIS. I wish you would recall whether or not you know him.

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember meeting him.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this letter, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a document from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, a photostat of a letter, on the letterhead of New Masses, 31 East Twenty-seventh Street, New York City, dated September 23, 1937, addressed to "Dear Field" and signed "Theodore Draper."

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read the first paragraph here:

DEAR FIELD: I have wanted to talk things over with you for some time but circumstances always intervened to make it impossible or to cause me to postpone it. Your absence from New York made me decide to write you a rather longish letter though perhaps I may see you again before long. Our friend, Chi, suggested that I tell you frankly what is bothering me, though it is wholly personal, for what advice or assistance you could suggest. With that as introduction. * * *

Paragraph 4 reads:

For this reason, I am going to take a crack at the Guggenheim fellowships this year. Incidentally, I am grateful for your permission to use your name in the application. Professor Laski of Great Britain has also consented and I am now looking for one or two more, besides yourself and Bisson.

Does that refresh your recollection at all?

Mr. Bisson. This would seem to indicate that he was looking for a letter of recommendation from me. I do not remember whether I gave him such a recommendation. I do not remember that I saw him, which was my original statement.

Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, I suggest we not under the circumstances introduce this into the record at this time.

Senator Eastland. Has the FBI attempted to talk with you?

Mr. Bisson. Yes; it has.

Senator Eastland. Did they ask you a number of questions?

Mr. Bisson. You mean quite recently?

Senator Eastland. Yes.

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Senator Eastland. Did you give them whatever information they asked?

Mr. Bisson. Yes. I answered their questions.

Mr. Morris. Will you identify these letters, please, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. Mandel. These are documents from the files of the IPR, photostatic copies of handwritten letters. The first one is dated September 2, 1946, addressed to "Dear Bill" and signed "Art."

The second is addressed "Dear Bill," dated September 22, 1946, and signed "Art Bisson."

Mr. Morris. Will you identify those letters as having been written by you? There is going to be no question on them. They are going to be put into the record. They are in your own handwriting. I would like you to identify them as having been written by you.

Mr. Bisson. Yes. These are my letters.

Mr. Morris. May they be admitted?

Senator Eastland. Yes.

(The letters referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 733, 734" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 733

DAI-ICHI HOTEL,
Tokyo, Sept. 2, 1946.

DEAR BILL: The impossibility of really describing the complicated nexus of things here has operated as a bar to writing letters ever since I've arrived except those to Faith. In literal terms my output has been none with the one exception of a letter carried by Major Everett Sherbourne which I hope he has delivered you by now. His book should be a first-class job and I trust that he and the IPR may get together on it.

Your letter reached me here just as I put in for travel orders on October 1st. There is some reluctance to let me go, however, and the work here is sufficiently rewarding and significant that I am in a state of indecision myself. The most difficult problem, of course, is that of a continued separation from the family. I should have some definite answer on the matter within a few days now, and will write fully then.

In my reading of your letter I am in some doubt as to whether you mean that I can do the project you have in mind while a full member of the staff of the American Council. I should much prefer that working basis, as it would give me a greater feeling of stability and permanence in my job.

A reorganization of the former membership (along with new members) of the old Council has occurred here, as you probably know if you have received letters from Matsuo. So far as I have followed it a good job has been done in a rather delicate situation, although some of the older members are still left out and

there may be some heart-burnings there. I will, of course, join with Herb, Quigley, and Miriam in keeping contact with the Japanese group.

Please give my best regards to all at 1E54. I trust that my exile over here will not continue much longer.

Sincerely yours,

[s] ART.

EXHIBIT No. 734

PEL	ECC
MH	MAS
MK	LES

(Penciled notes :) HER—10 copies of marked paras.

TOKYO, Sept. 22, 1946.

DEAR BILL: If I'm going to be a fixture here, I've decided to do a little more letter writing than before—I've been remiss almost completely thus far.

Andrew and I have spending considerable time the last week or so checking up on the land reform bill now going through the Diet. It still has some defects but on the whole Ladijinsky has done a good job, and I'm more hopeful about a thoroughgoing landlord abolition than Zaibatsu dissolution.

Eleanor Hadley has been working closely with me on virtually all economic phases of the occupation, but particularly the Zaibatsu problem and the economic control agencies. She is an excellent economist and a grand person, and knows Japan well (she was here in 1938-40). You (or Bill Lockwood) probably know of her work on the proto-SWNCC directive on the Zaibatsu when she was in the State Department. She returns to Harvard this January to do her thesis on the Zaibatsu—she has already passed her Radcliff generals for the doctorate. I've asked her whether she couldn't do for the conference a study of what has been done on the Zaibatsu under the occupation—not too long a piece, but a sort of balance sheet of accomplishments and the job yet to be done. If this suggestion is of any use to you please let me know and give some indication of length desired. Eleanor would make a most excellent woman member for your Amco delegation to London.

Friday afternoon I had a long talk with Matsuo on the recent developments re the new Japan Council. A preliminary organization meeting on September 18 crystallized the long job that has been done here during the past six months to weed out the older conservative elements and merge those left from the past with a new and more liberal group.

The chairman (or president) of the new Board of Directors will probably be Dr. Takano (Twasaburo), currently president of Radio Tokyo, formerly chief of the Ohara Institute of Social Research. The research secretary will be Professor Ouchi (Ilyoe) of the Public Finance (senior professor) section of Tokyo Imperial. Ouchi is a close friend of Tsuru, who hopes that he (Ouchi) will be the nucleus around which the liberal-radical academic circle can be drawn into the new Council's work. This group already has under way a symposium on Japan's current problems (mainly the economic side) to which I have been asked to contribute a foreword.

These two will be members of the Board of Directors ex-officio. Other directors include:

Professor Yanaibara (Tadro), of Tokyo Imperial (specialist on International economics).

Prof. Yokota (Kisaburo), of Tokyo Imperial, specialist on International Law.

Prof. Suekawa (Hiroshi), of Kyoto Imperial University, law faculty.

Matsukata, Saburo.

Hani (Motoko), prominent woman publicist, with articles in many journals. She is associated with Jiyu Gakuin, a coed school in Tokyo.

Koike (Atsunosuke), businessman, head of Yamaishi Securities Company.

Saionji, Kinichi.

Present at the meeting was also Shibusawa, Keizo. He is willing to stay in background (he was Finance Minister in the Shidehara Cabinet earlier this year) and help to corral some much needed financial support. On the other hand, he may come into the open as Treasurer and member of the Board of Directors. With the research secretaryship in Ouchi's hands, Shibusawa is not likely to run away with the organization.

It seems unlikely that Takaki (who has been most outspoken in support of a Tenno system stronger than the Draft Constitution permits) or Takayarogi (active in the war crimes defense) will join, although both of them maintain an indirect and unofficial link with the new organization.

A Council (Shoin) of about 30 members is being organized of persons from various fields. This body may formally choose the directors at the formal organization meeting expected in mid-October. Name is Taiheiyo Mondai Chosakai (Pacific Problems Research Institute)—same as old. When asked, I advised them to keep the literal translation for the present instead of calling it the Japan Council of the Institute. Immediate problems are office space and money.

Miriam transferred to me your letter to Zhulson, but unfortunately he had just left when I sought to reach him. I presume you do not wish me to mail it to him?

Many thanks for your advice and counsel to Faith when she called you. Give my best regards to Mr. Carter and all my friends on both floors.

ART BISSON.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. This is a photostat of a carbon copy of a letter from the files of the IPR dated September 29, 1939, addressed to Mr. T. A. Bisson, Foreign Policy Association, with the typed signature of Owen Lattimore, and at the top the initials KM.

Mr. MORRIS. I ask you if you can recall having received that letter from Mr. Lattimore?

Mr. BISSON. Are you going to ask questions on this?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Mr. BISSON. Yes; this letter was received by me.

Mr. MORRIS. May that be received?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 735" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 735

300 GILMAN HALL,
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, Md., September 29, 1939.

Mr. T. A. BISSON,
Foreign Policy Association,
8 West 40th Street, New York City.

DEAR ART: You may be out on a limb, but it looks to me like a strong and springy limb. In fact, I think it is a splendid article. By this mail I am sending a copy, as edited. I made a few minor changes, most of them intended to make the article less "American," in view of the circulation of PACIFIC AFFAIRS abroad.

That, incidentally is one of our great problems, as people outside of the United States are tremendously interested in the American angle of the Far East, and in the way in which America reacts to each move and each stage out there, but at the same time it is better not to write for them just as if they were American.

Well, now what? Are the British and French going to fight? You tell me! This morning the Baltimore paper reports an "appeasement" article in the "New Statesman and Nation," which of course has always been against Chamberlain's appeasement.

I can see the futility of fighting to restore the kind of Poland that Lloyd George never liked anyway; but what I can't imagine are the specific terms on which the French and British could back down in front of Hitler.

In the meantime the Russians have got everything they asked for in the first place as the conditions for entering an alliance with the British and French—security against German occupation of the whole of Poland, security against German-engineered putsches in the Baltic States. They have got this at the cost of terrific hostility in the press, and the jolting up of, I suppose, all their more loosely attached adherents abroad. Am I right in supposing

that they may begin to recover from this? In the first place, they are actually extending revolutionary principles, at least in Poland. In the second place, there are many who respect strength and power who are not penetrable by intellectual arguments.

All this European side of things is a puzzle and a tangle to me; all I can see clearly is that the Chinese are certainly not weakened, and probably, or at least potentially, strengthened.

Yours,

OWEN LATTIMORE.

OL:Y

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write an article in the Far Eastern Survey in August 1944 in anticipation of a negotiated peace with Japan, or in connection with peace with Japan?

Mr. BISSON. What is the title?

Mr. MORRIS. Japan Prepares for Peace Offensive.

I show you the Far Eastern Survey of that date and ask you if that is your article?

Mr. BISSON. Are there going to be questions on this?

Mr. MORRIS. Is this your article?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; it is.

Mr. MORRIS. May that be received into the record?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 736" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 736

[Source: Far Eastern Survey, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, August 9, 1944, vol. 13, No. 16]

JAPAN PREPARES FOR PEACE OFFENSIVE

(By T. A. Bisson)

The Tojo Cabinet's resignation en bloc on July 18 is an impressive tribute to the weight of the Pacific offensive, currently tearing the vitals out of Japan's strongholds in the Marianas. This onslaught was seconded by the first massive blows from the B-29's on Japan's home soil—a factor which also counts heavily in Japanese home-front reactions. There is deep-seated apprehension among the Japanese that no preparations which their rulers can make will be sufficient to overcome their country's peculiar vulnerability to attack from the air, once such attack becomes large-scale and continuous. Finally, even before the attempt on Hitler's life, the Japanese were painfully noting the ominous collapse of Germany's military power, spectacularly evident in the crumbling of the eastern front before the Russian drives but also seen in the breaching of Hitler's boasted Atlantic Wall and the steady Allied progress in Italy.

The series of drastic Japanese defeats in the Pacific, culminating in the loss of Saipan, directly forced the resignation of the Japanese Cabinet. Between July 10 and 18 Tojo desperately maneuvered to save his cabinet by concessions which separated the military and naval staff commands from the War and Navy Ministries. Admiral Shigetaro Shimada first insisted that he should be divested of one of his two concurrent posts—Chief of the Naval Staff and Minister of the Navy. To this measure Tojo was forced to consent, and for the purpose appointed Admiral Naokuni Nomura to the Navy Ministry on July 17, leaving Admiral Shimada as Chief of the Naval Staff. Admiral Nomura must have set an unusual precedent, since—if the announced dates are correct—he retained his new post for exactly one day. But this concession was not enough to appease the opposition to Tojo and on July 18 it was announced that General Yoshiji Umezu had become Chief of the Army Staff, succeeding General Tojo, who had "been relieved of his concurrent post." These dates, it should be noted, are announcements by the Cabinet Board of Information after the changes had been made. The actual changes may have preceded the announcements by a day or two, since the entire cabinet finally resigned on July 18. Thus Tojo's eleventh-hour attempt to save his cabinet completely failed.

While the cabinet resignation may be attributed mainly to Japan's military-naval defeats, for which Tojo was made to accept responsibility, an additional set of factors must be taken into account in order to explain the composition of the new cabinet. These factors are in part external, affecting the current status of the war in its global aspects. Japanese leaders, military as well as civilian, are not unaware of the effects which the coming defeat of Germany will have on Japan's war prospects. The Japanese leadership has always been acutely sensitive to the world setting within which it has plotted the successive steps in the program of national aggrandizement. It now begins to recognize, with full dread of the consequences, that the attack on Pearl Harbor constitutes the greatest miscalculation of Japanese diplomacy in the 76 years since the Restoration. And it is now taking the preliminary internal measures which, it hopes, may offer a prospect of salvaging the essential portions of the Empire from the wreckage of defeat. It is cleverly preparing the groundwork for that offer of a negotiated peace against which the United Nations must gird themselves in the aftermath of Nazi Germany's collapse.

These external factors, however, are but a part of the total complex situation in Japan which helps to explain the composition of the Koiso cabinet and gives us some assurance in gaging the role which it is expected to perform. The evolution of the Tojo cabinet, which has held office for the lengthy term of nearly 3 years, has logically concluded in the establishment of a government which relegates the armed services to their purely military and naval functions and assigns one man to do one job.

TOJO CABINET UNIQUE

In these respects, the Tojo cabinet was an extraordinary anomaly in Japanese constitutional history. For a Japanese minister to hold two concurrent posts was a common practice. But never before did one man succeed in grasping so many of the reins of government in his hands as did Tojo. At the outset, in October 1941, Tojo was Premier, War Minister, and Home Minister. He held the latter post until the success of the initial attacks was complete, thus assuring no untoward reactions on the home front. The first two posts he held until the end. To these he had added the extremely important offices of Munitions Minister, in control of war production, and Army Chief of Staff.

Two points may be made in this regard. No one man could be Premier, War Minister, Chief of Staff, and Munitions Minister, all at the same time, without detriment to administrative efficiency. In actual fact, much of the routine and even policy-forming activities of these positions had to be carried out by the Vice-Ministers or the Vice Chief of Staff. But—and this is the second point—such a condition immediately tended to create friction or animosity and to lead to charges of one-man dictatorship. So long as things went well, Tojo could reply that his unimpeded control gave unity and cohesive direction to the war effort. When defeats came in monotonous succession, this position could no longer be maintained; at the end it turned into a disadvantage for Tojo, culminating in his downfall.

On the eve of the July 18 overthrow, the earlier scope of Tojo's dictatorial powers had in reality been whittled down to a considerable extent. Under his effective control was left essentially the general direction of the cabinet and of the Army, but other phases of domestic administration had largely slipped from his grasp. This evolution, in accordance with normal Japanese constitutional practice, had come about so gradually as to be almost unnoticed. Over a period of nearly 3 years, many changes in cabinet portfolios would necessarily occur in Japan and it is by these changes that the political current is to be discerned. In the Tojo cabinet the ministerial shifts had been even more numerous than usual. They had occurred, as might be expected, largely in response to the changing fortunes of the war but also as a result of the pressure of those groups in the ruling circle which felt that Tojo had invaded their legitimate spheres.

The general drift is clearly indicated by several of the more important shifts. On September 1, 1942, despite the Midway defeat, Tojo was still able to announce establishment of the Greater East Asia Ministry, to accept the protest resignation of Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo, and to appoint Masayuki Tani, an Army favorite, in place of Tojo. The snub to the Foreign Office crowd was pronounced. With the loss of Guadalcanal, however, it became increasingly apparent that Tojo was meeting opposition to which he was forced to make concessions. He overplayed his hand in seeking extraordinary dictatorial powers to cope with the

crisis of production, met unexpectedly strong opposition on this score in the Diet in January-February 1943, and ultimately—on March 17, 1943—announced that a ministerial-rank Council of seven financial and industrial magnates would advise him on the application of his emergency powers.

Further cabinet shifts on April 20, 1943, brought Mamoru Shigemitsu, a Foreign Office stalwart, to the Foreign Ministry and introduced two of the old party leaders into the cabinet. Within the Munitions Ministry, formed November 1, 1943, Tojo's undivided control was challenged by the business leaders, especially in the person of Ginjiro Fujihara, who was made State Minister without Portfolio on November 17 and became increasingly active in the production effort. The trend was unmistakable. It meant the return to the Foreign Office, of the business magnates, and of the party leaders to their old spheres of jurisdiction within the normal balance of group interests.

Under these internal conditions, added to the external factors of the military defeat in Europe and Asia, the Emperor's advisers were confronted on July 18 with the Tojo cabinet's resignation. In this case, it is important to observe that everything was done *pro forma*. Marquis Koichi Kido, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, was received in audience by the Emperor to discuss the selection of the next cabinet. The Elder Statesmen who used to perform the delicate constitutional function of advising the Emperor on the choice of a new Premier are no longer available, but since their passing a new constitutional practice has been sedulously developed. With Marquis Kido came the seven living ex-Premiers, the President of the Privy Council, Yoshimichi Hara, and the outgoing Premier, General Tojo. A glance at the ex-Premiers is instructive, in view of the crucial significance of their new constitutional role. The list comprises Baron Reijiro Wakatsuki, Admiral Keisuke Okada, Koki Hirota, Prince Fumimoro Konoye, Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, General Nobuyuki Abe, and Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai. Everyone in this group has distinguished himself, in one way or another, by working against the Army extremists. Hara and Kido are naturally of the same stamp. By the addition of Tojo, the overwhelmingly conservative cast of this group of constitutional advisers is hardly altered. This factor must be steadily kept in mind when future cabinet changes are under consideration.

In the present instance, i. e., the formation of the Koiso cabinet, the group of advisers worked in expert fashion to secure the results desired. The basic essential, of course, was to reconstitute a strong fighting team which would carry on the war with the utmost energy, efficiency and unity, so far as the fighting services were concerned. There can be little doubt that this objective was achieved. Five senior military and naval men hold the major posts. Koiso, as Premier, has the key position. As an old Kwantung Army man, he will obviously work hand in hand with General Yoshijiro Umezu, new Chief of the Army Staff, who comes directly from command of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. Admiral Shigetaro Shimada, evidently a capable naval technician, retains his post of Chief of the Navy Staff. Admiral Yonai, as Navy Minister, and Field Marshal Gen Sugiyama, as War Minister, able leaders but by no means extremist, bring to the cabinet posts a conservative weight that balances the whole team. The principle of "one man to one post" is rigidly adhered to in these changes, and there can be no blinking the fact that a vigorous prosecution of the war can be expected from this group of leaders.

The political constituents of the new cabinet, however, carry the evolution which was proceeding within the Tojo cabinet to a new stage. General Koiso holds the single post of Premier, and no other. Not only is his direct outreach far less than that of Tojo, so far as cabinet portfolios are concerned, but in addition Navy Minister Yonai—a former Premier of moderate outlook—has been made Deputy Prime Minister. There is no good reason to believe that the creation of this post, rather unusual in Japanese constitutional practice, implies that Koiso and Yonai may work at cross purposes.

Koiso is, like Tojo, and old Kwantung Army man of the most aggressive type, and as such a good front man personifying determination to wage the war to a successful conclusion. He was, however, a colleague of Yonai's in the Hiranuma cabinet of 1939, as Overseas Minister, and held the same post in the 1940 cabinet headed by Yonai. During this period Koiso showed himself exceedingly active in furthering the Navy's program of expansion in Southeast Asia, especially as affecting the Netherlands Indies. There is thus every warrant for believing that the yoking together of General Koiso, the "extremist" Premier, and Admiral Yonai, the "moderate" Deputy Premier, will prove a

smooth-working combination instead of the reverse. It will help to overcome the friction that had clearly developed between the Army and Navy commands at the close of Tojo's administration.

The marked curtailment of General Koiso's power in the new cabinet, as contrasted with Tojo's former position, is nevertheless a political factor of great importance. This change goes much further, moreover, than in relegating Koiso to the premiership alone and appointing a deputy to act with him. All the other traditional Japanese group interests—the diplomats, the businessmen, and the former party leaders—have resumed the regular administrative spheres and powers held in normal times.

CONSERVATIVES STAGE COMEBACK

Take the position of Foreign Minister Shigemitsu as one outstanding example of the shift back to normalcy. He, and not an Army man, holds the only major concurrent post in the cabinet. The Greater East Asia Ministry, set up by the military in order to keep administration of conquered territories in their own hands, now passes back to control of the Foreign Office. The change is boldly stated to be aimed at securing unified diplomacy. At one stroke the long history of the Army's determined efforts to maintain administrative control of territory conquered since 1931, exemplified in the political struggles attending formation of the Manchurian Affairs Board, the China Affairs Board and GEA Ministry itself, is nullified. The Foreign Office returns to its own—and, be it noted, thereby becomes responsible for the conduct of negotiations which could affect the disposal of Japan's nexus of ruling groups—such agreement will be forthcoming.

Hardly less significant of the changing political tide is the appointment of Ginjiro Fujihara, outstanding Japanese industrialist, as head of the Munitions Ministry. Tojo himself had held this portfolio in the old cabinet and the Vice-Minister had been Shinsuke Kishi, a former Manchukuo bureaucrat. Fujihara, carrying the ball for the business interests, had been critical of Tojo's production efforts even before the Munitions Ministry was established. After its formation, as noted, he had played an increasingly significant role in spurring production as State Minister. Now he takes over full control.

In addition no less than four of the old-time Koiso cabinet. Yonezo Maeda, former Seiyukai leader, becomes Transportation and Communications Minister, while Toshio Shimada is made Agriculture and Commerce Minister. These posts cover the administrative sphere which was normally occupied by the party leaders in the heyday of their power. Both Chuji Machida, former Minseito presided now described as dean of political circles, and Count Hideo Kodama, from the Kenkyukai group in the House of Peers, are accorded the dignified posts of Ministers of State Affairs (without portfolio).

Appointments to other cabinet posts follow the same trend. The Home Ministry goes to Shigeo Odate, a career bureaucrat in the legal field with some Manchukuo experience, instead of to an Army man. The Finance Ministry is taken by Sotaro Ishiwata, a bureaucrat who held the same post in the Hiranuma and Yonai cabinets. (Nine out of the 16 newly appointed ministers held office in these two cabinets, in itself a very revealing fact.) Taketora Ogata, State Minister and President of the Information Board, was vice-president of the ASAHI, also representing a shift from the career bureaucrats that have previously held this post. Hiromasa Matsuzaka, New Justice Minister, had been the Procurator General, while Hisatada Hirose, Welfare Minister, had also been a member of the Yonai cabinet. Lt. Gen. Harushige Ninomiya, as Education Minister, is the sole military leader holding a normally civilian post.

The far-reaching political realignment indicated by these changes does not imply that there will be a slackening in Japan's war effort. More probably the reverse is true. The caliber of the men chosen to lead the war and home fronts, characterized by ability, experience, and seniority, may well infuse greater efficiency and drive into the prosecution of the war. The Koiso cabinet's personnel, moreover, despite surface indications to the contrary, is essentially far more unified than Tojo's cabinet had become. Most of its members have worked closely together in the past, understand each other thoroughly, and have confidence in each other's ability. For the immediate continuation of a stubborn defensive fight, therefore, vigorous leadership may be expected from this cabinet.

Looking somewhat beyond the next few months, however, it is vitally necessary to recognize the second line of defense which the Emperor's far-seeing advisers

have established in the making of this cabinet. Its political complexion proves unmistakably that it is a way-station on the road to the offer of a compromise peace. Only one additional change remains to be made in the cabinet as now constituted in order to give the political authority to seek terms. This change would be in the premiership. Yonai, already Deputy Prime Minister, could succeed Koiso; or General Nobuyuki Abe, who succeeded Koiso as Governor-General of Korea, could be brought home for the task. Such a development is virtually inevitable, as the blows in the Pacific strike closer to Japan. And the scope of the political shift already made indicates that the final change will be smoothly accomplished. If the elder statesmen's plans succeed, there will be no civil disturbances, as in Germany, when the decision to make the peace offer is eventually taken. The groundwork has been too carefully laid already in the Koiso cabinet. Japan's Army-Navy leadership will in all probability support the move toward a compromise settlement.

POSSIBLE TERMS OF PEACE OFFER

This offer will be carefully timed. We can probably expect it in the wake of Germany's final collapse, when Britain and the United States are in the trough of the wave, wrestling with such problems as the transfer of armed forces and equipment to the Pacific, and industrial reconversion. The terms will go far, possibly even to the extent of relinquishing all Japan's southern conquests and all of China Proper. Manchuria and Korea will not be offered, since they are both necessary for Japan if it is to remain a great power.

Is there any danger that this offer will be favorably entertained by the United States and Britain? If so, the time to reckon with the threat is now, for the Koiso cabinet strongly indicates that the day of the offer is approaching. Some voices will almost certainly be raised in favor of acceptance. It is to be hoped that they will be a small minority. There can be no question as to what such acceptance would mean. With the raw materials and industrial facilities of Korea and Manchuria, both intensively developed in the past decade, Japan would have all the necessary resources to heal the wounds of this war and lay careful plans for a full success in the next one. Within Japan itself the domination of the armed services, the monarchist bureaucracy and the business groups would be confirmed, and the Japanese people would again be yoked to the war chariot of their oppressors. China, disillusioned in the Western democracies, might fall an easy prey to the machinations of Japan's agents engaged in the work of preparation for the new conflict. These are the essential factors which make it necessary that the task now well begun be fully completed. The cost of stopping halfway to victory in the Pacific is too great to pay.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you a partial list of writings by T. A. Bisson which has been compiled by Mr. Mandel. I ask you if you will look at that list and determine whether or not there are any inaccuracies.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest that may not have to be done today. If the witness simply indicates he will so comply with this request, we can do that by subsequent correspondence and save time.

