

# Union Calendar No. 523

82d Congress, 2d Session

House Report No. 1661

# REVIEW OF THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION FORMERLY THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE



FEBRUARY 17, 1952

(Original release date)

MARCH 27, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the  
State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1952

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## REVIEW OF THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

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Mr. WALTER, from the Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following

### REPORT

[Pursuant to Public Law 601, 79th Cong.]

**REVIEW OF**  
**THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION**  
**FORMERLY**  
**THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE**  
**INTRODUCTION**

In recent months the demand on the House Committee on Un-American Activities for information regarding the Methodist Federation for Social Action by Members of Congress has been of such volume as to require a careful and studied review of the information regarding this organization and its predecessor, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, that is available to the committee.

This review is merely a compilation of the record showing activities and policies of these organizations as reflected by their own documents and letters, articles and statements of their officials, as well as articles appearing in the public press concerning these organizations.

Since the original release of this report, it has come to the attention of the committee that some individuals have had the misunderstanding that this report is directed at the Methodist Church and its members in the United States. This committee has never attacked a church group as such and has no intention of doing so now.

The sole purpose of the committee in the preparation of this report is to show the activities of an organization which has chosen to use the name of the Methodist Church in its title and which has been repudiated by outstanding clergymen and laymen of the Methodist Church.

**BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF THE METHODIST  
FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE**

While the Methodist Federation for Social Service was founded in 1907, information in the files of this committee begins with the year of 1928.

The April 15, 1928, issue of the Social Service Bulletin has the following to say on the history of the organization:

The Methodist Federation for Social Service was organized in 1907. The General Conference of 1908 assigned to it certain questions for study. The General Conference of 1912 approved certain measures of social reform and principles of social progress presented in the Federation's report, and declared the organization to be the executive agency to rally the forces of the church in support of those measures. The General Conference of 1924 said: "Whereas, It is imperative that there be some authorized agency in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the purpose of raising before the Church the question of the social implications of the gospel of Jesus; therefore "Resolved, That we commend the Methodist Federation for Social Service for its splendid activities in carrying on the work specified herein."

The Federation is governed by an executive committee of five and a general council of fifty-six widely representative of the church. These bodies are elected by the membership. A small office is maintained in New York. Harry F. Ward and Winifred L. Chappell are the secretaries. There is one office assistant. The work is financed by membership fees and voluntary contributions. An "optional apportionment plan" has been adopted by several annual conferences in accordance with which any church in the conference may make an appropriation to this

work from its benevolence fund of an amount equal to one-half of one per cent of the preacher's salary, including house rent. Where this plan is effective as in Rock River, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, it is because a local group has promoted it.

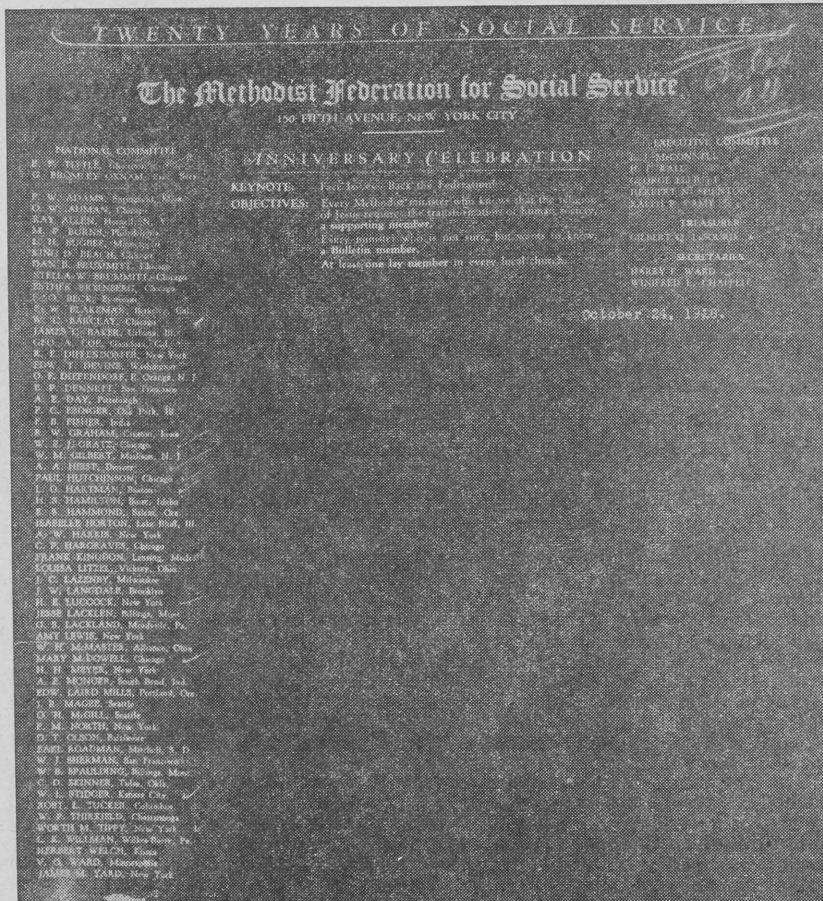
The Methodist Federation for Social Service is celebrating its twentieth anniversary. A national committee of 63, with Ernest F. Tittle as chairman and G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, is sponsoring the celebration. The occasion is being used to promote churchwide discussion of such issues as war, property, labor, civil liberties, and to extend membership in the Federation.