Mr. Bisson. Yes; that is all right. This is supposed to be a complete compilation?

Mr. MORRIS. Read the heading there.

Mr. Bisson. Partial list.

Mr. MORRIS. If you want to add anything to that list by title, by all means do it.

Look at the last page, please. The last page is writings of Frederick Spencer. There are nine articles on that list, I believe. I guess there are more than nine. There are 14 articles and reviews written for China Today under the name of Frederick Spencer. At the same time will you tell us whether or not all of those articles were written by you?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You have testified that you used the pen name of Frederick Spencer?

Mr. BISSON. You mean when I send back a statement on this.

Mr. MORRIS. On this, we will have to have sworn testimony and we should do that here. Whether or not all of these 14 items, reviews and articles were in fact written by you I mean. Can you determine that now?

Mr. BISSON. Do you have copies of those magazines here?

Mr. MORRIS. We have, Mr. Chairman. I wish you could determine now in the interest of time.

Mr. BISSON. It was my testimony and it is my knowledge of the articles in China Today under Frederick Spencer were by me, so that should cover this.

Senator EASTLAND. That may be admitted.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 737" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 737

PARTIAL LIST OF WRITINGS BY T. A. BISSON

America's Far Eastern Policy, IPR Inquiry Series.

Aspects of Wartime Economic Control in Japan, Secretariat Paper No. 2, 9th Conference IPR, Jan. 1945.

American Policy in the Far East, 1931-40, IPR Inquiry Series, 1939.

Japan's War Economy, Publication International Secretariat, IPR, Macmillan Co., 1945.

America's Far Eastern Policy, IPR Inquiry Series, Macmillan Co., 1945.

Prospects for Democracy in Japan, Published Under Auspices International Secretariat, IPR, 1949.

Japan in China, Macmillan Co., 1938.

AMERASIA

(Editorial) -----	Sept. 1935.
Behind Japan's Internal Crisis -----	June 1937.
Mao Tse-tung Analyzes Nanking—An Interview -----	Oct. 1937.
Aikawa Asks for Fifty Millions -----	March 1938.
Aikawa's "Open Door" (editorial) -----	April 1938.
Lessons of Taierhchwang (editorial) -----	May 1938.
After Suchow, What? (editorial) -----	June 1938.
Japan Beats a Retreat (editorial) -----	Aug. 1938.
A Bold Proposal (editorial) -----	Sept. 1938.
Observations on Fascism in Japan -----	Sept. 1938.
Japan and the Open Door (editorial) -----	Oct. 1938.
No Collaboration With Chamberlain (editorial) -----	Nov. 1938.
Reviews:	
Imperial Japan: 1926-1938, by A. Morgan -----	Nov. 1938.
Japan: The Hungry Guest, by G. C. Allen -----	Nov. 1938.
Hemisphere Armaments and the Open Door -----	Dec. 1938.
Mr. Bisson Replies to Mr. Nagano -----	Jan. 1939.
How the Axis Became a Triangle -----	Feb. 1939.
Japan's Next Move (editorial) -----	March 1939.
Can Britain "Deal" With Japan (editorial) -----	July 1939.
Another Chance for Chamberlain (editorial) -----	Aug. 1939.
Japan Picks Up the Pieces (editorial) -----	Sept. 1939.
What Kind of "Peace" in the Far East -----	Nov. 1939.
No Progress in Puppet Land Puppetry (editorial) -----	Dec. 1939.
Review: The Inner Asian Frontiers of China, by Owen Lattimore, -----	May 1940.
Review: India Today, by R. Palme Dutt -----	Dec. 1940.
Japan's "New Structure" Falters -----	May 1941.
Toward Winning Far Eastern Security -----	Oct. 1941.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY

The Suzuki Cabinet.....	May 9, 1945.
Nationalization by Request.....	Aug. 1, 1945.
People's Army in Japan.....	Aug. 15, 1945.
Japan Prepares for Peace Offensive.....	Aug. 9, 1944.
China's Part in a Coalition War.....	July 14, 1943.
Japan's New Industrial Conversion Program.....	Sept. 8, 1943.
Reparations and Reform in Japan, Vol. XVI, 1947.	

FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS

America's Dilemma in the Far East.....	July 1, 1940.
Japan's "New Structure".....	April 15, 1941.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Showdown in the Orient, World Affairs Pamphlets, No. 8.....	Apr. 1940.
Clash in the Pacific, by T. A. Bisson and Ryllis Alexander Goslin, Headline Books.	
Shadow Over Asia—the Rise of Militant Japan, Headline Books.	

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

Far Eastern Front Against Aggression.....	Nov. 1938.
To All Active Supporters of Democracy and Peace—Open Letter signed by T. A. Bisson.	Sept. 1939.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

The United States and the Far East.....	Jan. 1932.
Review : Sun Yat Sen vs. Communism, by Maurice Williams.....	Sept. 1932.
The United States in the Pacific.....	Dec. 1932.
Japan Without Germany.....	Dec. 1939.
The Price of Peace for Japan.....	Mar. 1944.
Review : Battle Hymn of China, by Agnes Smedley.....	Mar. 1944.
Review : The Japanese New Order in Asia, by Paul Einzy.....	June 1944.
Japan as a Political Organism.....	Dec. 1944.
The Zaibatsu's Wartime Role.....	Dec. 1945.
The United States and the Orient, American National Survey, IPR 1118, 1930, Vol. III.	
Problems of War Production Control in Japan, 1943, Vol. XVI.	
Increase of Zaibatsu Predominance in Wartime Japan, 1945, Vol. XVIII.	

CHINA TODAY

Under pseudonym of Frederick Spencer

Nanking Claps Hands With China.....	Oct. 1934.
Japan Takes Over Shanghai.....	Nov. 1934.
Review : Twilight in the Forbidden City, by Reginald F. Johnston.	Do.
Chiang Kai-shek's Dictatorship Stumbles.....	Dec. 1934.
Review : China, by L. A. Lydall.....	Do.
To the American People (Open Letter) (signed by T. A. Bisson and Frederick Spencer).	Feb. 1935.
Chiang Kai-shek Yields to Japan.....	Mar. 1935.
Chiang Kai-shek "Rehabilitates" Kiangsi.....	May 1935.
Review :	
The Case for Manchoukuo, by Geo. Bronson.....	Do.
Toward Understanding Japan, by Sidney L. Gulick.....	Do.
Japan Calls the Tune.....	July 1935.
The Missionaries Must Choose.....	October 1935.
Chiang Kai-shek Licks Japan's Boots.....	Nov. 1935.
The Same Old Wheeze.....	Do.
Students Resist Nanking Betrayal.....	Feb. 1936.
Case Studies in Japanese Imperialism.....	Do.
Behind the Murders in Tokyo.....	April 1936.
Viscount Ishii, Imperialist Diplomat.....	June 1936.
The Gangly Days of American Imperialism.....	August 1936.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Esther Carroll?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How well?

Mr. BISSON. I knew her from the American Friends of the Chinese People.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of that organization?

Mr. BISSON. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever speak under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I imagine so.

Mr. MORRIS. What year?

Mr. BISSON. I don't recall the date.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Susumu Okano in Japan?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. Mr. Okano, as I remember, was interviewed by several members of the Government Section.

Mr. MORRIS. He was the head of the Japanese Communist Party?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet him in connection with official duties?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions. We do have one more exhibit. This is the Minutes of the Annual Membership Meeting of the American Friends of the Chinese People, dated January 23, 1938.

Senator EASTLAND. It will be admitted.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 738," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 738

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

January 23, 1938—2:00 P. M.

Meeting opened by Mr. Julius Loeb who introduced the chairman for the day—Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart.

Mr. Stewart announces the Order of Business:

1. Discussion by Mr. T. A. Bisson.
2. Reports of work.
3. Discussion on reports.
4. Election of officers.

Mr. Bisson: Mr. Bisson pointed out the more optimistic perspective of the Chinese situation. Whereas five years ago all China was rent with partisan difference and political disunity, today the country is united. Despite Hirota's three demands, the infiltration of Japanese control in East Hopei and the attempt to invade Suiyuan, the Kuomintang was still waging war on the Communist forces.

The demand for unity was, however, growing steadily until finally the Generalissimo was detained at Sian by the rebellious troops under Chang Hsueh-liang who refused to fight their countrymen while the enemy kept advancing. In the spring of 1937 the Kuomintang could no longer hesitate and this led up to the present united-front situation. There are, however, some groups within the Kuomintang opposed to the arming of the population.

China more and more takes her place among the anti-fascist nations of the world. Her relations with the Soviet Union are more cordial than they have been in the last ten years.

Mr. Bisson concluded his report with an analysis of the military situation. He emphasized the necessity of organizing the peasantry for active defense and the extension of guerrilla warfare.

A brief period of questions and discussion followed.

REPORTS OF WORK

Mr. Julius Loeb (on history of organization): This organization was started on January 4th, 1933. Our activities during the past were mainly educational. Our Lecture Bureau, which includes Chinese, Japanese, and Korean speakers,

has sent lecturers to all sorts of groups, and who have spoken to thousands of people monthly. We have a research staff and a School for Far Eastern Studies. Our other activities consist of holding mass meetings, sending delegates to various peace congresses and conferences, picketing, and holding demonstrations before the Japanese Consulate's Office and at Brooklyn docks where Japanese ships are being loaded with scrap iron. Several years ago we produced a documentary film, "The Birth of New China."

We started to publish a "Monthly Bulletin" in July 1933. By January 1934 the mimeographed CHINA TODAY was issued. The printed form was published October 1934, and has been issued consecutively every month since. It is the only magazine of its kind printed in the English language. Subscription price is \$1.00 yearly; single copy, 10¢. We print ten thousand copies. The magazine circulates throughout the United States and in foreign countries. Our publication is barred in Japan.

The educational activities have been intensified and the membership and subscribers of our magazine have increased. A branch has been established in San Francisco, Portland, Chicago, and a group is functioning in Los Angeles. In the international field, Friends of the Chinese People have been established in Canada, Mexico, France, and in the Philippine Islands. A smaller group which has been operating in England recently merged with other larger groups which are helping China.

Having anticipated the present events in China, we were not unprepared for what we have to do now. We are holding larger meetings, have created a Boycott Committee, have held several anti-silk parades, and increased our picketing work, started to send organizers and lecturers out of town, and are increasing our efforts for the collection of funds for China's aid. From now on our work will be more national in scope than ever before. We must assist the Chinese people in all possible ways. By so doing we will justify our name, the American Friends of the Chinese People.

E. A. Schachner (editor, CHINA TODAY): "I don't know of any organization anywhere, considering the size and the number of people working with it, who do more good in the direction it wants to go than this organization. Perhaps the most effective weapon in the country on China is the magazine CHINA TODAY. The problem that faces us is very clearly this: to continue to make CHINA TODAY an effective factor in disseminating accurate information on China. We have got to be an expression in this country of all the various movements that are helping China at this moment.

"Our main object is the problem of funds. We have now the best correspondents on China as contributing editors. Our big difficulty is to get this magazine in the hands of the tens of thousands of interested Americans. We hope to improve the format considerably and increase the circulation in the very near future. We may start this very month with a new cover. We have already increased the size of the magazine by four pages. We haven't a circulation manager as yet, but hope to remedy the condition. I think if we get the cooperation from the executive council and from the friends of the organization, we can feel sure that the fine traditions of the organization will be continued and that CHINA TODAY will continue to be an important weapon in the country for the help that all of us want to give to the liberation and independence of the Chinese people."

Esther Carroll (Organization Secretary): "In 1934-35 only small groups of people were ready to listen to the message of China. All doubted Chinese willingness and ability to fight for her territorial integrity and independence. Then our speakers, our magazine CHINA TODAY, our forums, brought to the American public a better understanding of China's history, China's art, China's culture, and China's love for freedom. * * *

"When aggression in Spain broke out we knew that aggression in the Far East would follow. We knew that the aggressive fascist powers would want to ignite the flames of war in Asia too. But this time when Japan struck at China, when the heavy boot of the Japanese military swept through the ancient and beautiful cities, when the bombs of the Japanese war planes brought death and ruin to Shanghai, Nanking—a united and determined China came into being. The rest of the world, stirred and indignant, called for all support to the Chinese people and defeat of the Japanese aggressors. It was the voice calling for defense of a free Spain. * * *

"Such peace-loving Japanese friends like Mr. Kubota, Miss Matsui, Mr. Okano and others made it possible for us to act properly, timely. It was this teamwork and wise counsel that made it possible for us to organize the first big protest meeting on August 4th at the New School for Social Research to organize

the successful and colorful mass meeting at Madison Square Garden together with the American League for Peace and Democracy on October 1st, for the airplanes and tugboats equipped with loudspeakers protesting the shipment of scrap iron to Japan, for the organization of the antisilk parade in New York, the participation of ten delegates equipped with speakers, posters, leaflets who went to the Congress for Peace and Democracy held in Pittsburgh. The sending of fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor and Committee for Industrial Organization conventions. It was with the help of our Japanese friends that we gave deserving 'receptions' and 'send-offs' to the Japanese war envoys who came to this country. And the special introductions which we gave for the Japanese labor misleader Bunji Suzuki who came here to defend his government. So much so that he never reached the east coast but went crying about the lack of appreciation on the part of American labor for the humanitarian aims of his government.

"It was with the help and advice of our Chinese and Japanese friends that we were able to have a series of demonstrations in front of many Japanese consulates throughout the country the day following the bombing of the 'Panay' and to distribute 120,000 leaflets in one week in the city of New York alone during the showing of the film. Over half a million pieces of literature and hundreds of thousands of buttons were sold and distributed.

"Branches of our organization were set up nationally and internationally. Everywhere people are clamoring for help and guidance. We hope to immediately after this meeting and with your help to raise the necessary funds for the purpose of sending out the best people of our staff on a tour together with Jack Chen and other Chinese friends who have kindly consented to participate and help.

"Relief work is not going fast enough. But good beginnings were made everywhere. Funds should be raised for medical aid, for doctors and nurses, and food to go in a constant stream to China. The boycott movement—well on its way must be rolled uphill faster. CHINA TODAY, our magazine, must gain 2,000 new subscribers and thousands of additional readers in the next few months. We must intensify and increase throughout the country, pressure brought to bear on our government for an active peace policy, aid to China, and an embargo against Japan the aggressor. Let us help the people of our country to, in the spirit of true American tradition, give every substantial, moral, and material help to China in her fight for freedom, independence, progress, and world peace."

Conrad Komorowski (Educational Director) : Mr. Komorowski reported that the work of the Educational Committee was not quite satisfactory as yet. He pointed out that the feeling of sympathy for China is growing much faster than our organizational work is. The movement is growing by such leaps and bounds that we find ourselves lagging behind it. As an example of the good work the Educational Committee has done he mentioned the fact that in the last six or seven weeks the Lecture Bureau has sent out speakers who have reached approximately 10,000 people. He stressed that we must make new contacts—church groups, peace organizations, and trade-unions. We must utilize the radio. Another shortcoming is that we have no meetings for the speakers where they can discuss their work and settle mutual problems. This must be done soon, and also the issuance of a bulletin dealing specifically with the problems of the speakers and outlining facts for them.

The Library must be enlarged and improved to the point where it will be an actual help to the research workers. In this connection Mr. Rodgers was commended for the splendid work he has been doing in the research field. A research committee must be built around him to help carry on the work. The much-discussed speakers' class will be started some time in February. The plan is to get many new people from different organizations who can take our course and then return to their organizations to carry on the work there. One of the functions of the Educational Committee is to take care of the publicity that comes out of the office. With a larger, more efficient committee this can be done.

Mr. Komorowski concluded his report by appealing for volunteers for the Educational Committee. He urged all the members to bring to him the names of organizations, particularly church, peace, and trade-unions, which can be contacted by the Committee. In this way we can expand the work of the Committee and the organization.

Helen Holman (on Negro work) : Miss Holman spoke briefly on our work among the Negro people in Harlem. She emphasized that with Negro nationalist movements flourishing in Harlem, it is very important for our organization to become entrenched among the Negro people there and dispel all incorrect impressions that "Japan is a friend of the darker races," etc.

Mrs. Julia Church Kolar (Boycott Committee) : "In reviewing and setting down the actual work done by this committee since the first date recorded, that of September 10th, I came to this conclusion, that the results are amazing in comparison to effort put forth. On October 2nd in the 'Nation' we read the first call for the boycott in the voice of Mr. Maxwell Stewart. On October 6th, fifteen women picketed a Woolworth store and ours were the first feet to be marching for the boycott as far as I know. * * *

"We visited the Woolworth management in the Woolworth Building; we also called upon the executives in Macy's, Gimbels, Wanamakers', H. L. Green Co. We suggested they remove Japanese goods from their counters and make a statement to that effect. Leaflets were distributed. In December we had the Christmas banners. On Oct. 19th we had a picket line at the Commodity Exchange followed by a street meeting which was very successful, drawing a large crowd and which was written up in the papers. On Oct. 13th we visited the Viscous Company to get information about rayon for hose, and on the 14th five of us went as a delegation to the National Hosiery Manufacturers Association meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria where we had an interview with Mr. Consadine, the national director. * * *

"Oriental stores, stores selling only Japanese goods, wholesale houses, etc., were visited in order to get information and advise the trade what we were doing on the boycott. Letters came into the office from colleges, from students, and from professors, from organizations in different parts of the country asking information about the boycott. We distributed thousands of buttons, visiting, meeting with them, and with leaflets. On November 10th two young women and myself boarded the S. S. *Normandie* with 2,000 cards which we distributed to oncoming passengers and handed in to staterooms. These announced that two fellow travelers—Baron Okura and Admiral Godo were Japanese envoys who were here on a so-called good will mission, and urged they be boycotted. These cards were received with splendid response. A picket line was on the outside of the pier during this time. * * *

"Then began plans for the Women's Anti-Silk Parade which was held on December 11th when more than 2,000 women paraded in the name of peace. Among the women's organizations participating were: Theatre Arts Committee, League of Women Shoppers, Women's Division American League for Peace and Democracy, Women's Division, Medical Bureau for Spain, Free Synagogue Women, Progressive Women's Council, University Settlement Mothers Clubs, I. W. O. Women, Harlem Peace League, Workers Alliance, Union of Office and Professional Workers, Retail Store Employees, Federal Writers Project, W. P. A. Teachers Local, Teachers Union, Women's Advertising Guild, Social Workers, American Artists Union, International Labor Defense, Students, Chinese women and Spanish women, etc. Other prominent women who endorsed the parade were: Miss Hester Sondergaard, actress; Miss Frances Farmer, actress; Miss Claire Luce, actress; Miss Phoebe Brant, actress; Miss Edith Barret, actress; Mrs. Isobel Walker Soule, writer and editor; Mrs. Anna Rochester, writer; Miss Genevieve Taggart, poetess; Miss Grace Lumpkin, writer; Miss Muriel Rukeyser, poetess; Miss Eda Lou Walton, poetess. * * *

"On December 18th our committee was well represented at the Boycott Conference held at 99 Park Ave. I was placed on the resolutions committee. On January 19th we visited the directors office of the National Lamp Shade Manufacturers Association during the showing of the products to the trade. He told us how much the lamp shade business had changed, how no silk shades were made to sell for more than \$15.00 where previously many had sold as high as \$50.00. The following day they snapped two of our committee outside the Hotel New Yorker holding up signs urging buyers not to buy silk shades. We hope this photograph will be in the trade journal. * * *

"In concluding, I may make a few observations as to the future program of the boycott committee. So far we have not here in American been able to gain much support from church or religious groups. The Free Synagogue stands for the boycott. On February 6th at the Community Church Forum, the program is on the boycott with Dr. Sidney Goldstein and myself speaking in support of the boycott and the Women's Peace Union opposing the boycott.

Our Committee is now interested in getting out a film on the boycott. One last fact that strikes me as so humorous is that now manufacturers and wholesalers and employers generally are weeping over the hardship to the hosiery workers. Surely we all regret if any hardship must be endured by them, but some of these people I mentioned have not wept a single tear for the ten million now unemployed or the 20 million who were idle a few years ago. Surely we are sorry

for any workers who may be temporarily out of jobs—American or Japanese, but our object is to save lives by smashing Japan's war machine and the boycott must go on, and it will.

"A mass meeting is to be held in Brownsville, Brooklyn. A women's antisilk parade in Brooklyn is scheduled for Lincoln's Birthday. Another women's antisilk parade should be held in Manhattan in the spring. Demonstrations on the waterfront, plans have been discussed as to a delegation to visit Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., asking him, in the name of humanity, to refuse more oil to Japan. We have made contact with the Federation of Women's Clubs and this is an important objective. There is work to be done in the trade unions.

"These are some of the activities that will be carried out and more will develop as events will determine and new ways to spread the boycott will be thought of. We ask all of you who are interested in this part of our work to join our Boycott Committee."

Jean Stanley (Finance): "You will all agree that money is one of the most important organizational matters. In the past half year, with war in the Far East, our organization has grown threefold and our great job is teaching the American people how they can help the Chinese people. Similarly our expenses have increased during this period, while our income, too, has been greater. In the next six months we must not only continue to carry out our work as we have been doing, but that we must also increase both our work and our scope. With this in mind, it is necessary to look into a budget for the next three months of our activity.

"The great items in a budget for our organization are: Publication of our organ in, CHINA TODAY and wages for our people who devote their full time to the organization and the magazine. There are four people on our payroll. Their salaries, based on a minimum living wage amounts to only \$294.00 a month. We are considerably understaffed. CHINA TODAY, which will in the future come out in a color cannot be published for less than \$275.00 a month. The circulation of our magazine has increased 250%. With these great leaps ahead, we have not yet been able to afford to add a circulation manager.

"Our income is derived from subscriptions to CHINA TODAY, cash sales of the magazine and newstand distribution both nationally and locally, and lecture fees from our speaking engagements. Here we must give due recognition and express our gratitude to Marcella Loring for donating and devoting her full time to the lecture bureau of our organization.

"In the budget for the next three months there will be a monthly deficit of \$250.00 per month. This money will have to be realized from special affairs run for CHINA TODAY and the American Friends of the Chinese People as well as finding new friends to contribute regular monthly sums of however large or however small amounts each month. I hereby earnestly appeal to our membership and friends. If you know of anyone who can give even a small sum, as small as \$1.00 a month, towards furthering the work of our organization, inform him of our needs".

Jack Chen (visitor from China): "If we stop Japan today the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis is weakened, the fascists discouraged. America will not be alone in its efforts to stop Japan. \$25,000 has already been sent from Soviet Russia to China for medical aid and civilian relief. In England a China Campaign Committee has been formed with three main aims: medical aid to China, the education of the English people on the Chinese question, and the furtherance of the boycott movement against Japan. Many churches, including the Unitarian Church are supporting this committee. Mass meetings of thousands of people have been arranged. At the Queens Hall meeting the Dean of Canterbury and various Members of Parliament were present as speakers.

"Demonstrations have been held at Trafalgar Square. Dockers of Southampton have refused to unload and ship Japanese goods. The dockers of Liverpool have pledged not to unload Japanese goods. Trade unions have gone on record for the boycott and imposition of sanctions. On February 14th an International Conference for the Boycott of Japanese Goods is being held in England. Delegates for all leading countries will attend. China must win, because China's struggle is the struggle for peace and for the welfare of the people of the world—and this cannot lose."

The floor was taken by an anonymous gentleman who introduced himself by saying that he had spent twenty-five years in Japan. He commended our work on the boycott. He warned us that the merchant dealing in Japanese goods must not be antagonized. We must approach them in a very nice way so that we will win them over as allies, instead of forcing them to become enemies. He also men-

tioned the fact that many Japanese students are not in accord with their government's policy. They are very carefully watched and are called to account by the Japanese Consul. We should seek these students out and encourage them to take a determined stand.

Bertram Loeb (Youth Director): "Youth in China have taken leadership in the anti-Japanese fight. Youth here are also in the leadership in the movement for peace. The American Youth Congress passed a motion at its last Congress of solidarity with the Chinese youth. The American Student Union passed a Boycott resolution. The Youth section of the American Friends held a banquet commemorating the Peiping students demonstration. A China project was arranged for a group of office workers. Future work: Model Youth Legislature to have a resolution on the boycott. World Youth Congress being held in Washington this summer and should be attended by our representatives."

Mrs. Isadora W. Kerr: "I represent the University Settlement, the oldest settlement house in the city. We are affiliated to the American Friends of the Chinese People and some of us have individual membership in it. All of our people wear lisle hose. We have looked into the question of buying from Japan. We know that Macy's is sending their buyer to Denmark instead of Japan this year."

Miko Kubota: "I would like to send greetings of Japanese people to the American Friends. Esther Carroll pointed out that the Japanese people in New York have done something to help this organization. This is true and it is also true that this organization has done more for the Japanese people in New York as well as throughout this country. I appreciate this help. We Japanese will take care of the military-fascists of our country but we need your help. At present the greatest help which you can give us is your activities for aid to the Chinese people. Direct help to the Chinese people directly affects the Japanese people."

J. H. Lin: "On behalf of the Chinese people I express my sincere appreciation of the work you are doing. You have done your work very well considering the means at your disposal. You do your work with great devotion and your work not only affects the Chinese people in the United States but affects policy in China itself. I see that your activities are reported in the Chinese press. I hope that now we Chinese in the organization will be able to do more work than we have been doing. I think there are many tasks which confront us besides the dissemination of information on China, for there are some well-meaning pacifists who say 'what is the use of boycotting Japanese goods.' But the war is just beginning. The Chinese people will fight very well and will win this war. We must further developments on the boycott. We must render medical and moral aid to China. After all, the Chinese people are fighting a life and death struggle—but not for China alone. They are fighting for the peace and democracy of the entire world."

James Anderson: "I wish to speak briefly on our waterfront activities. We have organized meetings and demonstrations in front of the NYK and OYK lines in Brooklyn in the Red Hook district. I think in the near future we shall have to do what Jack Chen mentioned in his speech as regards the dockers of Southampton and Liverpool. On January 29th we intend to have another demonstration. We must begin on a real active period."

Other friends took the floor to criticize and further elaborate the reports given by the various officers.

Mr. J. H. Lin, on behalf of the Nominating Committee, proposes the following people as our national officers: Maxwell Stewart—National Chairman; Julius Loeb—National Vice Chairman; Helen Mallery—National Treasurer; Esther Carroll—Organizational Secretary; Manvil Rodgers—Recording Secretary. Motion made to accept these people as read. Seconded. Passed unanimously.

Mr. Julius Loeb in behalf of the Nominating Committee proposes enlarging Executive Council to 25 seats, leaving 5 seats open for possible additions. Proposes the following for the Executive Council: James Anderson, Esther Carroll, Helen Holman, Mrs. Julia Church Kolar, Mrs. Robert Kalvar, Mr. Conrad Komorowski, Mr. Kubota, Mr. J. H. Lin, Julius Loeb, Helen Mallery, Percy Quick, Manvil Rodgers, Ruth Rubin, Eugene Schrachner, Maxwell Stewart, Heng-chi Tao. Mr. Rothman moves to accept. Motion seconded and passed.

Mr. Julius Loeb announces that the National Advisory Board is in process of formation. The names being considered include: Miss Margaret Forsythe, Prof. Lovett, Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, Prof. J. Nash, Prof. McCall, and others.

Mr. Stewart in Summation: The American Friends of the Chinese People works under difficult conditions, but produces good results. New tasks lie ahead. While many of the things which need to be done by our organization are not, we must

realize that no one organization can meet the needs of China. He emphasized that because we are the only organization in America today that is really initiating vigorous work for China, we have a stupendous task ahead of us. We have failed in the past because we haven't gone far enough. Our job calls for the various activities which have been mentioned today. Primarily we have to do what Jack Chen indicated is being done in Great Britain today. Firstly in aiding the people of China. Secondly raising money for relief. There are also a few other agencies which have attempted to do this. Thirdly, develop active resistance to the boycott. I really believe that the boycott alone can bring Japan to her knees. We should work among American workers and work for a government embargo. The primary challenge is to be a national organization—to spread out in the country. Branch out in church groups, settlements, youth groups, peace groups, etc. We must carry on the complete program which has been outlined by the speakers today. The first thing is to challenge—the next thing to do is to take it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the IPR in 1938 ask you to write a book on American policy in the Far East?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write it?

Mr. BISSON. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you paid for it?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much were you paid?

Mr. BISSON. My memory is it was \$250. It was not very much.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the name of the book?

Mr. BISSON. The book was United States Policy in the Far East, or Toward the Far East, something of that kind. I am in doubt, because the title changed in the revised edition.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a grant of any sort while you were writing that book?

Mr. BISSON. Well, the writing of that book coincided or overlapped, I think, with the time of the grant that covered my research trip to the Far East.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say the title changed. What did it change to?

Mr. BISSON. America's Far Eastern Policy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Under that name by whom was it published?

Mr. BISSON. The Institute of Pacific Relations and MacMillan.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember meeting Mr. Karl Wittfogel, Chao ting Chi, and Mr. Jaffe in late 1934?

Mr. BISSON. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you say whether such a meeting took place?

Mr. BISSON. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know there was testimony with regard to such a meeting in these hearings?

Mr. BISSON. I did. I saw that. I could not recall that meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, you have gone over all of the testimony in the published volumes of these hearings that concerns you, have you not?

Mr. BISSON. I have gone over the testimony that concerns me. I am not sure that I know it all.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you have had it pointed out to you?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. What I am saying is I am not sure I would remember everything that I have read about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write an article in 1943 for Pacific Affairs in which you discussed the democratic character of the Chinese Communist Party and referred to Chiang Kai-shek's party as feudal?

Mr. Bisson. You have your magazine wrong. You mean Far Eastern Survey.

Mr. Sourwine. I will accept your correction.

Mr. Bisson. Is it July 1943?

Mr. Sourwine. Yes.

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. You published it in the Far Eastern Survey?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. Was that printed in the Far Eastern Survey of July 14, 1943?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. But while you were preparing that article you were employed by the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. You were employed by the Board of Economic Warfare until July 10, 1943?

Mr. Bisson. No. May I say my salary continued to that date. I think my last official duties, actually performed duties with the Board, were at the end of May. I think I had a vacation of about a month or so before I joined the IPR.

Mr. Sourwine. Are you telling us you prepared this article during the month of June 1943, after you had left BEW?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. You did so in its entirety?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. By what time did you have to have it in order to have it published in the July 14 issue of Far Eastern Survey?

Mr. Bisson. I would not remember exactly. I think about a week or maybe 10 days.

Mr. Sourwine. Then you did this whole article in a month or less?

Mr. Bisson. That is right.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you remember the manuscript of Lawrence Rosinger's book, Wartime Politics in China?

Mr. Bisson. The manuscript of it?

Mr. Sourwine. Yes. Do you remember anything about the manuscript of that book?

Mr. Bisson. Not particularly.

Mr. Sourwine. Was that manuscript sent to Mr. John Carter Vincent?

Mr. Bisson. I do not know.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you ask him to send it back?

Mr. Bisson. I do not recall.

Mr. Sourwine. Are you familiar with the excerpt in that regard which is in the record of this committee?

Mr. Bisson. Apparently not; no.

Mr. Sourwine. Are you aware that on page 487 of this committee's record, exhibit No. 127, there is a letter dated November 12, 1943, from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations addressed to Mr. John Carter Vincent purporting to have been signed by you, saying:

DEAR MR. VINCENT: Knowing that you must be exceedingly busy at this time, I am sorry to bother you with a minor detail. We believe that the original copy of Mr. Lawrence Rosinger's manuscript on Wartime Politics in China was sent to you for criticism, but with your new responsibilities there is no reason to burden you with this task of reading and review. However, we are anxious

to have the manuscript copy itself returned here for the printer if it is conveniently possible to have it sent back. Hoping to see you in New York soon.

Sincerely yours,

T. A. Bisson.

Did you write that letter?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you now remember any of the circumstances?

Mr. Bisson. Yes. It seems to me that, as I recall now, that manuscript had been sent to him sometime earlier and we had not heard from him, and we wanted the manuscript back.

Mr. Sourwine. Where was it sent to him?

Mr. Bisson. Presumably they wanted his comments and criticisms for any changes that might be made.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you send other manuscripts to Mr. Vincent?

Mr. Bisson. Did I?

Mr. Sourwine. Yes.

Mr. Bisson. I may have. I would not know whether I did actually.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you know whose idea it was to send manuscripts to Mr. Vincent?

Mr. Bisson. No.

Mr. Sourwine. Was it standard procedure? Was he one of those to whom manuscripts were sent?

Mr. Bisson. I should think so. It was standard procedure with the Foreign Policy Association in the earlier years.

Mr. Sourwine. This was the IPR, not the Foreign Policy Association.

Mr. Bisson. It bears on this point, and I think I should state it. When I wrote a manuscript for the Foreign Policy Association reports, it was very often sent to Stanley K. Hornbeck. It would come back from him.

Mr. Sourwine. Who would send it to him?

Mr. Bisson. Either I would or the secretary of the Foreign Policy Association, asking him for his comments.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you remember participating in a draft of a statement which it was hoped or intended would be signed by Mr. Thomas Lamont and sent to the New York Times?

Mr. Bisson. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you consult with Mr. Lattimore about that matter; Owen Lattimore?

Mr. Bisson. I do not remember any consultation with him.

Mr. Sourwine. Did Mr. Carter write to you about that matter?

Mr. Bisson. Yes; I think there was a memorandum he wrote to me about it.

Mr. Sourwine. Can you remember anything about your participation in that?

Mr. Bisson. No.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you remember making a statement to the Daily Worker giving an interview urging President Truman to avert the danger of civil war in China by letting the Japanese surrender to the Communist Party?

Mr. Bisson. Is this a general letter with many signatures. I am not clear which you refer to.

Mr. Sourwine. Yes. This is a statement specifically quoting you. It contains 20 other signatures. The statement was in a telegram signed by 20 other persons.

Mr. BISSON. You are asking whether I signed that statement?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

No, I am asking first whether you gave any interview to the Daily Worker. I will ask you about the statement in regard to the President in a moment.

Mr. BISSON. I do not recall any interview I gave to the Daily Worker.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you sign the telegram to the President?

Mr. BISSON. Yes; I think I did.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you ever interviewed by the Daily Worker?

Mr. BISSON. Not that I know of.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you ever write an article for the Daily Worker?

Mr. BISSON. No, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. New Masses?

Mr. BISSON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see Andrew Grajdanzev's report on Formosa in 1942?

Mr. BISSON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that in connection with your official duties?

Mr. BISSON. Yes. It was because I was head of a Manchuria-Korea-Formosa unit in the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do anything to circulate that report?

Mr. BISSON. Yes, probably. It was probably circulated among the members of the Board.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do anything to circulate it other than among the members of the Board?

Mr. BISSON. Outside the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. What might you have done to circulate it outside the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. BISSON. I do not recall specific individuals I may have sent it to, but it is possible that there were other outside individuals that I wanted to have read this.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, you did send it to outside individuals, did you not?

Mr. BISSON. I probably did. I do not recall any specific individuals.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write an article for Spotlight on the Far East in February 1948?

Mr. BISSON. I probably did.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to show you page 1018 of our hearings and ask you if the article there is one which you wrote? It has been identified as an article which you did write. Is that something you wrote?

Mr. BISSON. No; I do not think I wrote this at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. You deny having written that?

Mr. BISSON. This is a summary of what occurred at the conference mentioned in here.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't think you are looking at the same thing.

Mr. BISSON. I am looking at the wrong one.

Mr. SOURWINE. The one right at the top of the page.

Mr. BISSON. This is again a similar situation, someone writing in Spotlight reporting what I said at this conference.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not say you wrote it. I am asking you if you did write it?

Mr. BISSON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give an interview to *Spotlight on the Far East* about that matter?

Mr. BISSON. About the conference?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BISSON. I do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give them any memoranda about it?

Mr. BISSON. I may have given them a memorandum. I made some remarks at the conference, and they may have wanted to know what those remarks were.

Mr. SOURWINE. That publication is published by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. BISSON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you receive into the record this page 276 and up to page 284? It begins a new subject. It is from *Amerasia* of 1943.

Senator EASTLAND. It will be filed as an exhibit.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 739" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 739

[Source: *Amerasia*, September 1943, pp. 276-278]

THE TWO CHINAS

This all-important question of the present trend in Chinese policy was discussed at some length by T. A. Bisson in an article on "China's Part in a Coalition War" published in the *Far Eastern Survey* of July 14. Mr. Bisson is extremely critical of the shortcomings of America and Britain in their dealings with China, but he also believes that the present political situation in China is cause for well-justified apprehension, since it affects "not only the current prosecution of the war, but also the prospects for the postwar emergence of a stable, united, and democratic China." Together with many other students of Chinese affairs, Mr. Bisson considers that "the early promise held out by the war for the broadening and deepening of Chinese unity through the achievement of liberal political and economic reforms has not been fulfilled." Instead, the conservative elements in the Kuomintang, alarmed by the growing influence of the Communist-led armies in the guerrilla areas of North China, and by the agrarian reforms and democratic electoral procedures introduced in these areas, have imposed a military blockade against them. Thus two Chinas have emerged, "each with its own government, military forces, and territories, and each with its own characteristic set of political and economic institutions."

These two areas are commonly referred to as Kuomintang China and Communist China, but Mr. Bisson maintains that the terms "feudal China" and "democratic China" more accurately describe the basic distinction between the two regions. His use of the term "feudal," Mr. Bisson explains, is intended to define a society "in which the landlord-peasant relationship is dominant and autocracy in government centers around this relationship." Its application to Kuomintang China is justified, in his opinion, by the fact that no serious effort has been made to uproot the landlord-usurer system, and that the great landlords have become the economic mainstay of the Kuomintang regime, while political power is exercised solely by the Kuomintang bureaucracy, with no provision for popular representation or control.

In so-called "Communist China," on the other hand, economic and political reforms have combined to free the peasant from "the crushing burden of rent, taxes, and usurious interest charges levied by a feudal economy," and to introduce a system of local democratic government in which all classes of the population, including the landlords and merchants as well as the peasants and workers, participate. "The task of statesmanship," declares Mr. Bisson, "is

to merge these two Chinas into one. To be sound, such unification must come on the high plane of social advance and democratic reform. Until unification is achieved on this plane, China's full strength cannot be placed behind the war effort."

Mr. Bisson's use of the term "feudal" to describe conditions in Kuomintang China was sharply criticized by Dr. C. L. Hsia, Director of the Chinese News Service in New York, as well as by Chinese officials in Chungking. In a letter to the editors, published in the *Far Eastern Survey* of August 11, Dr. Hsia contends that Chinese landlords do not exercise any control over the Chinese government, and that the present land tax system and land reform policy pursued by Chungking have served to restrict the influence of the landlords and place greater financial burdens on them. Furthermore, Dr. Hsia argues that if one accepts Mr. Bisson's definition of feudalism, "we may say that practically all countries in the world, with the exception of the U. S. S. R., are feudal. Outside the U. S. S. R., we find peasants and landlords everywhere, whether the landlords are owners of large farms, great estates, oil wells, or iron and coal mines."

Dr. Hsia also criticizes Mr. Bisson for failing to state the specific means by which Chinese unity is to be attained, and contends that it is utterly impossible for the Chinese Government to introduce far-reaching political and agrarian reforms in the midst of war, disregarding, apparently, Mr. Bisson's contention that such reforms are being carried out today in the guerrilla regions. Dr. Hsia appears to be chiefly incensed, however, by the assertion that the mobilization of China's resources is being hampered by the feudal character of her political and economic structure. But if Chinese feudalism "passed away some twenty-one centuries ago," as Dr. Hsia maintains, how does he explain the statement made by Chiang Kai-shek on December 10, 1928, that the two basic objectives of the Chinese Revolution are international equality and the overthrow of feudalism?¹ It is also difficult to reconcile his claim that the power of the landlords is decreasing with the statement by Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, that "The landlords' share of the taxes is still too small, while the small owners are shouldering an increased burden. During recent years, the landlord class has been greatly enriched. * * * The big landlords are employing their surplus funds to increase their holdings. * * * Land ownership is more and more concentrated in the hands of the landlords." (*Ta Kung Pao*, October 16, 1942.)

The persistence of feudal or semifeudal elements in a country's political and economic structure is certainly not peculiar to China. In essence, similar conditions exist in the southern states in this country, as well as in many parts of Europe. It is significant, for example, that the new Italian Action Party, headed by Count Sforza, has for one of the planks in its liberal, democratic platform: "wide agrarian reform looking toward the elimination of feudalism." The point to be stressed here is that the liberal and progressive forces that exist in Kuomintang China are being seriously hampered in their efforts to secure an extension of democracy in both the political and economic spheres as an essential factor in strengthening China's war effort. In their view, a program of land reform which would limit both the political and economic power of the great landlords is not only possible but essential in time of war in order to give the Chinese people a greater incentive to carry on the struggle. Furthermore, they maintain that greater political democracy is essential to secure the close cooperation of all anti-Japanese groups in China in the war against the invader. In this connection it is worth noting that not only the Chinese Communists but also many of the smaller political parties in China, some of them even more conservative than the Kuomintang, have demanded that they be granted legal status as minority parties and given the opportunity to be represented in the government by popularly elected delegates.²

At the moment, however, there appears to be little prospect of any change in the attitude of the Kuomintang leaders toward other political parties in China. On the contrary, recent reports have stressed the rising political tension in Free China, resulting from the Chungking Government's efforts to suppress the activities of all non-Kuomintang organizations. As applied to the Chinese Communist Party and the armed forces under its control, this policy has been expressed in the continued blockade of the guerrilla areas in the north by Central Government

¹ The speech containing this statement appeared in a book entitled "Collected Speeches of the Generalissimo" (in Chinese), published by the Cheng Chung Book Shop, Chungking, 1938, p. 5.

² For a detailed account of the organization of the "smaller parties" in China into the Federation for Political Democracy, see *Amerasia*, Spring Quarterly, April 25, 1943, pp. 97-120.

troops. No large-scale armed clashes have occurred between the Kuomintang and Communist forces since the "New Fourth Army Incident" of January 1941, but reports have reached this country in recent weeks that certain elements in the Kuomintang favor immediate steps to force the dissolution of the Border Region Government and of the armies under Communist leadership.

[Source: Amerasia, September 1943, pp. 278-281]

THREAT OF CIVIL WAR IN CHINA: A SOVIET OBSERVER'S VIEW

The most outspoken of these reports was contained in a United Press dispatch from Moscow on August 6, quoting excerpts from an article on China published in the official Soviet trade union journal, *War and the Working Class*. Its author, Vladimir Rogov, recently returned to the Soviet Union after serving for twelve years in China as a representative of the Tass agency, and the prominence given his report would seem to indicate that the Soviet Government is seriously disturbed by the current Chinese situation. For purposes of record, the full text of Mr. Rogov's article is published herewith:¹

"During six years of war, the Chinese command, at the cost of considerable territorial losses, succeeded in saving its troops from defeat. Despite heavy odds, the Chinese army preserved its capacity for resistance. The Japanese militarists failed in their plan for a rapid conquest of China, and proved incapable of breaking the resistance of the Chinese people. The war in China became prolonged, threatening Japan with ever-increasing complications.

"In defensive battles on an extremely long front, the Chinese army gained the necessary time for reorganizing its troops and strengthening their fighting capacity. Soon after the fall of Wuhan (Hankow) in October 1938, Chiang Kai-shek outlined a program for the reorganization of the country's armed forces, the principal points of which were as follows: First, China's national policy must become the policy of a long, defensive war. Second, the guerrilla movement must be developed. Third, in order to conduct a general counter-offensive, a new army must be created, many millions strong and trained in the use of the most up-to-date war equipment.

"However, the plans of Chiang Kai-shek met with covert resistance from the outset. The reforms in the army with the aim of training new units, reorganizing control and strengthening discipline were not completed, and the task of creating an economic base for war was not accomplished. The main reason for this was the divisive work of the 'appeasers,' the defeatists, and capitulators.

"The war economy resources of National China (Free China) are large and afford an adequate base for the rearmament and supply of the army. On its territory National China has all the strategic raw materials necessary for the conduct of a prolonged war. Nevertheless, large-scale construction has not been undertaken because industrial and financial circles prefer to engage in profiteering rather than invest their capital in the armaments industry.

"This situation has led to the weakening of the army's fighting capacity and to greater dependence on the supply of arms from the United States and Great Britain who, owing to their own war, find it extremely difficult to supply China. Elements favoring capitulation have sabotaged the measures for the mobilization of China's internal resources intended to establish the national economy on a war basis, as well as the measures for waging economic warfare against the Japanese invaders.

"China has no lack of human reserves, but the Chinese army receives no regular reinforcements. There are insufficient trained reserves. There is no organized military registration of the population, and law providing for universal military service is not fully enforced. The army also receives a large percentage of men unfit for service.

"The main defect of the Chinese army is the shortage of trained commanders. All foreign military observers who have visited the Chinese army agree that the Chinese soldier is tenacious and enduring in the field and is undemanding as far as food and uniforms are concerned; whereas the commanding personnel is extremely weak and backward in military and technical training. The army's equipment is still at a low level, and the organization and control of the troops

¹ Since Mr. Rogov's original article in Russian has not yet arrived in this country, this text is based on the English translations cabled from Moscow by the United Press and Inter-Continent News.

is far from perfect. One of the defects of the Chinese army is the lack of an effective united command and of coordinated operations on the separate fronts. The internal friction and suspicion among the generals cannot help but affect the fighting capacity and discipline of their troops.

"In Chungking, of course, there are no open advocates of surrender, but this does not mean that there is a lack of capitulators and defeatists there, some of whom occupy important positions in the Kuomintang. These defeatists elements have evolved a theory of an 'honorable' peace with Japan, and are weakening China by their political intrigues. There is no doubt that these elements represent a serious menace.

"Since December 1941, the Japanese have concentrated their attention on the war in the Pacific, while the war in China has receded into the background. This has led to the appearance among Chinese political and military leaders of a certain complacency, and the Japanese are taking advantage of this attitude to intensify their 'peace offensives.' They are now making every effort to deepen and sharpen internal conflicts in China to weaken Chinese resistance and strengthen their own position. In this attempt they are aided by the maneuvers of the Chinese 'appeasers' who are doing their utmost to undermine the military collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to incite the persecution of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies which, as units of China's united national army, have inscribed many heroic pages in the history of the resistance of the Chinese people to the Japanese invaders.

"These armies consist of the most progressive, steadfast, and self-sacrificing people of China. They are led by the Chinese Communist Party which enjoys merited prestige among the broad masses of the working people as the organizer of their struggle for national freedom and independence. Today, by direct military pressure, new attempts are being made to bring about the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party and the liquidation of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. The Chinese high command has transferred new divisions to the districts where these armies are stationed, with large supplies of munitions and food, obviously in preparation for an attack on the Eighth Route and New Fourth. If these moves are crowned with any success, anti-democratic and anti-popular forces will gain the upper hand in Chungking, and if fratricidal war results, it will lead to fatal consequences for the Chinese war of liberation. Such an unprovoked attack by the Chungking generals against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies would be tantamount to a knife in the back of the Chinese people, and would be of incalculable aid to the Japanese imperialists.

"A number of outstanding Kuomintang leaders strongly oppose the treacherous activities of the appeasers, capitulators, and provocateurs, and demand closer collaboration with all anti-Japanese groups. The discontent with the Kuomintang's policies in this respect is widespread throughout China. However, the Chinese Government has shown no firmness in eliminating the capitulators who are undermining national unity and weakening China's resistance against Japanese aggression.

"In the last few years I have had occasion to visit more than fifteen provinces of China. Both at the front and deep in the rear, in occupied Shanghai and Manchuria, representatives of various groups in China watch with grave concern the criminal activity of the traitors, turncoats, defeatists, and saboteurs. Nevertheless they are unanimous in their confidence that all efforts to provoke civil war are doomed to failure because the people of Free China, in hard fighting, have accumulated great strength and will not permit the cause of national liberation to die.

"With large strategic raw material resources and tremendous manpower reserves at her disposal, China has every possibility for victory over the enemy. The necessary conditions for this victory are the realization of radical measures for reorganizing the entire economy on a war footing, subordinating all economic life to the needs of the front, and strengthening the armed forces against capitulation and defeatism, and, most important of all, the genuine unity of all national forces in the struggle for freedom and national independence.

"The extent to which Chiang Kai-shek and the Chungking authorities recognize the importance of this principal condition and succeed in averting the danger of internal struggle, now being fostered by the enemies of the Chinese people, will determine whether the exhausting war forced upon China by Japanese imperialism will be brought to a successful conclusion in the interests of the Chinese people as a whole."

Many Americans presumably discounted Mr. Rogov's comments on the grounds that he is naturally prejudiced in favor of the Communist-led armies of China and therefore inclined to take an exaggeratedly hostile and alarmist view of Kuomintang policies. But though one may question his contention that as of today China possesses all the strategic raw materials necessary for the conduct of the war, and his implication that today she has the potential strength to defeat Japan single-handed, his warning regarding the dangers of renewed civil strife in China cannot be dismissed as merely pro-Communist propaganda.

As we noted earlier in this article, many competent American students of China have expressed concern in recent months over the suppression of liberal forces in China and the growing influence of reactionary elements within the Kuomintang. These include writers who have staunchly supported the Chinese Government for many years, and who can in no way be regarded as Communist sympathizers. Their view is simply that the preservation of Chinese unity and the strengthening of the liberal, democratic forces in China are essential not only for the success of the United Nations war effort in Asia, but also for the emergence of a strong and stable China in the post-war world. For this reason, they are sincerely concerned over the fact that the trend toward greater political unity and democracy in China, which appeared so promising in the early years of the Sino-Japanese war, has now been reversed in favor of a strengthened dictatorship by the Kuomintang and the suppression of groups seeking political and economic reforms.