Groups and individuals across the country are spontaneously and energetically promoting this program. The church press is giving it publicity. A week of celebration at General Conference May 21st to 27th will end this initial campaign and launch a wider program of discussion and activity.

Items in the Kansas City program will be a platform meeting on the evening of May 21st, one or more get-together dinners, a mass meeting on the church and labor, on May 27th, a handbook giving a brief picture of twenty years of social service.

A letterhead of the organization dated October 24, 1928, is reproduced here.

EXHIBIT 1



Methodist Federation for Social Service, letterhead, dated October 24, 1928

The Social Service Bulletin for November 15, 1931, reflects the names of Harry F. Ward, and Winifred L. Chappell as editors and contains the following:

The general policies of this publication are determined by the Executive Committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, subject to approval by the General Council of the Federation. The selection of topics and material is committed to the Secretaries, who are responsible to the Federation and to the public for its accuracy.

In the April 15, 1932, issue of the Social Service Bulletin will be found the following:

The Federation has continued to cooperate with boards and agencies within our own church and with many groups outside the church working definitely for a new social order. Among these may be mentioned several departments of the Federal Council of Churches, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, Labor Research Association, International Labor Defense, Committee on Militarism in Education, Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is participating in a joint council of organizations concerned with civil liberties, and a joint council of organizations dealing with unemployment.

The Social Questions Bulletin for November 1939 contains an article by Dr. Harry F. Ward. In discussing the cause and effect of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Dr. Ward says:

The question of the outcome of the moral emotions now being aroused against the Soviet also has another bearing. Here they are being translated into anti-Communism, and this is being used under the leadership of Dies in a new red hunt which promises, under other leadership, to be more intelligent, as well as more ruthless, than that under Mitchell Palmer after the last war. The foundations of our democracy are being assailed under the cry of saving it from the reds. Even if we manage to stay out of the war it is clear that we have a continuous and difficult job to protect our democratic rights from the massed attack of reaction, using war-time feelings for its dynamic. A later Bulletin will deal with this question.

The Social Questions Bulletin for October 1940 carries the following on the masthead:

Social Questions Bulletin of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

#### ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Reports of the annual meetings, conferences, conventions, or sessions of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the Methodist Federation for Social Action have been the sources of much material and information concerning those matters advocated or supported by the Federation and its officials.

1936

The Washington News of January 7, 1936 contains the following news item, date line Chicago:

The "radical nature" of a program to be discussed January 14 at a regional session of the Methodist Federation of Social Service today was expected to bring vigorous objections from a laymen's conference of the church.

Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri, former U. S. Agriculture Secretary, said that executive of the laymen's group have a copy of the program of the social service conference and are preparing a formal statement.

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An invitation accompanying the program says:

"The present capitalistic order, with its profit motive, has outlived its usefulness and should be replaced by an order capable of providing abundant life, physical and cultural, for all."

1937

The Chicago Herald-Examiner of May 6, 1937, contains the following news item on the annual convention of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, held at Evanston, Illinois:

Alliance of the pulpit with communism was voted by the unofficial Methodist Federation for Social Service at its annual convention yesterday in the Evanston Y. M. C. A.

Resolutions were adopted indorsing the action of the Red-dominated American Civil Liberties Union in demanding freedom of speech for all clergymen.

Voted also was a resolution to ask the Civil Liberties Union to name a committee to investigate instances where preachers have been removed from their pulpits for radical utterances.

Last Spring the quadrennial conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church repudiated the social service group after the Methodist Laymen's League charged that five of its leaders were also members of Moscow-directed organizations.

A year ago the federation also voted, 53 to 10, to affiliate with the American League Against War and Fascism, known as "the Red front."

Included in the latest action was a protest to the board of bishops against penalizing ministers "who express liberal, social and economic views."

All the resolutions were sent to the floor by a committee headed by the Rev. George Tucker, D. D., pastor of the Indianola Methodist Church of Columbus, Ohio.

Another resolution opposed legislation for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. It was reported out by a committee headed by the Rev. A. A. Heist of the Lawrence Methodist Church, Los Angeles. He declared:

"We are also opposed to the incorporation of labor unions. If they are compelled to incorporate, then all employers' groups should be forced to do so and make public their financial status."

John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization were lauded in a third resolution for unionizing workers in mass production industries.

Among members of Dr. Heist's committee are Professor John C. Lazenby of the Milwaukee State Teacher's College, and the Rev. W. B. Waltmire of the Humboldt Park Community Church. The latter was one of the five "Reds" named last year by the laymen's organization.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell of New York, president of the federation, who was also named among the five radicals, was the honored guest at a dinner commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his elevation.

The American League Against War and Fascism, with which the Methodist Federation for Social Action was allegedly affiliated, has been classified by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist organization and has also been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. The American Civil Liberties Union has not been investigated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the inclusion of the foregoing news item in this report should not be construed as an expression of opinion by this committee as to whether that organization was "red-dominated" in 1937 or at any subsequent date.

1938

The Bureau County Republican, a newspaper of Princeton, Illinois, in the October 13, 1938 issue, at page 1, contains the following front page article regarding the Methodist Federation for Social Service:

The Methodist Federation for Social Service, an organization seeking the overthrow of the profit or private ownership system, has a strong organization in the Rock River Conference, according to a circular letter distributed to the ministers and lay delegates at the annual conference in Chicago last week. The Federation is organizing in every district conference of the church. The one for this district

is termed "The Rock River branch" and is a subsidiary of the national organization which has its main offices in the Methodist Episcopal church building at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The Federation terms the "Soviet system" as "the most perfect yet devised by any nation."

According to the circular letter passed out last week the Rock River branch has 24 ministers acting either as officers of the Federation, chairman of various committees or members of the advisory committee.

The circular lists the officials as follows:

President—Armand Guerrero.

Vice President—Rural, H. P. Buxton; women, Esther Bjornberg; youth, Herman Will.

Secretary and Treasurer—Ralph Kofoed, Route 3, Woodstock, Ill.

The following are chairmen of various committees:

Civil Liberties—Fred J. Schnell.

Cooperatives—Wade C. Barclay.

Labor Organization—Reynold L. Hoover.

Peace—Raymond H. Lowry.

Rural Construction—E. L. Stanton.

Social Education—John Irwin.

State Legislation—Ray Bond.

Temperance and Reform—A. C. Nesmith.

Unemployment Relief—W. B. Waltmire.

The following are named as members of the "advisory committee":

Warren N. Clark, Will L. Collin, Charles R. Goff, Harris Franklin Rall, Ernest Fremont Tittle, Mary Randolph Bloomquist, Merle L. English, R. L. Semans, Earl Whitchurch.

Rev. Ernest Fremont Tittle, named as a member of the advisory committee, is the pastor of the First Methodist Church of Evanston, one of the largest churches of the district. He is also a trustee of Northwestern University.