An excellent analysis of the basic cause of the political crisis in China was provided by Mr. Raymond Gram Swing on August 11. Mr. Swing has earned a well-merited reputation both in this country and abroad as an informative and reliable news analyst, and it may be assumed that his appraisals of the Chinese situation was based on the authoritativeness by millions of listeners throughout the world, but in view of their importance, it seemed desirable that they should be made available to Amerasia readers in printed form. We are therefore including in this record, with Mr. Swing's permission and approval, that portion of his broadcast which dealt with China.

[Source : Amerasia, September 1943, pp. 281-284]

AN APPRAISAL OF CONDITIONS IN CHINA BY RAYMOND GRAM SWING

An item crept into the news yesterday about China which calls for careful appraisal. It came first from London. Chinese circles there authoritatively denied that the Chinese Government is taking military action against the so-called Chinese Communists. And the same denial later reached this country from Chungking direct, in a wireless to the New York Times. The denials were evoked by an article appearing in a trade-union newspaper in Moscow, by a writer named Vladimir Rogov, who has spent the last twelve years in China, and stated the appeasement and defeatist sections of the Chinese Government have been undermining the war effort by seeking to provoke internal trouble and urging dissolution of the Communist units of the Chinese forces. He said that the Chinese Government is facing serious internal difficulties that could result in civil war or Japanese victory. The Chinese authorities quoted in the New York Times categorically denied these assertions and the Times correspondent adds an observation: "In view of month-old rumors of trouble with the Communists breaking out again, this news is considered of the highest importance."

These rumors have reached this country, too, and caused great concern, for a forcible attempt to liquidate the Eighth Route or Communist army, repeating the attack on the Fourth Army, would do a most unwelcome injury to the United Nations war against Japan. They were accompanied by reports that the Chinese Government has yielded quite visibly to reactionary influences, and that the prospects of early democratization, in our sense of the word, were fading away. Thus the Chinese cooperatives, while not suppressed, were finding it hard to maintain themselves. Accepting the news as true that no forceful measures are planned against the Communists, the situation in China still remains critical and disquieting. And it is a situation not appreciated by the public in this country, though it is well enough known by the China experts. The simplest statement of the facts is enough to show that the problem is well-nigh unsoluble. The

Communists hold sections of Shensi, Shansi, and Kansu Provinces, a fairly small territory, with a population of approximately five or six million. Here they have instituted their agrarian and social reforms. For these are not Marxian Proletarians, these so-called Communists, they are agrarian radicals, trying to establish democratic practices and particularly to break up the great estates, so that the farm worker can have individual status and now own property. A word is in order about these agrarian radicals. They should not be called Communists, whatever their origin may be. They have developed in another direction. At the same time that the Kuomintang has gone to the right, the Communists have become versed in the democratic art of compromise. They have had to deal with the landlord, too, to convince him they are not simply going to expropriate his land. T. A. Bisson, writing for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, objects to the labels, Kuomintang China and Communist China. "These are only party labels," he says. "To be more descriptive the one might be called feudal China, the other, democratic China." The Communists have their own army, and though it is only a small percentage of the total of Chinese forces, it has produced more than two-fifths of the casualties inflicted on the Japanese in 1941 and 1942. The Communists were the ones who first insisted on resistance to Japan. They precipitated the union of action against the Japanese. But they settled down in the territory they occupied, established their own regime, maintained the independence of their army, which they now refuse to give up.

Obviously this is a contradiction of unity, and the Central Chinese Government—the Kuomintang Government—feels it cannot permanently tolerate it. Chiang Kai-shek, who had waged war against the Communists before the war opened against Japan, now has blockaded the Communist territory, and is using some half million troops to isolate it from the rest of China. Some of Chiang's crack troops are kept there. They have not smelled gunpowder in any clash with the Japanese. They are on guard to hold the Communist movement in check. I should add that Communist influence extends much farther than the blockaded province. It seeps throughout the North, and the celebrated Chinese guerrillas operating against the Japanese in the North function not as agents of the Central Government but of the Communists. So the Communist movement is far more pervading and significant than a regime established in provinces of five to six millions.

When the Comintern was abolished, some leaders in the Central Government argued that this meant the severance of Russian connection with the Chinese Communists, and steps could safely be taken to liquidate them as an independent movement. So the troops blockading the Communists were apparently strengthened, though that has been denied, and it is believed that the Communists were presented with terms. They had to join Central China and put their army under Chiang or disband it. They either had to become a minority party, or accept membership in the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang is the single party which rules China today and does it with the trappings of a secret police, a youth movement, and the successful elimination of most civil rights. The Communists are believed to have rejected the terms. If they turn their army over to the Central Government they lose their identity. If they lose their identity they lose their cause, and abandon hope of introducing their social and agrarian reforms in all China. And they do not believe that as a minority party they would be allowed to exist. From their point of view, they are just as logical as the Central Government. And there is little that outsiders have been able to suggest as a solution of the problem. If the Communists were to come into Central China and serve as a minority and opposition party they would have to have a guarantee that they were to be allowed to function. But the only convincing guarantee that Chiang could give them would be to show some interest in their reforms. He might introduce some of them. But that is out of the question, because Chiang Kai-shek derives most of his power from the very landlord class which the Communists are seeking to dethrone. His power is from these great owners, and from militarists and bureaucrats in sympathy with them. So whatever Chiang may feel about the reforms, he would be powerless to institute them.

As to Chiang himself, it used to be thought that he was sympathetic with the reforms, and that he looked forward to the introduction of true democracy after the war, which obviously would bring reforms in its train. Democracy is the end goal of the Yat-sen policy to which Chiang is committed. But doubts have been raised as to Chiang's own views. He has recently published a book on

foreign and domestic policy¹ which now becomes the official guide and textbook for Kuomintang, a kind of bible of Chinese policy.

It has not been translated into English, as Chiang decided not to permit it to be translated. In spirit it is an antiforeign book. It also is anti-imperialist, and it lays down the principle that China itself will not pursue an imperialist policy. But it does not much differentiate between American policy and imperialism, and it is not friendly to the tenets of Western liberalism.

On the subject of Democracy, Chiang writes that there can be other types of it than the Western kind, and states that the destiny of China rests with the Kuomintang. In other words, while there can be other factions in theory, China will keep the one-party system, continuing its youth movement, and presumably its rigid controls. There is no mention in the book of land reforms. So there is no basis in this doctrine on which to build hopes for what we should consider a democratic movement in which the agrarian radicals would have some political weight. The news that the Central Government is not going to use force against the Communists is, as the Times correspondent pointed out, of the highest importance. It means that China will not be engulfed in a civil war at once. But it also is clear that this simply postpones a crisis for which no solution appears available. While it is undeniable that this is an internal affair of the Chinese it is not one that China's allies can ignore, while the war is in progress. Nor will this country be able to ignore it after the war is over. The Chinese people have all the sympathy of this country, and deserve it all. They will need American loans and equipment after the war. Their place as a power and their leadership for stability and development must be assured. So long as the United States has Pacific responsibilities what happens in China will affect us, and hence interest us. And though it is important news that force is not going to be used against the Eighth Route Army, one can only wish that the crisis might have a constructive solution, not merely a postponement.

Senator EASTLAND. You may be excused and the hearing is closed. (Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m., the hearing was closed, subject to call.)

¹ "China's Destiny," not to be confused with "Resistance and Reconstruction" recently published in this country by Harpers. "China's Destiny" is published only in Chinese, and is reported to have already sold over a million copies in China. It is virtually impossible to obtain a copy in this country.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1952

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Hon. Homer Ferguson, presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and Ferguson, and Watkins.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, committee counsel; Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel, and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

Senator FERGUSON. The committee will come to order.

You may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

TESTIMONY OF JULIAN R. FRIEDMAN, BERKELEY, CALIF.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Julian R. Friedman, 2466 Hilgard Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. At the present moment I am a lecturer in political science in the department of political science, University of California.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that a full time job?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No; it is a three-fourths time job at the present time, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. What is your salary?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am receiving for this term—I have just started as of January 1952—about \$1,700, \$1,680.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your age, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am 31 years old.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that the witness has been sworn in executive session.

Senator FERGUSON. You have been sworn. You understand that.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yesterday; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, were you ever an employee of the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I was an employee of the State Department.

Mr. MORRIS. What position or positions did you hold at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In September 1943, I was employed by the State Department as a junior professional assistant in what was then the Office of the Assistant Adviser on International Economic Affairs. Subsequently that office became the Division of Labor Relations, and I believe, while I was still there, the Division of International Labor, Health, and Social Affairs.

I remained in the Division until, officially, November 20, 1944, when I was appointed Divisional Assistant in the Division of Chinese Affairs.

At the time I left the Division of Labor Relations, I was then the assistant to the Chief, with the rating of P-2, transferred to the Division of Chinese Affairs also with the rating of P-2. I was in the Division of Chinese Affairs until my assignment, my appointment, to the Foreign Service Auxiliary, which was officially made, I believe, on October 5, 1945.

In the period in which I was a member of the Division of Chinese Affairs, I was officially assigned to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco from, I believe, April 18, until July 1, 1945, and served on the International Secretariat as the Assistant Secretary of Committee 2, Commission 1.

Mr. MORRIS. That is, you were assigned by the State Department to the International Secretariat for the United Nations Conference?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was made available to the Secretariat.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the difference between "made available" and "assigned"? You used the term "made available."

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The specific difference, I think, is that the International Secretariat was not an American Secretariat but an international one, for which several governments made personnel available.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you required to go there? Was that a part of your duties?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. When I was assigned and accepted, it was part of my duties; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. A part of your duties for the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. At the assignment to the International Secretariat, my duties were entirely for the International Secretariat.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the State Department pay you during that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe the State Department did. Yes; I believe the arrangement was that each government would pay the personnel which it made available to the International Secretariat. I am not quite sure on that point, but I think I am correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it your judgment that during that period of time you owed no allegiance to the State Department which was paying you, but you did owe allegiance to the International Secretariat?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I owed allegiance or loyalty for the duration of the conference to the International Secretariat, that I would perform my duties as an international civil servant for that period.

Senator FERGUSON. Was this before the Charter had been approved by the Congress?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. How could you, as an employee of the United States Government, the State Department, accept employment from an international organization without a transfer over to them?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. To the international organization? I am not sure of the details under which the arrangement was made. I know I was one of several persons from the State Department, which the State Department made available to the conference. I am certainly not familiar—

Senator FERGUSON. You were not, then, when you were on that conference out at San Francisco, working for the United States Government. You felt that your duty was to a foreign organization, an international organization?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Excuse me, sir. Not a foreign organization.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, at least foreign to the United States, because it was international.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, it was international in the sense that the United States was also a participant and a principal participant and the host at San Francisco. I should make that clear, that the United States Government was the host to the conference.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, how many of our employees were assigned to international organizations like that, out of San Francisco?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I cannot say specifically the number of persons, sir, but my impression was that the international conference probably was staffed, oh, with 95 percent Americans made available from the State Department and other agencies of the United States Government.

Senator FERGUSON. That was at least your understanding, that you were working for the international group.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. For the International Secretariat, to which the State Department provided part of the personnel; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. How long after you left college did you go into Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I graduated from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Medford, Mass., in, I believe, June 1943, and entered the State Department in September 1943.

Senator FERGUSON. Just afterward?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. A few months, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, were you assigned by the State Department to the Hot Springs Convention of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you were sent there on official duty for the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what were your duties at Hot Springs?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. My principal duty was to serve as a reporter of committees of the conference, which was an international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. That was my principal duty; in addition to which I arranged, at the conference, a party, a social gathering, on behalf of some members of the American delegation, particularly Mr. John Carter Vincent, who was an American delegate to the conference; and subsequently, subsequent to the conference, I helped the Protocol Division of the State Department arrange a cocktail party or tea party for the delegates at Blair House.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I inquire about that Blair House conference? Because we have been interested in that.

You were the person who helped the Protocol Division arrange it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that I helped make the arrangements; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were your duties in connection with those arrangements?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall specifically. I think principally to inform the Protocol Department that it was desirable to have such a reception.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wait a minute. That is a little different from helping them arrange it. That is bringing it about, isn't it?

Senator EASTLAND. Let him finish his answer.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Thank you, Senator.

If I am not mistaken, the party was to be given on behalf of the Under Secretary, who was Mr. Joseph Grew at that time. Mr. Grew was the host.

The Protocol Department consulted the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, the Division of Chinese Affairs, as to the type of party that was wanted—the number of persons who might be expected.

Mr. SOURWINE. You spoke of your duties in convincing the Protocol Department that such a party should be held.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not convincing the Protocol Department. It was decided in the Department that the Under Secretary should offer a party, since so many of the delegates to the conference were distinguished persons from many foreign countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. How was that decided?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That I don't know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who gave you your first instructions with regard to it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. To the party?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone ask you to go to protocol and tell them there should be such a party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make the first contact with protocol about this party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that either.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was it that you had in mind a moment ago when you started to say something about telling protocol, or informing protocol, of the need for having such a party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That the Department had decided that such a party should be held—a party given by the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Grew.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The State Department; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with selecting the list of guests for that party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that that party had been suggested initially by the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall whether the institute took the initiative. I don't quite recall the details for arranging that affair. The point was that there were so many distinguished guests in Washington that it seemed to be one of the desirable duties of the Under Secretary to entertain them following the institute's conference. I am not sure whether the arrangements were made or proposed by the institute. I am not sure whether they were proposed before the conference was over or subsequent to the conference.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that the institute had anything to do with it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Since the party was for delegates to the international conference, I presume that the institute itself was consulted.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked what you know, Mr. Friedman.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. You vouchsafed the information here that you had assisted in preparing for that party.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, will you tell us anything about what you did, what your duties were, in connection with that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, as I say, specifically my duties were at that time in connection with the Protocol Department, informing them of the number of guests, the type of party that was desired.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do that on behalf of Mr. John Carter Vincent? Was he your chief then?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He was my chief at that time; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You spoke in his name when you made those arrangements?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not sure that I did, sir. I am not sure whether I spoke directly in his name.

Mr. SOURWINE. You got your authority by virtue of your position in his Division, did you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. My authority was my State Department contract. I was a member of his Division. And this Division was interested in this party at Blair House.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you ever tell anybody you were a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't believe I have told anyone.

Senator EASTLAND. You don't believe you did. Do you not know?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am quite certain I did not, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Quite certain?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, why is there a little question in your mind, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, since——

Senator EASTLAND. Now, do not hesitate. You can answer the question without hesitating. You have been making a good witness.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have just been on the cautious side, since in a sense over the past years I have spoken to people, and as I say I am almost certain that I have never told anyone that I was a member of the Communist Party. I am almost prepared to say that I never told anyone I was a member of the Communist Party.

Senator EASTLAND. Almost prepared?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. You know, his question did not say "a member of the Communist Party."

Senator EASTLAND. No.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am taking that to mean, sir, a member of the Communist Party.

Senator EASTLAND. Why is there a question in your mind about whether you told people you were a Communist or not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Just on the cautious side, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Cautious, why? Because you might have?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I have, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. But you are cautious because you might have told somebody you were a Communist. Then if you specifically denied it, you would be guilty of perjury; was that your reason?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I just want to be accurate and provide the information that the committee is seeking.

Senator EASTLAND. Go ahead.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your last assignment with the State Department, Mr. Friedman? We left you at the United Nations Secretariat, did we not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. After that what were your duties with the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. When I returned from San Francisco I remained with the Department until my appointment to the Foreign Service or Auxiliary, which I believe I said was October 1945.

I went to Shanghai as a junior economic officer assigned to the American consulate general in Shanghai, to perform the duties of a labor attaché in China. And I remained in that post from October 1945, or perhaps it was November 1 by the time I got started, until my return to the United States, which was when I departed from Shanghai in November 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, what was your next employment after that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. From February 1947, when I landed, reached the United States from China—I took a slow boat from China on the way back—I remained in the New York area. I visited Harvard University. I visited Johns Hopkins University, to lecture on China. I visited Washington, D. C., to lecture at a local meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations. I was unemployed for—

Senator EASTLAND. Had you been connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations in any way?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I had been a member of the institute following the conference in 1945, Senator.

I believe I took out my membership about January 1945 or February 1945.

Senator EASTLAND. Why?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Why did I take it out?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes. Why did you join the institute?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I must say that my experience at Hot Springs impressed me with two things—its international nature, and secondly, the high level of discussion and material which was identified with it.

Senator EASTLAND. And it was a fact that the institute was influential with the State Department. That was a factor?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; that did not come into it, as I recall. I also wanted to get the publications of the institute, which I believe required taking out some form of membership.

Senator EASTLAND. But while it did not influence you in joining, you also knew that the institute was very influential with the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Influential in what sense, Senator?

In respect of what?

Senator EASTLAND. Policies and personnel.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I did not know that the institute was influential with reference to policy and I certainly did not know that the institute, as you suggest, was influential in respect of personnel.

Senator EASTLAND. Then, if they were not influential, why did the Department assign you to Hot Springs?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Since the Institute of Pacific Relations has, over the I believe past 20 or 25 years—I am not sure of the exact length of time—held international conferences, the United States was the host country in this case, and the institute wanted to have a representative of the American delegation, and it wanted, I believe, to provide the American delegation with an opportunity of sending observers who were neither delegates—

Senator EASTLAND. Yes. Now, what other private organizations did the State Department assign personnel to, to cover their conferences?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In this matter, sir? That is, personnel to serve on the Secretariat?

Senator EASTLAND. Just like you were assigned to Hot Springs.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Well, as a matter of fact, no other organization. Is that not right?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not familiar with whether the Department had a policy in this respect. All I know is in a sense my own empirical experience.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you not think that the institute was influential with the State Department, and, in fact, that it is demonstrated that it is, when you, as an employee of the State Department were assigned to that conference? Now, you want to be fair about this thing.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, let me put it this way: This was one of the international meetings which I mentioned. These were international meetings in which personnel of the first eminence attended.

Senator EASTLAND. Yes. I understand all that. Now, answer my question, "Yes" or "No," and then you can explain.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Could I have the question again, please?

Senator EASTLAND. Do you not think that, by virtue of the fact that you, an employee of the State Department, were assigned to that conference at Hot Springs, Va., it showed that the institute was influential with the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would say that I just can't answer "Yes" or "No," Senator, to that.

Senator EASTLAND. You can answer "Yes" or "No" and then explain your answer.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would say "No," sir; it did not show that the institute was influential with the State Department.

Senator EASTLAND. Well, your answer is "No," then.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I explain my answer, sir?

Senator EASTLAND. After you answer it, I am going to let you explain.

Now, what is your answer?—"Yes," or "No"?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The answer is "No," Senator.

Senator EASTLAND. All right. Now explain.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not believe that the institute was influential with the State Department in respect of policy or personnel; that

the Department considered the conference in Hot Springs in 1945 of sufficient significance to make available personnel when the Institute of Pacific Relations made it known that personnel would be welcomed.

Senator EASTLAND. All right; now you say, in regard to policy and personnel, that the institute was not influential with the State Department. That is your answer; is it not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. All right; and in what respect was the institute influential with the State Department? You limited your answer to two things: that they were not influential in policy and personnel.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I took the two points that you had mentioned before, Senator.

Senator EASTLAND. All right.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I should say that the institute, to my knowledge, was not influential in any other respect as far as the State Department was concerned.

Senator EASTLAND. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you lectured at John Hopkins University, with whom did you negotiate to carry on that lecture?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. With Mr. Owen Lattimore.

Mr. MORRIS. At that time, you were unemployed?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I was unemployed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever get any compensation for that lecture?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe not, sir; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. What was your next employment, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. My next employment was the London School of Economics of the University of London.

Mr. MORRIS. How long were you there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Which began in January 1948. If I may just fill in the period—

Mr. MORRIS. Go ahead.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In September 1947, I went abroad to be a graduate student at the London School of Economics. I arrived in London, in September, registered for courses at the school, and in January there was a vacancy of an assistant lecturer in the field of colonial social science. I was appointed to the lectureship after appearing before a selection board of distinguished British scholars.

I was appointed to the assistant lectureship, and then subsequently, I think in October 1950, after serving in the assistant lectureship, I was appointed a lecturer in colonial administration at the London School of Economics.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you become active in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have never been active in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; although I have written a piece for its publication and I have spoken on the public platform, where I believe the sponsor of the meeting was the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know at the time that that was a Communist organization?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did not know at the time that that was a Communist organization.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recognize it as such now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have not had contact with that organization, if I recall, for about 3 to 4½ years, and I could not answer that question. I just have no opinion on whether it is or it is not.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, with whom did you speak when you spoke under the auspices of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, now, if I may just refresh my memory: On March 6, 1947, I spoke on the platform, or I should say under the auspices of the committee, with a speaker named Mr. Chu Tong. C-h-u T-o-n-g.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry. I didn't hear you, Mr. Friedman.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Chu Tong was the other speaker that day.

Mr. MORRIS. He is a Communist; is he not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not know, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. He is now in Red China; is he not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not know, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read the transcript of our public hearing, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. With reference to what, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. This Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have gone over the transcript.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you notice our exhibit 8, which is a letter from the Communist Party of New York State, signed "May Miller, Assistant Organizing Secretary," which ends up in the last paragraph [reading]:

Any inquiries in relation to further activity can be received by writing to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy at 111 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

Comradely yours.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I look at that?

Mr. MORRIS. By all means. I am asking you if you had read that. That is bearing on your present knowledge as to whether it was a Communist organization, at this time.

Mr. Mandel, we have put in your citation that this organization has been listed by the Attorney General; have we not?

Mr. MANDEL. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark on April 27, 1949.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever inquire as to whether any of these organizations were Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. You are referring to the organization, the Committee for a Democratic—

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; the organization that you were joining and speaking for.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I did not inquire whether this was a Communist organization when I was speaking for the organization or writing for its publication in 1947.

Senator FERGUSON. You never made an inquiry?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Are you an economist by profession?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am a political scientist by profession.

Senator FERGUSON. You are a political scientist. And you are well acquainted with communism?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I won't say "well acquainted," sir. I am familiar with some of the writings in the field.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, can you recognize communism when you see it or hear it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I could recognize a Communist point of view if I heard it spoken, or I probably could recognize communism by looking at a book; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, the question was, then: When you were speaking at this organization, did you know it was Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did not, sir; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you receive into the record the guest column of the Spotlight on the Far East, which is a publication of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, dated April 1947, a guest column entitled "China's Unions Refuse To Be Puppets," by Julian Friedman.

That is your article; is it not, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; it is.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you receive that, Mr. Chairman?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; I will receive it.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 740" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 740

[Source: Spotlight on the Far East, published by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, vol. 11, No. 4, April 1947]

CHINA'S UNIONS REFUSE TO BE PUPPETS

(By Julian Friedman)

(For the past two years the author was United States labor attaché in China. He became personally acquainted with all ranks of trade-unionists and speaks with authority on the Chinese labor movement.)

Genuine trade-unionists are not easy to find in Kuomintang China. To reach them, you have to visit obscure, innocent-looking alleys or out-of-the-way fields in the suburbs of the cities.

But it is most dangerous for them to be known as trade-unionists or to work openly for real trade-unionism.

The Chiang Kai-shek government is absolutely opposed to trade-unionism because it means democracy, a menace to Chiang's plutocracy. Genuine trade-unionists are certainly opposed to the present anti-labor National Government.

Many were originally either company-union or Kuomintang headquarters' appointees. There were also secret-society agents and gangsters in labor roles. The latter are quickly exposed today by the workers themselves.

As for the company-union and bureaucratic-union officials, the workers have given them every opportunity to work for the real trade-union movement. So they now face this dilemma: serve as Kuomintang stooges and "finks" and lose support among the workers or fight with the workers and be attacked by the fascists.

That several have chosen the latter course has enraged the National Government and Kuomintang, which has retaliated with arrests, threats of violence, expulsion from official labor circles, purging of official unions, and reorganizing them.

Nothing illustrates the change in labor so aptly as the Shanghai anti-civil-war demonstration of June 23, 1946. On the day before, the government had called official trade-union representatives to a meeting and dictated resolutions which said that no workers or unions would participate in the demonstration, and that any persons in the demonstration could not be considered workers. The resolutions were "unanimously adopted" because the government chairman said so, with no one else given a chance to speak. But more than 100,000 workers turned out the next day. And the representatives who had "passed" the resolutions the previous day marched at their head.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read Herbert Philbrick's book, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did not read the entire book.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read that that portion which pertains to you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I looked at the index and saw my name there, and turned to that portion of the book where my name appears, and Mr. Philbrick says I spoke on the public platform, if I recall it, of the Twentieth Century Association, which he describes as a traditional liberal organization of Boston; that I spoke with Mr. Lewis Lyon, the curate of the Nieman Foundation, I believe formerly editor of the Boston Globe, who was chairman of the meeting, and I believe the other speaker was Mr. Philip Jaffe.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did he say who arranged that meeting?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I knew that the meeting had been arranged at the request of the Boston committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Not who asked you, but who made the arrangements for you to go up there and speak.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was in Boston at the time, or, rather, I should say that I was planning to go up to Harvard in Cambridge at the time. I think these plans of mine were known by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and that they asked me would I be available as a speaker, and I believe Rev. Stephen Fritchman, of the Unitarian Service Committee in Boston, actually sent me the invitation.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with Senator Eastland's question, have you ever told anybody that you were a member of the Communist Party?

I am asking you if you were associated in any way with the arbitration proceeding of Betty Levin.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There are two questions? Or just one question?