The Civil Liberties Committee is an organization protecting the right of radicals on the basis of free speech. The cooperative committee is working on a program to put local retail merchants out of business. The labor organization demands more legislation for labor unions. It is not content with having the National Labor Relations Board and the labor department. The peace committee is an organization whose purpose is to influence beginners in the "right" general direction on social problems. What it turns [terms] a turn in the "right" direction is in reality a turn to the left. Meetings are held under emergency peace, military disarmament and other titles. The social committee has to do with the youth movement to train the youth in the "right direction." The social legislative committee has to do with the overthrow of the profit system. The reform and unemployment committees take up class and other controversial subjects that promote discontent.

The circular letter appeals to the ministers and laymen to aid in a financial way through the church in keeping Dr. Charles C. Webber in the field and honoring their national leader, Bishop Francis J. McConnell. Dr. Webber is a co-secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service with offices at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Dr. Webber, at the annual conference of the Rock river district a year ago at Rockford, was the speaker on the occasion at the noon-day dinner in the Court Street church, who brought a special message from the Federation headquarters in New York City. His message at that time was that the steel industry would be the first one seized in taking over private property, to be operated under the communal plan. At that time he said he did not know when the movement would start. It might be in a month or it might be a year or even longer.

1939

The Bureau County Republican, issue of May 18, 1939, carries a front page story on a meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Service that was held in Kansas City, simultaneously with the Uniting Conference of the Methodist Church. The article, in part, is:

Five bishops of the new unified Methodist church in session at Kansas City last week aligned themselves with the radical Methodist Federation for Social Service which conducted a conference running simultaneously with the Uniting Conference. Three other bishops, at meetings of the Federation, were declared to be in sympathy with the organization, making eight bishops favoring their cause out of a total of more than 40 bishops present at the Uniting Conference. While the number of bishops endorsing the radical organization was small in proportion,

to the total number, yet their influence was tremendous over the entire session. It was so strong that no objection to their activities was expressed from any quarter. The Federation suffered only one defeat and that was when the Uniting Conference passed a motion to delete a pronouncement in favor of social economic planning from the discipline of the united church.

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

"The Methodist Federation for Social Service is an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction and privilege."

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

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

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

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

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

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

1947

The New York World-Telegram and the Scripps-Howard newspapers assigned staff writer Frederick Woltman to cover the annual conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, held in Kansas City, December 27-29, 1947. Mr. Woltman wrote an article in advance of the conference and filed two newspaper dispatches from Kansas City.

As a result of the Woltman articles and certain editorials appearing in the New York World-Telegram and other newspapers, Prof. Clyde R. Miller, a delegate to the conference, wrote the trustees of Columbia University demanding that they rescind the Pulitzer Prize awarded Mr. Woltman in 1947. Professor Miller accompanied his letter with a 15-page mimeographed "Report on Kansas City Meeting" which was prepared by the Methodist Federation for Social Action and purported to be in answer to the Woltman articles and editorials. Among the charges raised by Professor Miller were pre-conceived bias, deliberate distortion, misrepresentation and falsification. The New York World-Telegram prepared a point-by-point reply. Because of the importance of the Woltman articles, editorials and the New York World-Telegram reply, they are inserted herein and as are follows:

ARTICLES AND EDITORIALS IN FULL FROM THE NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM  
METHODIST MINORITY GROUP GIVES REDS SOUNDING BOARD FOR THEIR PARTY LINE

*By Frederick Woltman, World-Telegram Staff Writer*

The prestige of the Methodist Church will be used in Kansas City, Mo. this week end to furnish a national sounding board for Communists and fellow travelers to expound the gospel of the Communist line.

The occasion is the annual conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial but politically-powerful adjunct of the Methodist Church which, for years, has closely followed the Communist party line on many issues.

**Small—But Loud**

Although representing only a small minority of the nation's 11,000,000-odd Methodists, it's the only organized social action body in the church. It speaks in the name of 17 Methodist bishops and 4000 Methodist clerics and laymen. And it's highly articulate.

Most of the federation's rank and file members and officials are non-Communists. Many are pacifists.

**The Party Line**

Yet, if the federation and its scheduled speakers run true to form in Kansas City, the Soviet dictatorship will be extolled, America's entire foreign policy will be castigated, Yugoslavia's Communist dictator Tito will be greatly whitewashed and Chiang Kai-shek will be denounced.