Mr. MORRIS. One question is: Are you acquainted with the arbitration proceedings of Betty Levin?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I am acquainted with the arbitration proceedings of Betty Levin.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you give us a little background material on that subject, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. My recollection of the testimony is that you were acting behind the scenes in that arbitration.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mrs. Levin testified?

Mr. MORRIS. No; Mrs. Widener, a witness before this committee, has testified that you were active behind the scenes in the arbitration proceedings of Betty Levin.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I just read Mrs. Widener's statement? She does not quite say that.

Mr. MORRIS. By all means. I am just asking your recollection of the episode.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mrs. Widener contended that she made some inquiries about my participation in these proceedings, and she first went to a Miss Sarah Hodgekinson, a friend of hers, employed, so the record says, by the State Department's Mission at the United Nations, and Miss Hodgekinson referred Mrs. Widener to a reporter, who eventually referred her to Mr. Frederick Woltman, of the New York World-Telegram.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Now, Mr. Friedman, I do not want to go into that with too much detail. I just want to know what your connection was. I just made general reference. I think she said you were working behind the scenes on it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I say she is quoting Mr. Frederick Woltman.

Mr. MORRIS. No; she is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Counsel and the witness need not argue about what is in the record.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes. You just answer his question.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your activity with the arbitration proceeding about Betty Levin?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I became aware of this case through two sources. The first source, I believe, was the New York press. And this was some time after I had returned from China, was in the United States, and clearly after the case had gone to arbitration.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what did you learn from the New York press, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I learned of the existence of the arbitration.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the problem there? Tell us what the problem is, Mr. Friedman.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I finish, Mr. Morris? I would like to be helpful in this case.

Mr. MORRIS. Go ahead.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The thing that caught my eye about the reports of the case was references to a number of books on China, if I recall correctly, and also references to an organization called the China Aid Council. And I believe—I am not sure whether this was in the press—the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Mr. MORRIS. And you had been connected with all of those things?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. If I may explain chronologically—

Mr. MORRIS. It is all right to explain that, Mr. Friedman, but I think there is a chairman here, and some Senators.

Senator FERGUSON. We want to get along as fast as we can.

Mr. MORRIS. Not only that, but we also would like to know what the case was about. You haven't told us that, Mr. Friedman.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If I may tell how I came into the case, since it is really, Senator, not my full knowledge of the entire case that I can give—

Senator FERGUSON. How did you get into it? Answer that question.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I volunteered my services, because I was interested in the issues, and I approached the counsel for the union in this case.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that counsel?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The firm was the New York law firm of Boudin, Glickstein, and Cohen. I am not quite sure if that is the right name, but I know that the Boudin name is identified with it.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the union involved?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The union involved, if I may read from the arbitrator's award, was the Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. That has been expelled by the CIO as a Communist-controlled union, has it not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not know, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Proceed. Tell me this, Mr. Friedman. Was not the issue in that case whether or not Betty Levin had been putting books

into the council library, the subject council library, in such a way as to cause a certain partisan interpretation, a partisan atmosphere, to the whole library?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't believe it was the library, Mr. Morris.

I believe that what was involved in the case were book lists which she made up in the course of her educational work on behalf of the national council.

Mr. MORRIS. That's right. What came to your attention were books that you had been acquainted with from your own experience in China and in the State Department; is that correct?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, although I had to look over one or two of the books at the time, since I was not too familiar with them.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, tell me this, Mr. Friedman. You were acquainted with those books, were you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was acquainted with almost all of the China books.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the books?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, if I may read the list of books:

Red Star Over China, by Mr. Edgar Snow

The Good Earth, by Pearl Buck

Man's Fate, by Andre Malraux

The Challenge of Red China, by Gunther Stein

Solution in Asia, by Owen Lattimore

Battle Hymn of China, by Agnes Smedley

Report from Red China, by Harrison Forman

Shark Fins and Millet, by Ilona Ralph Sues

And the other book is Village in August by T'ien Chun.

These are the books on China.

Mr. MORRIS. You said you had recognized those books. Where had you seen those books before?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I had seen these books in book shops and libraries. I have read some of these books, because I possessed them.

Mr. MORRIS. You had read them, and you were acquainted with them.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I had read most of them, and at the time of the arbitration proceeding, I was not familiar, not fully familiar, with the book called Village in August, which was a novel; and I do not believe it was one of the books on which I had to comment.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell me further about the books. Now, had you used those books when you were in the State Department, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think that I had read these books in the course of my preparation—at least those which were available at the time I was in the State Department—read them in the course of my preparation for the Far East.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they general background reading for the State Department people?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; these were books which were generally available, which one wanting to find out something about China could read.

Senator FERGUSON. Were they anti-Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. These books, sir? I don't think I can answer that question, Senator, because I don't think that one can—at least, an academic man with intellectual honesty cannot simply say whether a book is pro- or anti-Communist.

Senator FERGUSON. Can you tell us whether any of them were anti-Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This is purely opinion you are asking for, but I believe Mr. Lattimore's Solution in Asia might be classified as an anti-Communist book, although I would not want to say that any of these books were essentially anti-Communist or pro-Communist.

Senator FERGUSON. Would you think the Communist book stores would sell an anti-Communist book?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know the selling policies of Communist book stores, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know there is now testimony that these books were recommended as the party line and sold in Communist book stores?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have not seen that testimony.

Senator EASTLAND. The testimony was stronger than that: that the employees were instructed by the party to recommend these books to party members as a Communist program.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Friedman, do you remember what you testified in executive session with regard to the book, Shark Fins and Millet, by Ilona Ralph Sues?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe I said that this book was critical, particularly critical, of Nationalist China.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is not what you said, but is that a fact? Was it particularly critical of Nationalist China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, may I go into that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Just answer the question, yes or no.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I would say it was particularly critical of one important section of Nationalist China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it procoalition Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If I recall correctly, I believe that was the general tendency of the book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it proradical reform in China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, what I would call radical reform.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified to that effect in executive session, did you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you want to say the book is not pro-Communist.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I would not say that this book is necessarily pro-Communist, any more than I would like to say any of the books are pro- or anti-Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was certainly pro the Chinese Communists, was it not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am just trying to remember the book. I haven't looked at it in a long time. I came to this book for a rather special interest at the time I was employed by the State Department. May I explain that, Senator?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes, if you can do it in a few sentences.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. All right. Fine.

This book has an unusual description of Miss Sues' meeting with a very famous Chinese Nationalist leader closely identified with the Generalissimo. And that is a Mr. Tu Yueh-Sen, and also identified with Mr. Tu Yueh-Sen was Mr. Chu Sueh-Fan, the Chinese Association of Labor Chairman, a person who, in my official duties, as labor attaché, I would have to meet. And consequently this was one

of the books on which I got, you might call it, personality data on Chinese labor officials and a brief description of Chinese labor association.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember testifying in executive session that Miss Sues was friendly to the Chinese Communists?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I did say that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you mean her personally? Or her book?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would say personally, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know her personally?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have met Miss Sues in connection with the book.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Have you read her testimony before this committee that she was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall it, sir. If it is in the first five volumes, I perhaps have read it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, when did you first meet Owen Lattimore?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I met Owen Lattimore some time in November or December 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I met him, I believe, in the State Department building.

Mr. MORRIS. In whose office?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe it was the office of Mr. John Carter Vincent, the Chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs.

Mr. MORRIS. What was he doing there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall—no, I don't even know the purpose of Mr. Lattimore's visit. I do know Mr. Vincent informed me that Mr. Lattimore was coming into the Department, and that I might meet him on that occasion.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you look forward to that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I certainly did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you show him any State Department papers at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I showed him, if I recall correctly, a memorandum, a background memorandum, which I was preparing on the subject of Sinkiang, this far western province of China, which was at that time going through some troubles.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I get back to that arbitration proceeding?

Mr. SOURWINE. May I ask one question about this memorandum, first?

By "background memorandum," do you mean a memorandum covering the available information about Mr. T'ien Chun?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This was a memorandum that summarized the available information.

Mr. SOURWINE. That summarized the available information about T'ien Chun?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, within, I believe, about a page or page and a quarter, which was a space assigned to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. You got all the available information about T'ien Chun summarized in a page or a page and a quarter?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. As far as I could, yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. He told you it was a good job you had done?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, Senator. And as I recall, I was rather pleased at this, that Mr. Lattimore, who was a recognized authority in the field of inner Asia, thought that I had done a good job.

Senator FERGUSON. And you let him read it, and he approved it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did let him read it, and Mr. Vincent knew that Mr. Lattimore was reading the memorandum.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, did you aid Betty Levin in her arbitration difficulty?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I appeared in the arbitration proceedings as an expert witness, put on the stand by the union of which Miss Levin was a member. And I was on the stand, on the scene, on the record, in front of Mr. James Lawrence Fly, who was the arbitrator, and I was cross-examined, answered questions on books put forward to me by the counsel for the National Council of Jewish Women.

Mr. MORRIS. With whom in particular in that union did you carry on negotiations prior to testifying in that proceeding?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The only person I carried on negotiations with, if you want to use that term, the person in a sense who suggested I might appear as an expert witness, was the attorney for the union, Mr. Boudin.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Did you meet any union officials?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The only union official I can remember meeting then was Mr. Bernard Siegel; my dealings in respect of the case were entirely with the lawyer for Miss Levin and the union.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, did you testify about the books that you have just mentioned?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was asked to testify to the best of my knowledge, having recently returned from China, on the accuracy and the content of the books. That was my principal service, to read, go over these books, and to make known whether I thought the books portrayed the situation to the extent that I knew it accurately, and whether the books represented in that sense competent work.

Senator FERGUSON. Was there any question in that case as to communism?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That was not the particular issue, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, was it an issue at all?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes. Generally speaking; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. That she was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not believe I heard that charged.

Senator FERGUSON. Or pro-Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The reference of "pro-Communist" certainly appears in the case; yes, sir. And the arbitrator himself points out that there was a bias in the book list, or a lack, certainly, of nonpartisanship.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you point that out when you testified about the books?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think that the principal part of my testimony concerned the content of the books, the accuracy in terms of the scene that I was familiar with. I recall vaguely being asked whether any of the books were pro-Communist or anti-Communist. I also recall that I believe it was the counsel for the National Council of Jewish Women—that would be Mr. Jesse Friedman—asked me whether I thought the books taken together would be pro or anti; and I remember that I was also asked, I believe by the arbitrator, although I don't

recall whether it was the arbitrator of Mr. Boudin or Mr. Friedon, whether I could make up a list of books, could recommend a list of books which would be pro-Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you run down now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Have I run down now?

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you answer the question now, please?

Did you in your testimony point out to anybody that these books had bias?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not recall whether I pointed that out, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why didn't you say that in the first place, instead of going on here for 3 minutes with stuff that had nothing to do with the question? You are fencing with this committee, sir, and you are wasting the committee's time.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I apologize to the chairman if he feels that I am fencing with the committee.

Senator FERGUSON. Let us try and keep it on the track and answer the questions directly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, one of those books was definitely pro-Communist, wasn't it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. One of the books on the list could be taken as pro-Communist, but I still would prefer to refrain from "pro" or "anti."

Mr. SOURWINE. Which one?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The one book in my estimation you could consider pro-Communist was probably Battle Hymn of China by Agnes Smedley.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, regardless of what you said here this morning about not characterizing anything as pro-Communist, you did characterize that book as pro-Communist in the executive session, didn't you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Voluntarily, sir, in reply to questions put to me. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, if you were not acquainted with communism any more than you indicate this morning, how could you be an expert on these books?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I testified on the books, sir, to the extent of my own experiences and my preparation reading on the subject. I did not put myself forward as the only authority, as a supreme expert.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, you were asked to testify as an expert?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was asked to testify as an expert; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Therefore, you had to read the books to find out.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes. I am familiar with almost all of these books. The ones which I do not believe I had to testify one were the novels, sir. I may be mistaken on failing to recall that accurately, but I believe it was essentially the books with which I was most familiar by actual experience.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, has anyone told you that Betty Levin is a Communist, is or was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have heard second hand that Miss Levin was a Communist. And that was only recently.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, had anyone told you at that time, or had you any reason to believe at that time, that Betty Levin was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not recall that anyone told me at that time that Miss Levin was a Communist, and I had no reason to believe at that time that she was a member of the Communist Party or a Communist in the sense of being a Marxist. All I knew at that particular time—I did not know Miss Levin when I came into the affair. The proceedings were already under way, and my relations were principally with Miss Levin's attorney, Mr. Boudin.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ask the counsel as to whether or not his client was a Communist?

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

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ask anyone?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not believe so; no, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you went in there to testify as an expert on these books, and you made no inquiry as to whether or not the person was a Communist that you were in effect defending?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In effect, sir, I wanted to stick to the books and not to participate in the larger issues of the proceeding.

Senator FERGUSON. Sure. The larger issue was whether or not she was a Communist, whether she was putting out Communist propaganda. And you did not want to know about that. You just wanted to go in and testify as an expert on the propaganda.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. On the books. Excuse me, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, did you inquire from any Communist as to whether these books were pro-Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I did not. The opinions that I gave the arbitrator were my own opinions, based on knowledge of the books and knowledge of the areas which these books dealt with.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you indicate at that time that you thought Agnes Smedley's book was pro-Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that at the request of the arbitrator, in saying which books I would include if a pro-Communist list were being made up, I believe I included Miss Smedley's book; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How does that answer the question? In other words, you did indicate at that time that you thought it was pro-Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That it would fit in with a list of pro-Communist books; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. But the others you said would not fit in with such a list.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that was my testimony, yes, sir. I do not recall it in detail.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you written anything under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I have written something under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, a chapter or supplement, rather, on Labor in Nationalist China, 1945-48, and this appears in a larger publication of the institute called Notes on Labor in Nationalist China.

Mr. MORRIS. Who compiled those notes?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The notes, I believe, were originally compiled by a Chinese writer, but written up in this country, I believe, or written up anyway and published under the name of Mr. Israel Epstein.

Mr. MORRIS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would have reason to believe he is pro-Communist sir. I do not know whether he is a Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe you told me yesterday he was in Peiping.

Mr. MORRIS. I didn't tell you that yesterday.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe it was suggested to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is in Peiping?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe he is in Peiping.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any other information, other than the information you think you got last night?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe I saw an article of his in a Chinese publication. Not China Today; an English language Chinese publication which Mr. Epstein has written recently.

Mr. SOURWINE. What publication?

Mr. MORRIS. Was it China Monthly?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. China Review?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this a paper published in Communist China that you are talking about?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe it is published either in Communist China or Hong Kong. It used to be published in Hong Kong.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you read it regularly?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. MORRIS. Didn't you testify in executive session that you discovered, you thought, that Israel Epstein was a Communist when you heard about his departure for Peiping?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe I may have testified to that effect.

Mr. MORRIS. You did know he left for Peiping, then, at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you hear that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I heard—now, how did I hear this? I am not quite sure how I learned that Mr. Epstein had left for Peiping. I believe I heard while I was still in London, but I am not quite sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Did some Communist tell you that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how was it that you happened to collaborate with Israel Epstein in this writing project for the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did not collaborate with Mr. Epstein in this project. I was invited by Mr. William Holland of the Institute of Pacific Relations, invited in 1948, to write an introduction to this study of Chinese labor, which Mr. Epstein was preparing under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. I agreed to write the introduction, and then subsequently was informed by Mr. Holland that he preferred to have a supplement covering the period in which I was in China and the events immediately following. In writing to Mr. Holland, I agreed to receive Mr. Epstein's manuscript, and read over the manuscript, and I replied with criticism of the manuscript. And it was on that basis that I did write the supplement, and I believe it was eventually published some time in 1949. Or I should say mimeographed. It was not published in ordinary book form.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you ever met Israel Epstein at the time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I had met Mr. Epstein on one or two occasions.

Mr. MORRIS. Where had you met him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I met him first of all—I may again be mistaken—in connection with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. And I dined with Mr. Epstein at his home in Staten Island some time in 1947, at a time when he wanted to introduce me to a correspondent for the famous Chinese newspaper, the Dagoon Bow.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the correspondent?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe Miss Yang Gong.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is she now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know where Miss Yang Gong is now.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the Chinese writer who prepared the original notes which Mr. Israel Epstein converted into this particular book?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall at the moment. Perhaps Mr. Mandel would let me see, and I could read it.

Mr. MORRIS. Is People's China the name of the publication wherein you read that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; People's China is correct. It used to have another name.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you receive copies of that magazine?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Oh, I think one can buy it on newsstands in many places.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that how you get it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I do not subscribe to it.

Mr. MORRIS. In the October 16, 1951, issue of People's China, there is an article by Israel Epstein entitled "Return to New China."

Senator FERGUSON. Do you want to receive that?

Mr. MORRIS. I just want it noted.

Do you know Israel Epstein's wife, Elsie Fairfax Cholmeley?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I do know Mrs. Cholmeley.

Mr. MORRIS. How well do you know her?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I met her at the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, where she was employed, and I met her at her home. I may have met her on the occasion on which I spoke, under the auspices of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in New York. And I saw her in London, England, in January, I believe January 1951. But I am not quite sure whether it was 1950 or 1951.

Mr. MORRIS. How frequently did you go to the offices of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall, sir. In this period of time, I was in New York City, and I may have dropped in frequently or infrequently. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that she is in Red China now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not know that definitely; no, sir. When I saw her in London, she informed me that she was returning to the United States, and I did not see her after that occasion.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Israel Epstein connected with the Allied Labor News?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe that is the same Israel Epstein. And also Time magazine.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you tell Mrs. Widener that you were active on behalf of Betty Levin in the arbitration proceeding?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. From what I can recall of the conversation in the company of Mrs. Widener on this evening, the date of which neither Mrs. Widener nor I seemed to remember, but which must have been

in April or May, 1947, some months after I was out of State Department employment—what I recall is that I probably did discuss the case. And that is particularly the relationship of the books.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you probably did.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Don't you have any clear recollection of that conversation?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I do not, sir. This evening in question was of the least significance and importance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that you did talk to Mrs. Widener?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I could answer that, sir; no, and yes. She was not Mrs. Widener at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know the person that we are referring to when we ask that question, don't you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have reason to believe I know the person, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the person who is now Mrs. Alice Widener?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If she was the former Mrs. Alice Berezhovsky, then I do know the person and met her one evening at the home of Mr. Clark Andrews, or rather Mrs. Clark Andrews, and I saw her some weeks later, I believe at the wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, at which she was present.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk to Mrs. Berezhovsky at the time of your meeting?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I remember that we did have conversation that evening; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember anything about what you talked about?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not specifically; no, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you do not deny what she said.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do deny it, sir. I should deny it on the basis, sir, that had she said some of the things which she claims she said, had I said some of the things which she claims I said, I would certainly have remembered that evening.

May I add a word to that, Senator?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have asked Mr. Berezhovsky, who was subsequently divorced, a year or perhaps 2 years after this conversation which Mrs. Widener talked about. Mr. Berezhovsky informed me that in his memory he cannot recall any single time——

Mr. MORRIS. He was not there, was he?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Excuse me, Senator. He was present.

Mr. MORRIS. He was not there at that conversation.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He came to the home of Mrs. Andrews, at that time Mrs. Ullman—he came to pick up his wife and take her home. He had previously, as I recall, been at a concert, which he was either conducting or participating in. He came later in the evening, and I recall Mrs. Berezhovsky going home with Mr. Berezhovsky.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you quite sure about that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes I am, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are under oath here. There is no question in your mind about it. That much you remember clearly. The rest may be vague, but that much you remember clearly?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not only do I remember it to that extent, sir, but I have discussed this with Mr. Berezhovsky and with Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, and both, or all three of them, remember that Mr. Berezhovsky came later in the evening and left the house with Mrs. Berezhovsky.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, you have tried to refresh your memory about this incident, have you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. When I——

Mr. SOURWINE. Answer that "Yes" or "No."

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have done that since you have read testimony in these hearings about it, is that right?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, with all of your efforts to refresh your memory about this, you still can recall nothing about it other than what you have told us?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I have asked Mr. Andrews and Mrs. Andrews and Mr. Berezhovsky, who was present part of the evening, whether they could remember what was discussed.

The most they could tell me they remember was that in a sense politics was discussed, but that there were no references which Mrs. Berezhovsky herself says were made that evening.

Mr. MORRIS. You testified a while ago that you could not recall whether you had mentioned the arbitration proceeding.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I said I believe I explained the arbitration proceeding.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think that is what you said?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Excuse me, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think that is what you said, that you had explained the arbitration proceeding?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe the record will show that I was interrupted as I was explaining.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think the record will show that you said you explained the arbitration proceeding to Mrs. Widener?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I explained to the persons in the room at the time what the arbitration proceeding was and why it was so interesting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mrs. Berezhovsky in the room at the time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe she was, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, when Mr. Morris asked you if you had told Mrs. Berezhovsky—using the name Widener; but you didn't make the claim that you didn't know who he meant—when he asked if you had told her about your connection with the arbitration proceedings, we had a great deal of difficulty getting the answer.

Now, the answer to that question is "Yes." then, isn't it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that I did tell her, yes, sir. But based on recollection, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. But that is all you can recall about the conversation?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. About that particular conversation, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you read the testimony of Eugene Dooman before this committee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever leak information from area committee meetings in the State Department to correspondents, left-wing correspondents?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I did not leak information to left-wing correspondents.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you leak it to any one?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. The best of my recollection is I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, now, wait. You ought to have a recollection on that, if you leaked information out of a Department of Government. Did you leak any information to any one outside of Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Will you please define "leaked"?

Senator FERGUSON. Did you give information that you were working on in Government, or obtained as an employee of Government, to people outside of Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I believe, sir, that I have discussed with a number of people matters which were matters of our foreign policy.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. But I do not remember specifically—in fact, I would say that specifically I did not leak information.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, you and I are having difficulty, then, over the word "leak"; is that it? Did you give any pamphlets or any memorandums of any papers to anyone?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. In the course of my employment in the State Department, I have officially given out publications in the course of my duties. And in connection with one matter, and that is a study on Japan, I did make available some notes.

Senator FERGUSON. Some notes. And whom did you give those notes to?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Those notes were given to Lt. Andrew Roth.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes. Now, you do not classify him as a left-wing correspondent?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Roth at that time was known to me only as a lieutenant in the United States Navy, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, now, what was a lieutenant in the United States Navy doing coming to you for notes on foreign policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. These were not notes on foreign policy, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. What were they on?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. These were notes on the history of the Japanese labor movement.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. Now, what did Roth want with the notes on the Japanese labor movement?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Roth at that time had written but had not yet published a book entitled, "Dilemma in Japan," and he wanted to check, if I may continue just a moment, sir, the accuracy of his own material against the notes which I had.

Senator FERGUSON. Which was Government material.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Which was material—yes; which one I think would properly say was Government material. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. Now, were we at war at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. We were, sir. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And this was material that you had obtained as an employee of the United States Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; this was information in my possession as an employee of the United States Government.

Senator FERGUSON. And you gave it to Lieutenant Roth?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. This was information which I had compiled on the history of the Japanese labor movement, mainly, if not all, from public sources, from the usual books on the subject. I had put it together, and Roth wanted to use the material.

Senator FERGUSON. And you were paid for your labor by the United States Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was in the employment of the United States Government at the time; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And were paid for your work?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. Now, did you ever give anybody else information?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. While I was employed by the Government?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes. Or did you take any away with you when you quit employment with the Government, and give it to them? You showed Mr. Lattimore this memorandum that you had prepared.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. That was work that you were working on.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give anything to Y. Y. Hsu?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. What did you give to Hsu?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Hsu had written to the Department to see if we could provide him with a map which could be used in his study on conditions, I believe social and economic conditions, in the liberated areas of China. And I replied by sending him a nonrestricted map which had come in from the Far East, and which he accepted, in exchange for which I believe he sent the Department first copies of his report.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. Now, whom did you consult about turning this matter over?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall whether I consulted anyone specifically, sir. I probably took this act on my own.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you give Roth this information?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would say perhaps March—I am not quite sure—probably March or February 1945.

Senator FERGUSON. 1945.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. It was shortly after I met Mr. Roth.

Senator FERGUSON. And when was he prosecuted, or a case made against him? When was he arrested?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe he was arrested some time in June of '45.

Senator FERGUSON. And one of the things they arrested him for was the taking of information out of the State Department, or the obtaining of information out of the State Department; is that right?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall the exact charge, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever hear of the Amerasia case?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. Of course, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And you knew Roth was one of the parties in the Amerasia case?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And you had given him information out of the State Department in March of the same year that he was arrested?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In February or March the same year, I gave him some notes on Japanese labor history; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, did you ever give him any other papers?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not that I recall, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, try to recall.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am almost certain, sir, that I did not give Mr. Roth any other papers. In fact, Mr. Roth gave me some papers which were not official publications, but what he called information which he had gotten from outside sources and which I had passed on to Mr. Vincent.

Senator FERGUSON. You say you obtained that information from Roth out of the Navy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I do not believe this was naval information.

Senator FERGUSON. Was he in uniform at the time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I believe he was.

Mr. MORRIS. When we are talking about Y. Y. Hsu, did you know Y. Y. Hsu at the time you gave him that material?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Where had you met him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I first met Y. Y. Hsu through Miss Hona Ralph Sues, at the time I was interested in this labor section of her book, which I described before. And then I subsequently, if I recall correctly, saw Mr. Hsu at the Institute of Pacific Relations conference at Hot Springs, and it was at that time that he raised the question of getting a suitable map for the publication which he was writing under the auspices of the institute, and I believe after that he wrote me at the Department asking if such a map were available or any maps were available which would be suitable, and we paid to him, sir, the same courtesy we paid to most scholars in the field, helping make available what was not restricted, and which would, in a sense, advance the cause of scholarship.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know he was a Communist at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you acquainted with his Communist record at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe he is in Red China.

Senator FERGUSON. Another question. You were working for Mr. Vincent at the time these papers were given to Lieutenant Roth?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And you had a desk in Mr. Vincent's office?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. For part of the time, sir, yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. For part of the time. At the time you gave these papers to Roth?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't believe so, no, sir. I am not sure at which time I had a desk in the same room as Mr. Vincent and at which time I was outside in the larger room.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know Service?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I met Mr. Service.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever give any information to Service?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The information that I must have given Mr. Service was official information of the State Department while he was on assignment to the Department.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes. But he was working in your Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He was visiting our department at that time. He was on leave from China, if I recall.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know one Philip Jaffe?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did not know Mr. Philip Jaffe while I was in the service of the United States Government. I did meet Mr. Jaffe after I had left Government service.

Senator FERGUSON. And that was after the case against Jaffe?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Long after the case against Jaffe; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, did you ever give any other papers out, to anyone?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give any papers to Rose Yardumian?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I did give a paper to Rose Yardumian, again a nongovernmental paper, concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations, which—and I refreshed my memory on this—which I believe originated with Mr. Ullman, and was handed someone in the State Department, who in turn handed it on to me, and since it concerned the institute, I let Miss Yardumian have a copy for Mr. Carter.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know if she has recently been in Red China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe she either is in Red China or has been recently in Red China; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know her sister?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I have met her sister.

Mr. MORRIS. What is her first name?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Isabel.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was she married to?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. She is now Mrs. Stein, Mrs. Gunther Stein.

Senator FERGUSON. I would like to now take up the investigation that the State Department made of leaks or papers going out of the Department.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you recall that investigation?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, no sir; because I was never at any time interrogated by the Department officials on this matter.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean to say that papers disappeared out of the office of Service and Vincent, and you were an employee there, and—

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was one of several employees.

Senator FERGUSON. But you were an employee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And that no investigation was ever made by the State Department to ascertain how the papers might have got to Jaffe and Roth and Service—the papers in the Amerasia case?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. I do not recall any departmental investigation, but my answer to your question is that I was never at any time interrogated by the Department on this matter.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. That is what I am getting at. So, as an employee, at the time, and now telling us that you did give information to Roth, you tell us that the State Department never made an investigation in that office to your knowledge.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. To my knowledge, sir, the Department did not make an investigation.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, they did not question you about leaks, and you had given a leak in March to Roth.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Excuse me, sir. That was not a leak.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. Call it what you will. I am going to use the word "leak."

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think that fails to describe the situation, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. All right. The record will show. You gave him information.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I gave him information on the history of the Japanese labor movement.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes, sir. And you had prepared it, and it was Government property.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; as I was in the employ of the Government, it was Government property.

Senator FERGUSON. Sure. And it was in this office, and it was just a month or two or three before he was arrested for taking papers or having papers that were obtained in the Government.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And the State Department itself never made an investigation, to your knowledge, in that Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. To my knowledge, sir. May I add—

Senator FERGUSON. All right. But to your knowledge they never made an investigation.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That is right, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. At least no one ever came to you and questioned you as to how he may have obtained those papers?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No one in the Department; no, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. No one in the Department.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Friedman, did you know any correspondents for the following publications, anyone in Washington for the following publications: The New Republic?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. I believe after June 1945, I knew Miss Helen Fuller of the New Republic.

Mr. MORRIS. She was the Washington correspondent?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How frequently did you see Miss Helen Fuller?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't believe I saw her more than two or three times between the time I met her and the time I departed for China in October 1945.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have lunch with her?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall. I remember having a splendid dinner at the home of Mr. Uhl of PM, who was another correspondent whom I knew, and I believe only since June 1945, or around that period, perhaps before—

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have lunch with him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I cannot—

Senator FERGUSON. Knowing what you do know now, about the Amerasia case, are you not amazed that the State Department did not make an investigation?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not saying the State Department did not make an investigation, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. You never knew what they did?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I never knew that they made an investigation.

Senator FERGUSON. Does it not seem extremely strange that they would not ask you about the disappearance of papers or the fact that papers got out of the Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, sir, I think that perhaps one might answer this question with a bit more information.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, can you answer it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; that at the time of the arrest of the accused in the Amerasia case, I believe a number of officials in the State Department were interrogated by the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and at that time I was in San Francisco and spent a day or two providing information on the previous period to two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I heard nothing after these 2 days of interrogation, until I read, in fact in the report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the reply of Mr. Milton Ladd, the Assistant to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who, in reply to a question, "Were there any other employees of the State Department involved in the removal of confidential documents that you know of," Mr. Ladd said, "No, sir." And this was after I had a discussion with special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Senator FERGUSON. But I mean the State Department itself did not come to you and ask.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Vincent never asked?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you tell Ladd what you had actually give to Jaffe?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did not speak to Ladd, and I did not give anything to Jaffe, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Or not Jaffe. To Roth.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. To Roth? Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. You were not a witness in that case?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. One question, and I will finish my subject, Senator. Did you meet the Daily Worker correspondent, Frederick V. Field, at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. To the best of my recollection that is where I met Mr. Frederick Field. It was in the press room of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you speak with him on that occasion?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't have the slightest recollection, but there were a number of pressmen there, and Mr. Field was one of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have just two questions, sir. They are both susceptible, I think, to very short answers.

When you came back from Great Britain, in 1951, did you bring with you a number of publications of the British Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I brought back from England a number of publications put out by several bodies, most of which were put out by the British Government. But also among the publications were those of British political parties, including the British Communist Party; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you give some of those to Mr. Jaffe?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. In the summer of 1951, I saw Mr. Jaffe. He was interested in the political situation in England. And I made available to him a number of these publications.

Senator FERGUSON. The Communist publications?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Communist and non-Communist; yes, sir, including the debates of the House of Commons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Jaffe was primarily interested in what he thought were changes in the Communist line of the British Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That was one of the things Mr. Jaffe was interested in. He was also interested at that time in the background of the so-called Bevanite or Bevanism movement in the British Labor Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you knew specifically that he was interested in the changes in the Communist line of the British Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Of the British Communist Party; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you gave him these documents because of his interest in that connection?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Senator FERGUSON. We will recess now until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m., this same day.)

AFTER RECESS

Senator WATKINS (presiding). The committee will resume session. Mr. MORRIS, have you a witness to be sworn?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman has been sworn and we are well into our testimony, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. If he has been sworn, then, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. At the termination of today's testimony, you stated that you had met Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who was acting as a Daily Worker correspondent at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Frederick Field on any other occasion after that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe, Mr. Morris, that I met Mr. Field in 1947, and I believe at the Committee for Democratic Foreign Policy.

Mr. MORRIS. On how many occasions did you meet him at the Committee for Democratic Foreign Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall. I think just one occasion, if I recall directly.

Mr. MORRIS. You testified earlier that you also met Israel Epstein and Fairfax Cholmely at that time. Were they together at that time or did you meet them on separate occasions?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that I met them on separate occasions.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever met them together?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I think I said before that I had been to their home.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean Field and Epstein.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not that I recall; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. So your recollection of meeting Field after the United Nations Conference at San Francisco was at the Committee for Democratic Foreign Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; that is what I recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you also met Epstein and Elsie Fairfax Cholmely at the same place but not at the same time as Field?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I say I am not sure on that particular point.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know Mildred Price?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you will pardon the interruption, does that mean that you do know that you met them at the same place, but you are not sure whether it was or was not at the same time, speaking now of Field and Cholmely?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I have said that I have seen Mr. Field, Mr. Epstein, and Miss Cholmely at the same place—that is, the Committee for Democratic Foreign Policy.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right. It is a question of whether that was at the same time or different times that you are not clear about.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe at different times.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mildred Price?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I do know Mildred Price.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she the secretary of the China Aid Council?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any dealings with Mildred Price, either individually or in the capacity of secretary of the China Aid Council?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about them?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Surely. If I recall correctly, I met Miss Price in New York, January 1945, at a party at the home of Mr. Gunther Stein. I am not quite sure about that. But the next time I did see her was in China sometime between October 1945 and my departure in November of 1946. I don't recall the exact dates of her visit to China. She was in China on behalf of the China Aid Council which at that time was a section of the United China Relief. I saw Miss Price infrequently in China, perhaps once or twice to the best of my recollection, since she traveled about the country and at that time I was held down at Shanghai. I was particularly interested in one or two projects that Miss Price's organization was sponsoring or supporting and particularly the project of the Yutsai School of Dr. Tao Heng Chi.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the first one?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Tao.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there any reason to believe at the time you met Miss Price that she was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; no reason at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have a question that has been asked a great many others. It is phrased slightly differently. Do you know of any reason to believe that Miss Price at any time voluntarily and intentionally cooperated or collaborated with members of the Communist Party for the furtherance of Communist objectives?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not know that she has done so and I do not believe she has done so.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you if you had any reason to believe.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have no reason to believe.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no reason even now, and in view of the fact that when she appeared before this committee and was asked if she

was a Communist she refused to answer on the grounds that it might incriminate her? You would not consider that to be a reason?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I would not consider such a constitutional answer to the committee to be a reason.

Mr. MORRIS. A reason for you to believe that she may have been a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; that would not be a reason.

Mr. MORRIS. It is not a reason for you to believe that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you first met her at a party given by Gunther Stein at his home?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Gunther Stein very well?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I now know Mr. Stein quite well. In the time of my employment in the State Department, I think, I may have seen Mr. Stein at the most on three or four occasions. I met Mr. Stein, first of all, at the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, Hot Springs, 1945, when he was one of the members of the British delegations. I attended a party that Mr. Stein gave some time after the conference, in New York City, and it is on this occasion that I believe that I met Miss Price.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read the evidence in the charges relating to the fact that Gunther Stein was a member of the Sorge espionage ring in Japan?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have heard of the charges. I have not read the evidence.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Stein?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I saw Mr. Stein in London I think in 1950 or the beginning of 1951. I don't recall correctly. He had just come from France and I believe was on his way to Switzerland.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether or not he was deported from France for espionage?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He was deported from France but I do not know that it was for espionage.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that enter into your relationship with him at all—the fact that you knew he had been deported from France?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Who else was at Gunther Stein's house when you met Miss Price?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't really recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, there were more than three people.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There must have been other people, yes, sir, but I just don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there people who were frequently in attendance at meetings for the Committee for Democratic Foreign Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Talitha Gerlach?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I met Talitha Gerlach. I know her name, but I don't think on any occasion I did meet her.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't think she was at the party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If she were, I don't recall meeting her. I am almost sure that she wasn't. Since I have seen the name many times in connection with China Affairs, I am quite sure I have never met her.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Doctor Ch'ao-ting Chi?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have met Dr. Ch'ao-ting Chi.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I met Dr. Chi, I believe, first of all at the Central Bank of China which is along the Bund in Shanghai and this would be again sometime between October 1945, and November 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion of your meeting him there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The occasion was to make available some information for the bank's monthly publication and to obtain from his research staff some information, I believe, on either social insurance schemes or wages, labor problems in Swatow, on which his staff was working.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he ask you to come to the bank or did you volunteer to go to the bank?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you offer him information before he gave you information? You give it in that order, you testified in that order, that you gave him some information that he wanted.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I gave information for the bank publication, yes. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the nature? Was that Government official information that you gave him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I do not believe it was.

Mr. MORRIS. What was it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think it was essentially from American labor publications. Perhaps, if I am not mistaken, it was from the Monthly Labor Review of the Department of Labor, which, I should have added, is really a Government publication.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Dr. Chi on any other occasions?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think that I have met Dr. Chi socially but I just don't recall. I am sure that I have met him at parties of the Ambassador and of the consul general in Shanghai.

Mr. MORRIS. You do know what he looks like?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think I would have recognized—I know what he looked like then; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any reason now to believe that he was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I think that his participation as a member of the government in Peking might indicate that he is a Communist; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any reason to believe that he was a Communist at the time you were giving him information?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I only identified him with Dr. H. H. Kung at that time.

Senator WATKINS. Did you know any Communists at all in this period of time about which Mr. Morris is inquiring about?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In China?

Senator WATKINS. Did you know any?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I did.

Senator WATKINS. And yet some of these who have refused to answer the question if they are asked if they have ever been a Communist or now a Communist, they rely on the fifth amendment and say it might incriminate them, you don't think that has any bearing on it at all, whether or not they are Communists?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. It may have some, but I just wouldn't venture an opinion on the basis of this refusal to answer questions and the reliance on the fifth amendment.

Senator WATKINS. Now, with respect to Mildred Price, did she advocate any principle or any policies or line of conduct for this country that might seem to be going in the same direction as the Communist line?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Certainly not in the period that I have known her; no, sir.

Senator WATKINS. How long have you known her?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think either as far back as January 1945 or perhaps sometime between October 1945 and November 1946, and I have known her since and am still friendly with Miss Price.

Senator WATKINS. And you don't think there is anything in her conduct that would indicate to you that she was a Communist or that she was a fellow traveler. Let us put it that way.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Certainly nothing in her conduct in the period I have known her would indicate to me that she was a Communist. Could you be more specific on the fellow traveler?

Senator WATKINS. Well, someone who believes pretty much the same and advocates the same line.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; then she does not fit that category; not to my stipulation.

Senator WATKINS. You have had enough experience with Communists to know one when you see one, have you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I haven't had much experience with them, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. No experience.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I haven't had much experience. I have met some Communists.

Senator WATKINS. Have you ever studied communism?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have studied Communist literature, yes, sir. Not all of it; some of it.

Senator WATKINS. I am probably at a disadvantage. I wasn't here this morning. What position in the State Department did you hold?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was in originally what was the Division of Labor Relations, Division of International Health and Labor and Social Affairs, from September 1943 until November 1944, and then subsequently I was in the Chinese Affairs Division, roughly from November 1944 until October 1945, with a period of assignment to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. And then I was a junior economic analyst, serving as the American labor attaché in China from October 1945 until November 1946.

Senator WATKINS. Was it any part of your job to acquaint yourself with the conduct of Communists and their policies?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Insofar as it had bearing on labor reporting, yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. That would be reporting?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, indeed. But I don't say that I have become an expert on the subject.

Senator WATKINS. I don't expect you are an expert, but you ought to be able to tell one if you saw one, and talked to him.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would have to talk at some length, I presume, to get some idea.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the extent of your acquaintance with Mildred Price?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have known Miss Price for a considerable period of time, and my stipulation is that she was not a Communist, and I do not have any reason to believe that she is a Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. I know Solomon Adler.

Mr. MORRIS. How well do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would call Solomon Adler a friend of mine.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Solomon Adler?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I saw him in Cambridge, England—it was either Cambridge, England, in the late summer of 1951 or it was in London—no, excuse me, not the summer of 1951 but 1950, and possibly sometime at the end of the year in 1950 or 1951 when he came to town. He is on the staff of Cambridge University.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you now have or did you ever have any reason to believe that Solomon Adler was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; never.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with the testimony of Chambers and Bentley before this committee with respect to Adler?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I believe the name came up. I don't recall the testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. You have not read the testimony?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I have gone over the testimony, but I don't recall at the moment exactly what they testified.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean it isn't of any concern to you whether some man you call a friend has been identified before a Senate committee by two witnesses as a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In this particular case of Mr. Adler, I believe he is not a Communist and I disregard the testimony of the committee. I simply wait until the committee files its reports.

Senator WATKINS. That wouldn't make much difference, would it? You would rely on the evidence more than you would the report itself.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I place great weight in the judgment of the Senators, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. I am glad to hear you say that. Some people don't.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give him any information, any official information?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Adler was the Treasury attaché of the Embassy, and I was the labor attaché of the Embassy. I think that we exchanged information on wages, on labor conditions, inflation in China. It was part of our official duties.

Mr. MORRIS. How frequently did you see Solomon Adler in those days?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I certainly saw him, I think, only once here in Washington, D. C., before I went to China, and I couldn't say how many times I saw him in China, but I know not too frequently because he was in Nanking and I was in Shanghai; but I must say probably four times.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that he and John Service shared the same apartment together.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Adler was married in the period I knew him, and I believe I have read that in the testimony, some references.

Mr. MORRIS. But that was not at the time that you were seeing Mr. Adler.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man named Tung Pi-wu?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I believe Mr. Tung Pi-wu was one of the Chinese delegates to the San Francisco conference.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a Communist delegate; wasn't he?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He was a delegate of the National Government of China, selected——

Mr. MORRIS. To represent the Communists in China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No sir; he was sent here to represent the Chinese Government, and he was nominated by the Chinese Communists under a plan of General Hurley.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you meet him while he was here?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. I met him in San Francisco.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion of your meeting him in San Francisco?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe in meeting the Chinese delegation. I believe actually the time in which I met him was either a Chinese luncheon or dinner party which was given by either Mr. Liu Chieh, who is now the Chinese Ambassador to Canada, or one of the other senior officials of the Chinese Government.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet him in the United States?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In addition to this occasion?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; in addition to this occasion.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall seeing him again. Yes; I think he did pay a courtesy visit to the State Department in Washington while he was here, although I don't quite recall the occasion.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet him at a party—at a social party—given under the auspices of the Committee for Democratic Foreign Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall. Could you give me the date?

Mr. MORRIS. No; just if you can recall meeting him there.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No; I just don't recall meeting him.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you ever meet Alger Hiss?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I met Alger Hiss in the State Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think the first occasion I met Mr. Hiss was—I am not quite sure—this was the meeting of the Area Committee on the Far East of the State Department, of which, I believe, he was a member when I was a member representing the Labor Division of the State Department. I can remember, I believe, seeing him—I think, meeting him at San Francisco, when he was a secretary general of the conference—and I recall being in a committee meeting with him upon my return from San Francisco, at which committee meeting the State Department was preparing its case or rather making its preparations for the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Assembly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Might I interrupt to clear something up there? We found confusion in the records during the testimony of previous witnesses about the phrase "Far East" or "Far Eastern Committee." I wonder if you would clear up just what committee you were referring to there.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I believe that it would be the same committee that Mr. Dooman refers to—that is, the Far East Area Committee of the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that have anything to do with the Far East Committee of SWINK—State, War, Navy Coordinating Committee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not sure of the relationship between the two.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what SWINK was?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe SWINK was a State, War, and Navy Department committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. By definition it wasn't. It was the State, War, Navy Coordinating Committee. But do you know about the existence of that committee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I have heard of the existence of that committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have anything to do with any subcommittee of SWINK?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The only committee that I had something—now, I have to clear this up. I was a participant in the State Department's Area Committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to get, first, the question of whether you had anything to do with any subcommittee of SWINK, any subcommittee of the State, War, Navy Coordinating Committee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, you see, I am just trying—am wondering whether you consider the Area Committee a subcommittee.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you. You were the expert. You were the man who was a member of something there.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Let me say I was a member of two committees.

Mr. SOURWINE. You might have been a member of any number of committees. I want to know if you were a member of any subcommittee of SWINK. Certainly you know whether you were or whether you weren't.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I wasn't a member of any subcommittee that called itself a subcommittee of SWINK. So I am not sure of any relationship between certain State Department committees and SWINK.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were in Vincent's office for some time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew that Vincent headed the Far Eastern Subcommittee of SWINK?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I believe he became the Chairman of that at the time I was preparing to depart or had already departed. Actually the committee of which I was a participant was headed for most of the period by Mr. Ballentine, Mr. Joseph Ballantine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Headed by Mr. Ballantine?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know of Mr. Dooman's position before Mr. Vincent became head of the China Division?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If I recall, Mr. Dooman was the Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State, that is, Mr. Grew, at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that Mr. Dooman headed the Far Eastern Committee of SWINK?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I don't recall that, sir. All I know is that Mr. Dooman did not generally preside at the meeting of the Area Committee, that Mr. Ballantine presided and Mr. Dooman would sit in, I believe, when Mr. Ballantine was not present.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the Far East Commission is?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The Far East Commission located in Washington?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the Far East Commission is?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There is a Commission in Washington which is made up of representatives of the various governments that participated in the war against Japan. Is that the Commission to which you are referring?

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the Far Eastern Commission? Is there any other Far Eastern Commission that you know about or Far East Commission that you know about?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Is there not a Commission that existed in Tokyo to advise the Supreme Commander which was a Far Eastern Commission also made up, I believe, of representatives of those nations which participated in the war against Japan?

Senator WATKINS. The committee will suspend for a moment.

(Short recess.)

Senator WATKINS. The committee will resume session.

Mr. SOURWINE. What I am trying to find out is whether while you were with the State Department, you were actually a member of any of the subcommittees of State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee, speaking specifically of the Far East Subcommittee of State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I was a member of the Area Committee of the State Department, which called itself the Area Committee of the State Department, and I do not know whether that fits the description of a Subcommittee of SWINK.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know whether the Area Committee was or was not a Subcommittee of SWINK?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do you know of the Subcommittee of SWINK which first Mr. Dooman and later Mr. Vincent was Chairman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I don't believe I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend the meetings of any committee or subcommittee having to do with the Far East as a Deputy for Mr. Vincent or in Mr. Vincent's stead or representing him or his office?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I think that I probably attended some meetings of the State Department's Area Committee on the Far East on behalf of the Division of Chinese Affairs. But actually, if I may say so, my representation in that Committee was generally for the Division of Labor Relations and the Division of International Labor, Health, and Social Affairs, pending that Division obtaining some one to represent the Division in the Committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the answer to my question, "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Could you repeat the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you have the question in mind?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I haven't.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was whether you ever attended a meeting of a State Department committee or subcommittee having to do with the Far East as a deputy to Mr. Vincent or in his stead or representing his Division?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I did represent his Division on some occasion, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before what committee was that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This would be the Area Committee on the Far East of the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. And do you not know whether that had anything to do with SWINK?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; that is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. While you attended such committee meetings, was there any leak of information that came out through the press or through the radio that you know of?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall on my own, although having read the record I see that Mr. Dooman testifies to that point.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know of any? Do you know whether any newspaper or radio programs came out with any news that took place within the committee hearing room?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, other than what I have read in your record.

Mr. MORRIS. But you know of nothing at the time of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we were asking the witness of his experiences with Alger Hiss.

Will you go on? Is that the only time you saw Mr. Hiss?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think that I was saying that I was a member of a committee which was making the preparations for the United States Government participation in the forthcoming U. N. meeting. I believe that was the only time or the last time I saw Mr. Hiss while I was in Government employment.

Mr. MORRIS. Who recommended you to go out to San Francisco in connection with your job out there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Actually I was recommended or selected by Dean Robert Stewart, of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Mr. MORRIS. That is in connection with your assignment as Assistant Secretary?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Exactly. Doctor Stewart was at that time working with the State Department group making preparations for the San Francisco conference.

Mr. MORRIS. And he knew you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Knew your work and recommended you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He wanted me on the staff and Mr. Vincent made me available; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you next meet Alger Hiss?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I think that was the last time I met Alger Hiss, although subsequent to my departure from the State Department and when he was the chairman of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, I wrote to Mr. Hiss seeking a fellowship with which I could sustain myself while studying abroad. Mr. Hiss replied that he was unable to make any provisions of a fellowship for me.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with this arbitration proceeding, may I get back to that, you said that you first knew about that case by reading the New York press?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that was my original contact with the case, was through the press.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you read the World-Telegram accounts of those hearings?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I read some of them. I don't recall specifically.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer you the New York World-Telegram, an excerpt from the New York World-Telegram, of August 11, 1947, which is the announcement after James Fly announced his decision in that case, and ask you if you had read that? Do you mind reading aloud, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Surely.

[New York World Telegram, August 11, 1947, p. 6]

ARBITRATOR ORDERS REHIRING OF WOMAN FIRED AS PRO-RED—SECRETARY ACCUSED OF ADHERING TO THE PARTY LINE

(By Nelson Frank, World-Telegram staff writer)

In an important arbitration decision, James L. Fly, former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, after holding that an employee dismissed for attempting to insert the Communist Party line into her work "acted improperly" prepared a "biased" reading list, and "deviated" from the policy of her employer, nevertheless has ordered the worker returned to her job "with the hope for unity."

At the same time he stated that the National Council of Jewish Women, the employer, need not pay the employee for the 7 months she has lost since being dismissed for "malfeasance" last January.

The worker, Miss Betty Levin, a member of the Social Service Employees Union of the United Office and Professional Workers (CIO) has been defended by the union which hailed Mr. Fly's award as "a signal victory * * * for the entire labor movement."

The arbitration hearing before Mr. Fly lasted for 23 days, a record for any labor dispute before any American Arbitration Association member. Mr. Fly's award takes 65 printed pages.

The charges against Miss Levin, an area secretary assigned to educate the sections of the council along the lines of its program were that she consistently gave a pro-Soviet view and recommended pro-Soviet or pro-Communist books, magazines, and organizations.

In his decision, Mr. Fly states that the area secretary deviated from the council's policy and program in recommending her list of books, organizations, and publications in three key cities. Among the publications advocated by Miss Levin were The Protestant and In Fact, both consistent followers of the Communist Party line. Books on China were pro-Communist except in one instance where a pro-Government book was listed with the notation "a partisan account."