One beneficiary of this religious sounding board is to be Carl Marzani, the Communists' own pet martyr. The federation's program describes him as "a victim of the present government loyalty purge."

Actually, Marzani was convicted by a federal jury and sentenced to one to three years in prison for concealing his Communist party membership in order to retain a key post in the Department of State.

**Liberties Issues Raised**

His subject is "The Christian Church and Civil Liberties."

A scheduled guest of honor is Feng Yu-hsiang, whom the program labels "Christian General."

A former Chinese war lord, Gen. Feng has been calling for the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and a coalition with the Chinese Communists. Earlier this week he defied Chiang's order to return at once from a government mission in the U. S.

The federation favors Gen. Feng's solution for China.

**More of the Same**

Its April, 1946, Social Problems Bulletin featured—as an authoritative commentary—a blistering attack on American policy in China. The author, Chu Tang, was described as "editor of the China Daily News, New York City."

What the bulletin neglected to mention is that Chu Tang has for long been an apologist for the Chinese Communists and that the China Daily News is the Chinese version of the Daily Worker.

The convention's expert on American-Soviet relations is to be Dr. Jerome Davis, long an admirer of the Soviet system.

In the June, 1947 bulletin, under the title, "The Acid Test—The Soviet Union," Dr. Davis summed up his views thus:

"Is it not probable that the greatest event of the 20th century thus far is the Soviet Revolution and all that it has meant to human welfare?" . . .

#### Eclipse of Individual

In the article, Dr. Davis sought to justify Russia's denial of individual liberties, one-party monopoly, bureaucracy, concentration camps and firing squads.

Accepting the official Soviet version, which holds all Stalin critics to be Fascists, he defended the firing squads and concentration camps in this grisly manner:

"Russia believes it is wiser to destroy the enemies of the people from within rather than wait until they foment war from without."

An even more fervent admirer of the Soviet system, Dr. Harry F. Ward, will be presented as an expert on minority rights and American-Soviet relations. The program describes him as "Honorary Chairman, Civil Rights Congress."

CRC is the current legal defense arm of the Communist party. Attorney General Tom C. Clark recently included it in the Department of Justice's list of subversive Communist organizations.

Intimate of Communist leaders and a plunger for the party for more than 20 years, Dr. Ward sets the pace for the federation's stand on foreign affairs in a regular column in its printed bulletin. It reads like the Communist party's official "America's always wrong; Russia's always right" statements.

America's foreign policy, wrote Dr. Ward last May, "is the Hitler program all over again."

#### Case of Dr. Shipley

As an expert on "The Christian Church and Europe" the federation invited Dr. Guy Emery Shipley, editor of *The Churchman*, who is listed as "head of Protestant delegation to Yugoslavia."

Supporter of many Communist fronts, five of which were listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark, Dr. Shipley last summer took six other Protestant clergymen on a whirlwind tour of Yugoslavia, which was productive of glowing interviews about the Tito Communist regime.

Tito paid the bill.

The program for the Kansas City convention, which runs from tomorrow to Monday, includes bishops, ministers, church workers and other speakers with no leftist political record. One of them is Kermit Eby, CIO research and education director, a non-Communist.

#### Militant Clergyman

Its political tone, however, is set by the speakers mentioned above as well as by the Rev. Jack McMichael, executive secretary and sparkplug of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Former youth leader in the Young Communist League and a constant Communist backer, Mr. McMichael has backed five fronts listed as Communist and subversive by the attorney general. Among the five, he was vice chairman of American Peace Mobilization, created by the Communist party to sabotage President Roosevelt's defense program during the Hitler-Stalin peace pact. And he was national chairman of the American Youth Congress which attacked the late President as a "warmonger" and booed him on the White House lawn.

It was under Mr. McMichael that the federation last year officially sponsored the formation of the National Committee to Win-the-Peace, also listed a subversive by the Attorney General.

#### Party Line

Its Social Questions Bulletin, a survey shows, closely follows the party line.

While unofficial and not a spokesman for the Methodist Church, the federation has its national offices in Methodist Church headquarters here; and it uses the Methodist Church telephone switchboard.

A booklet reporting its activities from 1907 to 1947 says: "Today, the Federation's Social Question Bulletin, its influence going far beyond Methodism, is a definite force in moulding the social thought of American Protestantism."