During the period leading up to the arbitration, said Mr. Fly, "so high did the mutual distrust and suspicion mount (in the council's office) that at one point a private investigator was hired by the council to guard its files."

It was at this time that the social service branch of the Communist Party, one of whose members is Bernard Segal, executive director of the union—

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me. Notice how that particular reporter describes Bernard Segal.

Mr. FRIEDMAN (reading):

One of whose members is Bernard Segal, executive director of the union.

Mr. MORRIS. Read the full paragraph.

Mr. FRIEDMAN (reading):

It was at this time that the social-service branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. "Of the Communist Party—"

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Go ahead.

Mr. FRIEDMAN (reading):

One of whose members is Bernard Segal, executive director of the union, called the case a test case to determine whether a progressive * * * may be Red-baited out of a job.

Among the organizations recommended by Miss Levin were People's Songs, a group which writes the Communist May Day tunes, the Council on African

Affairs, and China Aid Council, both well-known Communist fronts, and the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, key pro-Soviet propaganda outfit in this country. Also recommended by her was the Communist front, National Committee to Win the Peace. It was of this organization that Mr. Fly accused her of acting "improperly * * * (in that) her response to the Chicago section was designed to encourage cooperation * * *" with this committee.

However, because she was not previously warned that her actions were against the council's policy, he has ordered her reinstated.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that one of the articles you had read in the New York Press?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall, Mr. Morris. This would be August 1947. I don't recall whether I read this specific article.

Mr. MORRIS. You were in New York at that time, were you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Let me think. I believe I was; but I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. You will notice that that particular news article presents the problem in rather a different light from what you have testified here.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have presented the problem in the light of the arbitrator's statements of it, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have high marks at Harvard? The reason I ask that, Mr. Chairman, is that a witness who has given some testimony before this committee has testified that the person she was talking about was a person who had gotten high marks at Harvard. So that is why that question is appropriate.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I read that section just from the report of the committee, Mr. Chairman? It is just a sentence or two, and then I can reply fully to it.

Senator WATKINS. I don't see any objection to that.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Thank you. This is Mrs. Widener, speaking on page 758 of the committee's hearings, part 3.

Senator WATKINS. This committee?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This committee; yes, sir [reading]:

Prior to Mr. Friedman's arrival, Mr. Andrews had told me that Mr. Friedman had graduated with the highest honors from Harvard University. I believe he graduated with either magna or summa cum laude.

Mr. Chairman, I perhaps hate to admit this to the committee but I did not graduate either magna cum laude or summa cum laude or cum laude at Harvard, although the marks that I had were considered Dean's highest marks but not honor marks at Harvard University. And I believe that I could introduce, if the committee wanted it in its record, the Harvard indication that I was not an honor candidate at that time.

Senator WATKINS. But you are sure that if you had received such honors you would be likely to claim them rather than deny them.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall attending a meeting in Shanghai at which the following people were present: Rose Yardumian, Mary Barrett, Gerald Tannenbaum, Dorothy Campbell? Those individuals or any combinations of them?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't really recall attending any meeting with those individuals together.

Mr. MORRIS. This meeting was held at the Hamilton House, room 812, just before Christmas of 1946.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Then I don't recall such a meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recall such a meeting?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever attend a meeting in Shanghai at which Rose Yardumian was present?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I have attended a meeting in Shanghai of the International Committee of the Chinese Industrial Cooperative at which Miss Yardumian was present and I attended as an observer from the United States State Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Were not Mary Barrett, Gerald Tannenbaum, and Dorothy Campbell also active in that organization?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think so. Certainly not Mr. Tannenbaum who is not in that organization, nor Miss Barrett whom I believe, again I am not sure, was at that time employed by the United States Foreign Service. The name Dorothy Campbell doesn't come back to me at all.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you invite to attend a meeting of the Chinese industrial cooperatives another labor attaché from the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that, Mr. Morris. When you say another attaché of the State Department, you mean in China?

Mr. MORRIS. In China.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There was no other labor attaché.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was your successor?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall whether I had a successor or not. I don't believe the Department did formally succeed me. I don't know if any one subsequent to my departure carried on the labor-reporting program.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that there was not another labor attaché present at that time in China from the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; as far as I know, there was no other labor attaché from the State Department in China at the time I was present.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you did not invite any other labor attaché to attend a meeting at which these people were present?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I certainly don't recall the meeting. I certainly don't recall meeting with such persons present. I don't recall inviting another labor attaché to such a meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you ever remember telling another labor attaché of the State Department that you were a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. May I say perhaps two "No, sirs," to that question. That is, I do not remember telling any labor attaché, and I am sure that I did not tell any labor attaché that I was a Communist, because I was not a Communist.

Senator WATKINS. At that or any other time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. At that or any other time.

Mr. MORRIS. The issue, Mr. Chairman, is whether or not this witness told a labor attaché in Shanghai at that time whether or not he was a Communist.

Do you know a man named Willis R. Etter?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Willis R. Etter? I don't recall the name unless—was he a member of the American consulate general in Shanghai?

Mr. MORRIS. I believe he was.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I believe I do remember that name, but he certainly was not the labor attaché in my tenure of office. If I recall Mr. Etter worked in the consular section or the shipping section of

the consulate, but certainly not in any labor attaché section while I was there. May I, Mr. Morris, introduce—

Mr. MORRIS. Wait until I finish these questions. Did you ever meet Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I did not meet Lauchlin Currie.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet John K. Fairbank and his wife, Wilma Fairbank?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I know the Fairbanks very well indeed.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see the Fairbanks?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I saw the Fairbanks in the autumn of 1951 at their home in Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet the Fairbanks in China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I met the Fairbanks in China.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see them frequently in China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, not too frequently, because Mr. Fairbank was mainly in Nanking while I was in Shanghai, and Mrs. Fairbank did a good deal of traveling for the Cultural Office of the Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. What was her position?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. She was the cultural officer for the United States Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. She was there in China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe she was there for part of the time the Marshall mission was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Mr. Benjamin Kizer? Do you know him well?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not very well, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Kizer?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. When did I see Mr. Kizer? I believe I saw Mr. Kizer in Shanghai in the end of 1945 or the beginning of 1946, but I don't think I have seen him since. I have seen members of his family since that time.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his position during the war? Was he the head of the China Division of UNRRA?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall. I recall Mr. Kizer when he was the Director of UNRRA for the China operation.

Mr. MORRIS. That is what I meant.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; he was for some time its Director.

Mr. MORRIS. What were his duties, do you know, at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I do not know.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not know what his duties were?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not know what his duties were.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with the Stilwell dispute? I mean the dispute that arose over the dismissal of General Stilwell.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Dispute between whom?

Mr. MORRIS. There was a general controversy. There was a controversy that took place in many of the newspapers at the time.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I can remember in particular Mr. Brooks Atkinson's famous New York Times story on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brooks Atkinson opposed the removal of Stilwell, did he not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall at the moment.

Mr. MORRIS. You said you recalled Brooks Atkinson.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I just recall the article because of its importance. I presume, if I may, that probably Mr. Atkinson—you see, I would

like to say definitely by looking at the article, but I believe that he was generally opposed to the removal of General Stilwell.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you favor the removal of General Stilwell?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't quite recall exactly what position I took at that time, but I certainly now, having gone back over the period, do favor the recall of General Stilwell. And I probably, if I may put it in terms of probability, favored his recall at that time, because I did, in a sense, admire much of the work that General Hurley was doing in the Middle East and in the Far East in that period of time.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that the Daily Worker took issue with Brooks Atkinson in his opposition to the removal of Stilwell?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know anything about that; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. The reason I asked that was that you are acquainted with the episode in connection with the Atkinson article, and it was the Atkinson article with which the Daily Worker took issue.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. But I know that as a reader of the New York Times, and not of the Daily Worker.

Mr. MORRIS. But you did favor the removal of Stilwell?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am saying now that I probably did favor the removal of Stilwell, simply because he was a man who would not get along with the government with which he was at the time. My opinion is further confirmed by Earl Mountbatten's reports when he describes his great difficulties with General Stilwell, plus General Stilwell's own book, which is not altogether diplomatic, either in its words or its tone.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever visit Owen Lattimore at his home?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I have been at the home of Owen Lattimore.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The only occasion that I recall, Mr. Morris, is an invitation to lecture at his seminar at Johns Hopkins. This was in the early—it must have been either February or March of 1947, after I had left the Government service. And I remember either staying with the Lattimores just before the seminar or just after the seminar, before proceeding to Washington, where I spent the night at the home of the Lattimores.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with Alger Hiss, did you ever write to Alger Hiss in connection with his trials?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I don't recall specifically on that. I think it is possible that I may have written him at the very beginning of his troubles a letter of sympathy or lamentation. But I don't recall this definitely, and I haven't found any such letter among my own papers or a copy of any such letter among my own papers.

Senator WATKINS. Were you in the habit of keeping copies of your letters?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not everything, Senator. I think that if I did at the time, it was because of his negative but nevertheless kind response from the Carnegie Endowment to which I had written for a fellowship.

Senator WATKINS. In other words, he acknowledged your letter, but did not do anything for you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Pardon me?

Senator WATKINS. He acknowledged your letter but he did not do anything for you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Exactly.

Senator WATKINS. So you felt kindly about that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mark Gayn?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I have known Mr. Mark Gayn.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first meet Mark Gayn?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I met Mr. Mark Gayn at a party of Mr. Gunther Stein in January or February 1945, to which we have already referred.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give him any State Department official information?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You gave him no information and no papers of any kind?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Morris, might I inquire at that point very briefly?

I show you, sir, five lines, typewritten. I ask you if you have ever seen documents with that statement or inscription written or imprinted upon them?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I believe I have seen some documents. I couldn't vouch for the title, sections, and so forth, but I believe something of this nature.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is generally familiar to you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you seen it on documents in the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall so much, because the State Department's classification system in the period I was there tended to be either nothing at all or "restricted" or "secret," with a simple stamp rather than with this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then your testimony is that you do not remember having seen this on documents?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. On State Department documents as distinguished from any documents that may have come in to the State Department from any other agency.

Mr. SOURWINE. This note reads:

Warning. This material contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage law, title XVIII, U. S. C., titles 793 and 794, the transmission or revelation of which in any manner to an unauthorized person in any manner is prohibited by law.

Mr. Friedman, did you ever give to any unauthorized person any documents bearing this stamp or imprint?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I certainly believe not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever give to any unauthorized person any documents bearing any stamp or imprint indicating them to be classified?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Certainly within the State Department——

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't limit the question, sir. Answer it "Yes" or "No."

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not believe so.

Senator WATKINS. Do you have any hesitation in answering that? In fact, you indicate by your manner that you do have some doubt.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No. This morning we discussed a matter, Senator, and that was the matter of some notes to Mr. Andrew Roth, notes on the history of the Japanese labor movement which I prepared.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they classified matter?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I finish, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they classified matter?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. These notes, to the best of my recollection, at the time I had it, were not classified.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then they do not affect your answer to this question, do they?

Senator WATKINS. There is not any doubt in your mind as to whether they were classified?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. The reason I raise the question is that I think, in the final preparation of the paper, that these notes may have played a part in the background section, and that is why I want to be quite specific and frank with the committee. This is a matter which was mentioned to the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the time of the Amerasia affair, and I believe that the notes, as I gave them to Mr. Roth, were quite unclassified. But they were historical background material from published sources.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you mean that those notes subsequently became a part of classified material?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not sure of what the history of the documents was, that is, any final document. But these are notes which I was working up, and which were used in connection with a paper on Japanese labor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I would like to get back to the question I asked earlier. Did you ever give any unauthorized person documents bearing a stamp or imprint indicating they were classified?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not believe so, no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That answer indicates that you think there is a chance that you might have.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This is some years ago, sir, and many papers have passed over my desk, and I should like to leave the answer, "I do not believe I have ever given any person classified material."

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you mean by that that there is some doubt in your mind?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I want to be on the cautious side.

Senator WATKINS. You would not answer categorically, "No," that you did not, because you think there is a possibility that you might have done so?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think there is a possibility.

Senator WATKINS. Why do you not say there is not any possibility?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would like to leave the answer as it stands, Senator, if I may.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Friedman, did you ever see a report on the subject of the need of an American policy toward the problems created by the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, a report indicating that the Communists were about one-fifth of the population, and that they were going to have a definite influence on the future of China?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that report.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see a report on the subject of the growth of the new Fourth Army, an example of the popular democratic appeal of the Chinese Communists, indicating that the popular support of the Chinese Communists shows their policies and methods are democratic?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Again, I don't recall offhand such reports.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall having seen a document entitled, "The Views of Mao Tse-tung, America and China," dated March 1945?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Again, I just don't recall offhand.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that those papers were circulated through your division at the time you were a divisional assistant?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I say I don't recall the document, so I don't know whether they were circulated through the division.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that all three of those documents mentioned were among the so-called Amerasia papers?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I do not know that.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, have you ever knowingly associated with people you knew to be Communists?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. On what occasions?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. On social occasions only. Certainly not on political occasions.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the extent to which you have done that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, it is not very frequently. In this country, in England or France when we traveled about, we have met people—

Mr. MORRIS. When you say "we," who do you mean?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In recent years, my wife and I. And we have been in homes of persons who were known to us to be Communists; yes, sir. But this is not in the period of the State Department, but post-period.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were those people you knew to be Communists?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think the one name I mention is a Mr. John Horner of Great Britain.

Mr. MORRIS. Why do you say the one that you could name?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I say one whose name comes to me, because it was within the last year or so, I should say within the last year and a half, when we were in England.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell me this, Mr. Friedman: If you were now in the State Department—this is a hypothetical question—would you give information as you have in the past, say, to Y. Y. Hsu, and to Rose Yardumian, and to—who was the other one you mentioned? Just take those two. Would you now give such information to Gunther Stein?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would rather not answer a hypothetical question of that sort, Senator. It is so open to—

Senator WATKINS. That reveals your present state of mind. It may have some bearing on your answers that you have given in the past.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think the answer is quite simple: That I would follow all of the rules and regulations of the State Department with reference to the circulation of materials which is governmental and State Department material.

Mr. MORRIS. And you would impose no higher standard than that on yourself?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would follow the rules of the Department by which I was employed; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Suppose you knew that a Communist wanted some particular information for a purpose to further the Communist conspiracy in the world, and he came to you and asked you for that information. If there were no State Department prohibition against it, would you give it to him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I would report it to my senior official.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you so report as to Y. Y. Hsu, when you gave him a map that he wanted?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report to your official in the State Department the fact that Y. Y. Hsu wanted a map from you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that I did. I am almost sure that I discussed the matter with a Mr. Chase, but I take full responsibility.

Mr. MORRIS. And he gave you permission?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. It wasn't a question of permission. It was a question of an unrestricted map on the liberated areas of China. It was for Mr. Hsu's book, copies of which came to the State Department shortly afterward.

Mr. MORRIS. Knowing what you know about Mr. Hsu now, do you think that his motive in obtaining that map was completely harmless?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. At that particular time, it was harmless. It was for publication, and was published subsequently.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, do you concede now that Y. Y. Hsu was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir. I just don't know anything about that. I believe we have said that he is in Peking, and I presume that he is. But other than that, I couldn't say any further, on the basis of my own knowledge of Mr. Hsu.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Friedman, have you ever seen or read the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I have read the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever read State and Revolution by Lenin?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I have, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what that book is?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No. That is one of the reasons I don't think I read it, because I couldn't say what the contents are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever read Left Wing Communism and Infantile Disorder by Lenin?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, indeed; I have read that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you read Foundations of Leninism by Stalin?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have read, I think, a part of that book. In fact, I haven't read that, because it was a matter in which I was looking into quite recently.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean, "looking into"? You were looking into the book, or looking into the matter of whether you had read it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, into the book itself.

Mr. SOURWINE. You would say you have been exposed to it, but didn't catch it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No. As I say, I am pretty sure that I have not read that book.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you dipped into it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No. I haven't gotten it yet.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you mean when you said you were looking into it? Do you mean you have ordered it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I haven't ordered it yet, either, but I was going to read it sometime in the course of the year.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who recommended that book to you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Nobody in particular.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever read History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, authored by the central committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I have never read that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever read, Program of the Communist International and its Constitution, the third American edition?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I have; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any edition?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever read The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies, a thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; that, I believe, I have read.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you tell us, sir, something of the circumstances under which you read those books to the reading of which you have just testified?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I just don't recall the circumstances.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you perhaps read them because you felt they were necessary or desirable as background for your work?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I would say that I have read those books because I thought that some of them were necessary as part of the literature of an educated man.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not feel that any of them were necessary in connection with your work in the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Absolutely not; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you read any of them in connection with study groups, with others?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't think I have ever been in the study group of the type I believe you are referring to.

Mr. SOURWINE. You read all of these books on your own initiative?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. No one recommended them to you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not that I recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Anthony Jenkinson at any time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't believe I have ever met Mr. Jenkinson. I can identify the name, I think, with the Allied Labor News.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the one; yes. Your testimony is that you have never met him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I ever met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that he is an Englishman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe it is Jenkinson; yes. I have heard that he was an Englishman.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not see him on your trip to London?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Michael Lindsay?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. When was the last you met Michael Lindsay?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think I met Lindsay, Michael Lindsay, sometime in London in the last 2 years, I believe prior to his departure as a research scholar for a university.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet him in the United States?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; at Harvard University in 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet him at the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know his wife?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have met his wife; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was his wife?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mrs. Lindsay.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know her before she married him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Agnes Smedley at any time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I met Miss Smedley.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet Miss Smedley?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. When did I meet Miss Smedley? I met Miss Smedley sometime in 1947 after I left the State Department. I shouldn't be surprised if I didn't meet Miss Smedley at the office of the China Aid Council or the home of Miss Mildred Price.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they closely associated?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think they were quite friendly, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Miss Smedley active in the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I wouldn't know, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Miss Smedley when she was in London?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I saw Miss Smedley in London.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion of that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was invited to an occasion by Lady Selwyn Clark, whose husband was the British governor of the Seychelles Islands and was a very eminent and distinguished medical officer of Hong Kong.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the circumstances?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. It was just a social occasion.

Mr. MORRIS. Were any of these other people you have been discussing today present at that party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Just my wife present in addition to Miss Smedley and Miss Clark.

Mr. MORRIS. How many times did you see Miss Smedley in England?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am sure not more than twice.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see her at about the time that she died?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Just before, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know anything about the circumstances surrounding her death?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I do not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you read about the circumstances?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I have read about the death, but I don't know any of the circumstances.

Mr. MORRIS. You could not tell this committee about any of the details surrounding the death?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You did read her will in the papers, did you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, I believe I have. I am not quite sure. I have seen references to it if I haven't actually read the will in the paper.

Mr. MORRIS. You do know that she willed the property to Chuh Teh, the Chinese Communist general?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that surprise you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not at all.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, that was consistent to the person Agnes Smedley?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I know she had the greatest admiration for General Teh, about whom she was writing an autobiography.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I have met Anna Louise Strong.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet her?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I met her in Shanghai in 1946, I believe. She came to me and was introduced to me because she was interested in Chinese labor problems, and I was the American labor attaché to whom many Chinese even turned for explanation of the Chinese labor scene.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you turn to her for explanation of the Chinese labor scene?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Where else did you see Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This is the only period.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see her in the United States?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I have never seen her in the United States. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Victor Yakhontoff?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I don't believe I have ever.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever met him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know who he is?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The author of Chinese Soviet; is that the one to whom you are referring?

Mr. MORRIS. I believe that is the same man, yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know him. I have never met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Michael Greenberg?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know him.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not see him in England?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. He is there now?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know. His book has just been published.

Mr. MORRIS. From London?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with the testimony before this committee about the Communist associations of Michael Greenberg?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not specifically. I am sure I have read them.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you testimony to believe that Michael Greenberg is or was a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't know. I just don't know the man.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever met the Snows, the Edgar Snows?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe Mr. Edgar Snow and the person, Mrs. Snow, the writer Nym Wales. I don't recall the occasion for meeting Edgar Snow, unless it was at the State Department. I remember meeting Mrs. Snow, Nym Wales, at the San Francisco Conference, United Nations Conference.

Mr. MORRIS. In what capacity was she there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she in the press room or one of the official rooms?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I just don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. She was there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I am pretty sure she was.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say you thought you met Edgar Snow in the State Department?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. As I say, I don't recall the circumstances.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Dolly Eltenton?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't believe I did; no, sir. I don't know the name.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't know the name?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Chen Han-seng?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Chen Han-seng.

Mr. MORRIS. In what capacity did you meet Dr. Chen Han-seng?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I met Dr. Chen in his capacity as a research scholar at Johns Hopkins University, and I met Dr. Chen in New York, I think, at the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy. I believe that is where I saw him in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Bisson, who was a witness here yesterday?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I know Mr. Bisson.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet him in connection with the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I believe I met Mr. and Mrs. Bisson at the Institute of Pacific Relations conference in Hot Springs. I don't recall seeing Mr. Bisson, I don't think, even in 1947 when I was back in America, and I have seen him recently where he is a colleague of mine at the University of California.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could I interrupt?

Do you remember testifying with regard to your duties while you were divisional assistant under Mr. Vincent?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember testifying that material coming into the office reached your desk after it had gone over the desk of Mr. Vincent or the assistant chief of the division?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I suggested I was down at the bottom of the routing list.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the exception to that, I believe you stated, was when Mr. Vincent would give you something directly.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes. Well, that was still routing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that you had a number of specific duties while you were in Mr. Vincent's office?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, specifically in the sense of writing memoranda; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did write memoranda?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. For Mr. Vincent?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you summarized dispatches on occasion?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I believe I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did prepare correspondence for his signature on occasion?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I believe I did that, too.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you sometimes initiated reports or communications which sometimes involved policy. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; I think it is a fair statement.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have been attempting to cut through what took us several pages in executive session, and I do not want to put words in your mouth if that is not a fair statement.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that some of the memos or writings may be considered policy matters, but at my level they were not policy.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; but you said you did sometimes initiate memoranda and they subsequently became policy?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with drafting any documents which subsequently or ultimately received the signature of the President of the United States.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall clearly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will give you an example. Mr. Vincent testified that certain documents had been prepared in his office and that persons in his office had worked on them, which ultimately became a part of the directive to General Marshall. Did you work on any of those documents?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't believe I have ever worked on what would be the preparatory material for General Marshall.

Mr. SOURWINE. There was a document, a letter or communication, from President Roosevelt to President Chiang Kai-shek under date of July 14, 1944, which appears at page 560 of the so-called white paper of the State Department.

Can you tell me whether you had anything to do with the drafting of that or a paper preliminary to it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Would you repeat the date, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. I will be glad to show it to you in the white paper—the one on the left-hand page there [handing document].

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; this was before I was a member of Mr. Vincent's division.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were with the State Department, but before you were a member of the division?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that category of papers, did you ever, to your knowledge, prepare a memorandum for inclusion in, or what ultimately became, a paper or document for the signature of the Secretary of State?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I just don't recall. Again, if you could be specific—

Mr. SOURWINE. If you had prepared a document which was subsequently signed by the Secretary of State, you would be very likely to remember it, would you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Not necessarily, because I might not know that it had become a document.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if you knew about it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I probably would remember it.

Mr. SOURWINE. We all follow our brain children.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Some of us have pride of authorship; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you exclude yourself?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that if you had written something which substantially, in the form in which you wrote it, was ultimately signed by the Secretary, you would have known that, would you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe so; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge of that happening?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Turning to another question, do you know Georgi Dimitroff?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Would you repeat that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Georgi Dimitroff.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Could you identify him for me?

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you if you know him.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't believe I know anyone by that name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that a man of that name was head of the Communist International?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes; now I know of whom you are speaking.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do place that Georgi Dimitroff?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever know him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever read any of his writings?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I at this point introduce a number of documents which I think fit appropriately in the record of the committee?

Senator WATKINS. I would say that if you want to submit them to the committee that we do not allow the promiscuous introduction of any documents. You see, your testimony is supposed to be sworn to here. If you want to leave them with the committee, we will have our staff check them, and we will make the ruling later as to whether they will be admitted as a part of the record.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Perhaps if I may take a moment of your record to get further guidance on this point.

In the record, the printed testimony of Mrs. Widener, there is a statement, there is a letter, from Mr. Durbrow of the State Department to this committee, explaining that I was terminated from the State Department without prejudice, and, first of all, Mr. Morris, in summarizing the letter at one point, substituted—and I am sure inadvertently—"dismissed" for "terminated."

Senator WATKINS. What is the difference?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The difference is, sir, that the phrase "termination without prejudice" is the equivalent of an honorable discharge, and that the term "dismissed" suggests something very uncomplimentary.

Senator WATKINS. I just wanted that for the purpose of the record.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I should like to submit into the record, to correct this inadvertency, the copies of my retirement papers or termination

papers, and a subsequent letter from the State Department to me explaining the meaning of the term "without prejudice."

Mr. SOURWINE. Could you offer those one by one, identify them, and let the Chair take them under advisement with regard to inclusion?

Senator WATKINS. That would be proper.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like the record to show, Mr. Chariman, that I did ask Mr. Friedman earlier today if he had such papers if he would submit them to me by way of facilitating their introduction into the record, and he declined to show them.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Would the record, Mr. Chairman, also show that I took the initiative in mentioning this to Mr. Morris?

Senator WATKINS. You mentioned it, but did you decline to let him have them?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I suggested that I would wait until you arrived, sir.

Senator WATKINS. As I indicated, the Chair will allow you to leave the documents here for the purpose of checking them to see whether or not they are properly admissible.

We do not know what is in them; we have not seen them. We want to know what goes into this record. In other words, that is our responsibility.

Mr. SOURWINE. The first specific offer you are making is your record?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The first specific offer is a Department of Foreign Service personnel notice, dated October 14, 1946.

Senator WATKINS. That is identified sufficiently, I take it, for the purpose of the record. I do not want you to read what is in it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I want to describe what is under the words "nature of action" since it will then identify the document.

Senator WATKINS. Is that not self-apparent without you explaining that it is there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I feel at this point that if I am leaving it for the committee perhaps I should identify it by its title.

Senator WATKINS. Proceed.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. "Nature of action, termination of services without prejudice."

The second document, also Division of Foreign Service Personnel, dated June 4, 1947, with the title "Termination and lump-sum payment."

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Friedman, when a man resigns from the State Department, is that technically a termination of services without prejudice?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am introducing into the record—

Mr. MORRIS. You are offering to be introduced into the record.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am offering. Excuse me. I am not familiar with the procedures.

Senator WATKINS. You can give the date of the letter, and if it is your letter, without telling us what is in it. That is what we want.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. This is a letter dated November 6, 1951, signed by Elbridge Durbrow, Chief, Division of Foreign Service Personnel.

Senator WATKINS. That is enough identification.

Mr. SOURWINE. My question, sir, which remains unanswered, is when an official of the State Department or an employee of the State Department resigns, is that technically termination without prejudice?

MR. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I believe it is.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you resign?

MR. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I did not resign.

MR. SOURWINE. Your severance was involuntary as far as you are concerned?

MR. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; my severance was voluntary, and I waited for the State Department procedures to effectuate the act of termination.

MR. SOURWINE. You mean you elected to leave?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I desired to leave; yes, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you communicate your desire to the superiors or superior in any way?

MR. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. But you did not resign?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I communicated my desires to my chief in Shanghai on at least two occasions, and I informed Mr. Vincent in Washington, and he was still the Director, that I was preparing to leave the Foreign Service of the United States.

At that time, legislation on the Foreign Service was about to go into effect, and I waited for that legislation to take place.

MR. SOURWINE. Were you technically in the Foreign Service of the United States?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I was on the Foreign Service auxiliary which terminated with this new legislation of November 1946.

MR. SOURWINE. But you did not resign?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I did not submit a letter of resignation, no, sir.

SENATOR WATKINS. What you did was tantamount, was it not, to a resignation?

MR. FRIEDMAN. It was my wish to leave.

SENATOR WATKINS. That is what you say, "I want to leave." That was a resignation. "I want to leave, and I am going to leave, the service."

MR. FRIEDMAN. If I may just explain this point, since Mr. Sourwine has raised it, that when the State Department inquired which wanted to stay and which wanted to leave, in the Foreign Service, and this was in August of 1946, I then informed my superior that I was prepared to stay on until about June 1947, in the course of which I was hoping a successor would come out and I would break him in.

Then subsequently I decided that I would like to leave by the first of the year, and the Department decided that the best date was this date of the new legislation taking effect.

MR. SOURWINE. You have another specific offer for the record?

MR. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. This will be your offer number four.

MR. FRIEDMAN. Will I receive from the committee a receipt for these documents?

SENATOR WATKINS. I think we can.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you want the documents returned to you?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I should like them returned to me.

MR. SOURWINE. You are offering them for the record. How are we going to have them in the record if you want them returned?

MR. FRIEDMAN. Perhaps after the conclusion, if the committee decides to include them in the record, the actual documents will be returned to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not see how we can put a document in our record and return it to you at the same time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Perhaps a copy can be made for that purpose.

Mr. MORRIS. They are photostatic copies, are they not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In any event, the record stands clear that you desire to have these documents returned to you.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. These are not originals, are they?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. These are photostatic copies.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who procured the photostats?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yourself? You did not make them, did you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were made commercially?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. From the originals?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The originals are in your possession?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. If the originals are in your possession, why do you want the photostats back?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, if the committee would prefer the photostats, I would prefer to keep the originals myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you if the originals were in your possession, why do you want the photostats back?

Senator WATKINS. In other words, what you are submitting here are photostats, and we are wondering why you want those back, if you have the originals.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think just to preserve them and not to have to make any new ones, if there are any further hearings.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you are offering the committee here are photostats that you have had made of original documents in your possession, and you are asking that the photostats be returned to you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

May I also offer another exhibit which I believe will complete the description of Mrs. Widener, who testified before the committee, and whose civil service was introduced into the record with the exception of her letter of resignation or termination. Therefore, I should like to submit for the record and the consideration of this committee two articles that appeared—

Senator EASTLAND (presiding). You may proceed. Let me get my bearings. If you want to offer something, you want to offer something in the record?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. You have to submit it to the counsel.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I was following—I don't quite know the procedures.

Senator EASTLAND. I say submit it to the counsel and I will hear from him whether he wants to object to it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, generally if we have witnesses who want something introduced into the record, by way of expediting and facilitating its entry into the record it is our practice, either in executive session or in formal hearings before the committee—

Senator EASTLAND. Wait a minute. I understand the background. But whatever goes in, it should be submitted to the counsel, and when it goes in I will hear from the counsel, whether he objects to it or what.

Mr. SOURWINE. The witness wanted the record at this time to show what he was offering for the chair to pass upon after counsel had had an opportunity to study it.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you objections?

Mr. MORRIS. I have objections. I think it is an unnecessary step that the witness is taking. We have been most liberal in introducing things into the record.

Senator EASTLAND. What I want to do is to file the stuff with you, all of it. Then when you go over it I will hear from you as to what your objections are, and pass upon it at that time.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Then you just wish me, without saying anything further, to hand this to Mr. Morris?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes, file the stuff with him.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Will we be able to identify them?

Mr. MORRIS. They will be properly identified.

Senator EASTLAND. It will be properly identified if I let it go into the record. I will let it go into the record if he does not object. If he objects, I will hear his grounds of objecting, and then I will pass upon it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I see. But may I just say a word to indicate to Mr. Morris which articles I am introducing?

Senator EASTLAND. I wish you would just let him have the stuff that you want to go in. You can make a list of it, if you want to, get him to sign it, if you want to, and he will give you a receipt for it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I then offer another document, sir, which is a typewritten copy of a testimonial?

Senator EASTLAND. The same ruling is going to apply to all of those. With anything like that, just give it to him and if you want a receipt for it, he will give you a receipt.

(The documents referred to were marked exhibits Numbers 741A, 741B, 741C, 741D, 741E, and 741F, and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 741-A

FORM FS 54 REVISED 1-4-45

FP: AOS <i>RW</i>		DIVISION OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT OF STATE		DATE Oct. 14, 1946 ARRIVAL NO 10-22
NAME (LAST)	Friedman	(FIRST)	Julian	(INITIAL)
DATE OF BIRTH	6.2.20			SERVICE Auxiliary APPROPRIATION 1970509
THIS IS TO NOTIFY YOU OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONNEL ACTION CONCERNING YOUR EMPLOYMENT.				
NATURE OF ACTION		EFFECTIVE DATE		
Termination of services without prejudice		to be established		
FROM		TO		
POSITION TITLE	Jr. Economic Analyst			
GRADE AND SALARY	\$3848			
POST	Shanghai			
BASIC SALARY	\$3848			
AMOUNT OF TEMPORARY INCREASE	nil			
APPROPRIATION	1970509			
POSITION NUMBER	A-2873		Abolished	
REMARKS				
Reason of termination due to liquidation of Auxiliary Service.				
Effective date to be established after arrival in U.S. Travel should be completed before 11.12.46				
353				
DATE OF BIRTH	DATE ASSIGNED	NATURE OF POSITION		MARITAL STATUS AND CHILDREN UNDER 21
		PERM	TEMP	FULL
		X		X
SEX	AMERICAN OR FOREIGN BORN	LEGAL RESIDENCE		RETIRED
male	American			YES
FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE				
<div style="text-align: right;"> <i>Charles H. Gray</i> </div>				
<div style="text-align: center;"> 1 </div>				
CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL				

EMPLOYEE'S COPY

EXHIBIT No. 741-B

FORM FS 348 REVISED 1-4-50

DIVISION OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT OF STATE				DATE 6-4-47 JOURNAL NO.								
NAME (LAST)	(FIRST)	(INITIAL)	DATE OF BIRTH	CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY								
FRIEDMAN	Julian	R.	6-2-20									
THIS IS TO NOTIFY YOU OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONNEL ACTION CONCERNING YOUR EMPLOYMENT.				SERVICE FSS								
NATURE OF ACTION Termination & Lump-sum payment			EFFECTIVE DATE CUB 11-15-46	1970551								
POSITION TITLE	FROM	TO										
Jr. Econ. Anal.		Period Nov. 11-15/46 is approved as transit allowable by air from Shanghai to Rockville Centre, N.Y.										
GRADE AND SALARY	FSS-11 33720											
POST	Shanghai											
BASIC SALARY	\$3720											
AMOUNT OF TEMPORARY INCREASE	Nil											
APPROPRIATION	1970551											
POSITION NUMBER	SH-69											
REMARKS:	<p>Termination of services without prejudice effective CUB 11-15-46. Lump-sum payment authorized for 13 1/2 days cumulative annual leave and 52 1/2 days accrued current annual leave. Payment to be made by Department. Further communications regarding lump-sum payment should be addressed to the Division of Finance.</p> <p>Address: 18 Davison Place, Rockville Centre, New York.</p>											
DATE OF BIRTH	DATE ASSIGNED	NATURE OF POSITION										
		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>PROV</td> <td>TEMP</td> <td>FULL</td> <td>TAKE</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>X</td> <td></td> <td>X</td> </tr> </table>			PROV	TEMP	FULL	TAKE		X		X
PROV	TEMP	FULL	TAKE									
	X		X									
SEX	AMERICAN OR FOREIGN BORN	LEGAL RESIDENCE										
Male	AMERICAN	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>LEGAL RESIDENCE</td> <td>NO</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>X</td> </tr> </table>			LEGAL RESIDENCE	NO		X				
LEGAL RESIDENCE	NO											
	X											
FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE												
1												
CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL												
EMPLOYEE'S COPY												

EXHIBIT No. 741-C

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 6, 1951.

In reply refer to: FP

Mr. JULIAN R. FRIEDMAN,

18 Davison Place, Rockville Centre, New York.

DEAR MR. FRIEDMAN: Your letter of September 28, 1951, regarding an article appearing in the September 19 issue of the Herald Tribune has been referred to me for reply.

In 1946, you were one of approximately 80 officers in the Foreign Service who were terminated as a result of the liquidation of the Foreign Service Auxiliary. As you know, this was a temporary wartime branch of the Department of State which was abolished on November 12, 1946, following the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. The term "Without prejudice" was rather broadly used at that time for separation of employees because of reductions in force, resignations for personal reasons, or, as in this case, terminations due to the discontinuance of the Auxiliary branch of the Foreign Service.

It will not be possible to supply you with the various communications you request, since the policy of the Department precludes the release of this material. Furthermore, the Department released no information to the press regarding your employment or your termination from the Foreign Service. Any statements purportedly made by Mr. Eugene Dooman were made by him as a private individual, and not as a State Department official. Mr. Dooman has not been an employee of the Department of State since 1945.

Sincerely yours,

[s] Elbridge Durbrow
ELBRIDGE DURBROW.

Chief, Division of Foreign Service Personnel.

EXHIBIT No. 741-D

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

(University of London)

Houghton Street, Aldwych,

LONDON, W. C. 2

Mr. JULIAN R. FRIEDMAN was accepted by this School as a graduate student in March 1947. His knowledge of and interest in the social and allied problems of colonial territories attracted the attention of his supervisors, and as there was then a vacancy on the teaching staff of the School he was invited to become an assistant lecturer in colonial social science in the autumn of 1947. At that time the London School of Economics was conducting a course in colonial social studies at the request of the Colonial Office, and it was in the arrangements for the teaching for this course that Mr. Friedman participated. We were entirely satisfied with the way in which he carried out his duties, and in October 1950 he was appointed to a lectureship in colonial administration, since it was in this particular sphere that his interests were concentrated. Once again we were entirely satisfied with the manner in which he discharged his duties. He has now decided to return to the United States, and indeed he had told us from the beginning that his stay in this country would only be for a short period of years.

Mr. Friedman has been a most welcome member of the staff and has taken a full part in the social life of the School. He served for a period as the secretary of the Senior Common Room. The teaching duties allotted to him were not easy to carry out because the field is not very clearly defined; there is an absence of literature and no established tradition of instruction. Mr. Friedman overcame these difficulties. He is a careful and conscientious teacher who has the interests of his students much in mind. Some of these students have been officers of British colonial governments seconded to this country for the purpose of taking a year's course at this School. It was obvious that this country to undertake the instruction of students of this class. Mr. Friedman showed that he possesses the tact and accomplishment necessary for this unusual and difficult duty, and this is a very considerable tribute to him. He has shown in his publications considerable breadth of mind and power of understanding; and he has greatly deepened and enlarged his interests since he has been with us. He is in a sense an explorer in a new country, the boundaries of which are not clearly visible. Thus it is more difficult than elsewhere to produce results. It is greatly to his credit that he has not rushed in and attempted to make contributions before he had consolidated his background. What he has contributed shows great promise of the future.

I have no hesitation whatever in recommending Mr. Friedman as a most valuable member of the staff of a university.

(Signed) A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS,
Director.

28th May, 1951.

Original to Dr. B. Stewart, Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts.

Copied by: JRF.

Checked by: ————

EXHIBIT No. 741-E

[New York Journal-American, Wednesday, December 12, 1951]

ACCUSES VOICE OF CENSORING SLAPS AT REDS—WRITER SAYS SCRIPT CUT

(By Howard Rushmore)

Voice of America scripts which contained "too hard-hitting criticisms" of Russia and not enough of the State Department's official "subtle and indirect approach" to the subject were censored by the local voice office, a veteran radio writer charged today.

Mrs. Alice Widener of 829 Park ave., said portions of her original scripts were cut to eliminate "criticisms which I considered factual and direct based on thorough research and investigation."

Mrs. Widener, who prepared 40 scripts for the Voice of America's overseas short wave at the standard rate of \$40 per script said some of these documents were now being studied by the Senate subcommittee on Internal Security.

HER SCRIPT SUBPOENAED

Mrs. Widener, who appeared as a witness before the Senate group in public hearings last Summer in connection with public hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations, said she had testified "for two hours in closed sessions on the Voice of America."

Copies of her original scripts and those used in the actual broadcast were then subpoenaed by the subcommittee, Mrs. Widener said.

The free-lance writer worked for the State Department's local office, 224 W. 57th st., from January to June of this year.

Mrs. Widener said her chief objection came when her scripts dealing with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund were cut to eliminate criticism of Russia "turning this worth-while cause" into "a political football, while refusing to contribute funds."

Since the UN organization was founded in 1946, the United States has given \$75,000,000, with 45 other nations giving \$115,000,000 including such "war-wrecked nations as Belgium and Holland," Mrs. Widener said.

"I was asked to prepare a script for international broadcast pointing up the value of this children's group," she added.

"Three paragraphs of my script were directly critical of Russia's refusal to contribute to the world's hungry children. They were cut out of the broadcast with only a one-sentence rebuke to Stalin left in."

DELETED ITEM BARED

Mrs. Widener produced her original script and the official State Department broadcast which eliminated the following criticism:

"A representative of the Soviet Union does play a political part in UNICEF by setting on the executive committee. However, this man and his government seem perfectly content merely to sit and talk about suffering children.

"Today millions of grateful mothers whose children have thrived and progressed under UNICEF care can say 'the Communists sit and talk about defending children. But people in free countries act to defend children.'"

The official broadcast mentioned Russia's refusal to contribute money to children's relief but all other criticism was removed by Mrs. Widener's superiors.

RUMANIA SCRIPT CUT

On another occasion, Mrs. Widener said she had been assigned to prepare a script answering a Rumanian propaganda statement that a mother of nine children in that satellite nation had gone to work on a factory night-shift to show her loyalty to Stalin.

Her original script contained the following paragraph which was cut by the Voice of America in the final broadcast:

"People in free countries wish to know about the sincerity of Olena Pichkova's (the Rumanian mother) gratitude to Stalin. Is it really possible that a woman can be grateful to a political leader for the fact that her nine sleeping children are left without a mother's care at night."

Another script by Mrs. Widener dealing with the same subject had the following criticism deleted in the actual broadcast:

"It's easy to understand just why these Rumanian women and all women in Communist lands are so worried about what a mother can do for her small children while she's away at work.

"Now that millions of these women have been lured and forced by Communists to take jobs outside the home, mothers are facing the tragic fact that neither the Soviet government nor any other Communist regime can provide enough child-care centers and day nurseries to meet maternal needs."

Mrs. Widener said she was dismissed after six months and was told that her scripts "were too hard-hitting and not the subtle and indirect approach" required of State Department writers.

"My superiors were not Communists," Mrs. Widener told the N. Y. Journal-American. "They were merely following their orders from Washington. But most of the principal propaganda points in my scripts were either eliminated or weakened here.

"But I believe that people behind the iron curtain who risk their lives to listen to our broadcasts want direct truth and not 'subtle and indirect' propaganda. That was what I tried to give them. And I found that the Voice of America didn't want it."

EXHIBIT No. 471-F

[New York Journal American, December 13, 1951]

"TIME LIMITATIONS"—OFFICIALS EXPLAIN "VOICE" DELETIONS

(By Howard Rushmore)

Voice of America officials today said that deletions were made in the Anti-Russian scripts of a writer for the State Department's propaganda agency because of "time limitations" and "too much editorial content."

Mrs. Alice Widener, 829 Park Ave., had charged that cuts were made in some of the 40 programs she did for the Voice because her superiors told her the scripts "were too hard-hitting."

Foy D. Kohler, chief of the Voice of America, said at his office, 251 W. 57th St., that Mrs. Widener had "never done anything we considered at all useful."

ACTION DEFENDED

In reply Mrs. Widener's accusation that the Voice wanted more "subtle and indirect" writing dealing with the Russian scene, Kohler said:

"We never considered her one of our psychological warriors, skilled in various forms of propaganda. We have been accused of being too hard-hitting by Western European audiences where we must use the subtle approach.

"We have to tailor our broadcasts to fit the audiences."

Mrs. Widener's immediate superiors, who terminated her employment as a free lance script writer last June, complained that Mrs. Widener "used too much editorializing in her scripts after her point had been made."

DELETION QUOTED

Mrs. Widener had stated one of the important deletions of her script dealt with Russia's refusal to contribute any money to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

The deletion which the State Department now claims was too "editorial" for their anti-Russian propaganda follows:

"A representative of the Soviet Union does play a political part in UNICEF by sitting on the executive committee. However, this man and his government seem perfectly content merely to sit and talk about suffering children.

"Today millions of grateful mothers whose children have thrived and progressed under UNICEF care can say 'the Communists sit and talk about defending children. But people in free countries act to defend children'."

"SURPRISED"

Mrs. Widener said that she was surprised that Kohler had accused her of incompetence.

"Last Summer Mrs. Olive Remington Goldman wrote Mr. Kohler praising my assistance and advice given during the sessions of the UN Commission on the Status of Women at which Mrs. Goldman was the United States delegate," she declared.

"In this letter, Mrs. Goldman told Mr. Kohler that the Voice should be praised for having me connected with it.

"I never knew that Mrs. Goldman sent this letter until she told me several weeks later. She expressed surprise that Mr. Kohler had not told me about it."

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Fine, thank you, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Friedman, I want to run through a list of publications here, and I will lay the foundation very briefly.

In connection with your work in the State Department and your interest in the Far East, did you think it necessary or desirable to do any reading in literature having to do with the Chinese Communist movement?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I did believe it desirable to read.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you read some such literature?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. I believe at the time that I read such a book as Mr. Gunther Stein's Red Challenge.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to read through this list and if you remember having read any of these please say so.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir. That is, remember reading them at the time of my employment in the State Department?

Mr. SOURWINE. If you remember you ever read the book. Years of Fulfillment, by Harriet Moore?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Soviet Communism, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe I read parts of that; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Soviet State, by B. W. Maxwell?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Racial Myth, by Paul Radin?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I have read Mr. Radin's book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you read Ryuiche Kaji's review of that, by any chance?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Soviet Russia Fights Crime, by Lenka von Koerber?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that volume. Is that a book or a pamphlet? Would you have some indication?

Mr. SOURWINE. The distinction between pamphlets forms and book forms is one I would not be prepared to answer with regard to that publication.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. It might assist.

Mr. SOURWINE. A Soviet Study of the American Position in the Far East, by Harriet Moore?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't believe I have read that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Literature on the Chinese Soviet Movement, a bibliography prepared by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Agricultural Economy of China, by L. Mad-yar?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I don't recall that volume.

Mr. SOURWINE. Karl Radek's Theoretical Analysis of Chinese History?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I don't believe I have ever read that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Safarov's History of the Development of Chinese Society?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not familiar with that first-hand, no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies, Thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I may have read that, yes, sir. I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Between the Fifth and the Sixth World Congresses, 1924-28: A report on the position of all sections of the world Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am not sure of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yelk's The Chinese Revolution?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Would you spell the author's name, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Y-e-l-k.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I don't believe I have read that volume.

Mr. SOURWINE. British Imperialisms in China, by G. Voitinsky?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that volume either.

Mr. SOURWINE. Hansu Chan, Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Revolution, an article in China Today?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Would you pronounce that again?

Mr. SOURWINE. Hansu Chan, Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Revolution?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't recall that.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Situation in China by G. Voitinsky?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Again I don't recall that one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Resolution on the Chinese Question Passed by the Sixth Plenum of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Again I don't recall whether I have read that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever read any of the volumes of the publication Imprecorr?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know what that publication is?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe it would be a publication of the Communist International.

Mr. SOURWINE. International press correspondence, yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. International press correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are correct about the publication.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I have read that, no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you read a speech by Stalin in the Chinese Commission of the Seventh Plenum which was published in pamphlet form?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Again I believe I have read speeches by Stalin on China and I am pretty sure that would have been included.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have just a few more questions?

Senator EASTLAND. You may proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other country?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I am not a member of the Communist Party of the United States; I have never been, and I am not a member and have never been a member, of the Communist Party of any country.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you ever solicited by any one to join the Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't believe so.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you ever discuss it with any member?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have never discussed joining the Communist Party.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you ever discussed communism with members of the party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I have.

Senator EASTLAND. Who were they?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I referred to Mr. John Horner, of the British Communist Party, of whom I have discussed communism; yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Who in the United States?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I have ever discussed communism with any American Communists.

Senator EASTLAND. What Communists or pro-Communists have you associated with in this country?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In this country?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes. That is, such as Mr. Lattimore. Who else?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Are you identifying Mr. Lattimore as a Communist or pro-Communist, Senator?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The only answer I can give is that I have associated with Mr. Lattimore; yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Who else?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, if you could be more specific, perhaps I can give you a specific answer.

Senator EASTLAND. I cannot be specific. I want information. I am asking a question to get information.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think I——

Mr. MORRIS. You have associated with Israel Epstein have you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have met Mr. Epstein; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You have associated with him, have you not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have been at his home; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And do you think he is a Communist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think I can say that he is a pro-Communist; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you being responsive to Senator Eastland's question under the circumstances?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If you mentioned Epstein, yes; I know Epstein.

Senator EASTLAND. I did not mention it. I asked you the question. Who else is there?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I just don't recall any American Communists or pro-Communists with whom I have discussed communism.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever discuss it with Agnes Smedley?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think I have discussed China with Agnes Smedley without discussing communism with Agnes Smedley.

Senator EASTLAND. You associated with Agnes Smedley? She was an associate of yours?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. She was not an associate. I have been acquainted with Agnes Smedley; yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you a Marxist?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I don't think so, and I don't think the Marxists consider me one, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Would you call yourself a sympathizer to communism?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I would not call myself a sympathizer with communism. I have my own affirmative views on matters political and they are certainly not consistent with the views of the Communists.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever knowingly assisted the Communist Party of any country, or any person or persons known to you to be Communists or pro-Communists?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't believe I have ever done so knowingly, and I don't think I have done so unknowingly.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been asked to do so?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I don't believe I have ever been asked to—yes, I am sure I have made suggestions to Miss Smedley or Mr. Epstein or Mr. Horner.

Mr. MORRIS. Such as what kind of suggestions?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I just don't recall specifically.

Mr. MORRIS. You said you are sure you have made such suggestions to those persons.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I mean suggestions in the sense of "Won't you come over for dinner?" or "Won't we go out for a walk?"

Mr. MORRIS. Beyond that you have not made any?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; not that I recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been asked or invited or urged to join the Communist Party of any country?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; I do not believe I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever received any advice or directives on policy from any Communist or pro-Communist source during the entire time you were employed by the United States?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever received any money, reward, emolument, decoration, or praise from any Communist government or its representatives at any time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator EASTLAND. That will be all. You are excused.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m., Tuesday, April 1, 1952, the hearing was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

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(NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.)

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