## MINORITY GROUP IN METHODIST CHURCH LAUDS RED POLICY

*By Frederick Woltman, World-Telegram Staff Writer*

Kansas City, Dec. 29.—The spirit of Christmas and the Sermon on the Mount were invoked here this week end as justification for an all-out attack on America's foreign policies and a glowing defense of the Soviet Union in both her foreign and domestic affairs.

Keynote speakers denounced the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, our atomic energy stand and our China policy at the annual meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a minority but highly articulate unofficial adjunct of the Methodist Church.

Had they been present, V. M. Molotov and William Z. Foster would have applauded enthusiastically. For what the speakers said, the Communists have been telling us all along.

But here religion was made the basic argument before about 75 delegates, including Methodist bishops, clergymen and church workers.

**Charges U. S. Falsehoods**

The keynoter on American-Soviet relations was Jerome Davis, long an ardent Soviet apologist. He accused American "capitalistic interests" and newspapers of "perpetuating falsehoods about the Soviet Union."

Mr. Davis urged that "America be the good Samaritan to Russia."

"The Christmas story, the story of Mary," declared another speaker, "means not the improvement of the present social order but its revolutionary abolition and replacement anew." He was the federation's executive secretary, the Rev. Jack McMichael, 30, who was once active in the Young Communist League and has been a diligent supporter of Communist fronts to date.

He accused the United States of backing "the rich and privileged of the world, the princes on their thrones, the grafters and the rich exploiters in China."

"The greatest moral and spiritual problem facing the American people," Mr. Davis told the delegates, "is not the struggle between Communism and democracy; that is a spurious issue. It is the struggle between reaction, the old order, the control of property and an emerging new order pushing its way up through blood, tears and strife."

The subject of the conference was "The Christian Church and Present Day Tensions." The Social Action program formulated here, according to Mr. McMichael, will be presented to the Methodist Church for its formal adoption.

What the meeting's planners had in mind for the federation's stand on international affairs was evident from their literature display. It contained many books and pamphlets on the Soviets but not one by a critic.

On the contrary, there was "Soviet Russia Since the War," by the Dean of Canterbury, England's leading apologist for the Stalin dictatorship.

**Display Red Pamphlets**

Scattered throughout the display were pamphlets from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which the Department of Justice recently termed a subversive, Communist group. One item from the council, the foremost pro-Soviet propaganda agency in America, was entitled "Bibliography, Recommended Readings of the Soviet Union."

While the speakers on foreign affairs spoke a line that paralleled the Communists, those on labor and agricultural problems did not. One was the Rev. Kermit Erby [Eby], CIO research and education director, who praised Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers president and chief foe of the Communists in the CIO.

Mr. Erby [Eby] called for "Christian social action in co-operation with labor to conquer poverty and eliminate substandard conditions."

The guest of honor was the former Chinese war lord and so-called Christian general, Feng Yu-hsiang, who last week defied his government's order to return to China.

**Feng Assails Chiang**

Through an interpreter, Gen. Feng, who claimed to speak "in the name of 450,000,000 Chinese," attacked Chiang Kai-shek as a dictator. Under Chiang today the general said, "anybody who uses the word 'democracy' or 'peace' will

immediately be condemned as a Communist and put into a concentration camp or thrown into a river and drowned."

"The Communist side," Feng said, "is really the army of the people, the peasants."

To escape concentration camps under Chiang, according to Feng, the wealthy have to pay 5,000,000 Chinese dollars and the poor "are told to sell their daughters to the bank to raise \$5,000,000." He did not explain what the banks do with the daughters.

Following Dr. Davis' speech there was some skepticism expressed from the floor about his all-out defense of the Soviet Union. One delegate said:

"The crowd in control in Russia seems to me as totalitarian as Hitler. How can I stand up in my pulpit and make the speech you did?"

#### Answers Questions

"Russia isn't perfect," replied Dr. Davis. "But we, too, have some people who occasionally make some mistakes. We have all sorts of restrictions on Communists here."

He was asked about labor camps in Russia and replied: "They are simply places to keep criminals." He was asked about Russia's seizure of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and replied she was entitled to them.

"It is true," said Dr. Davis, "that you can't attack socialism in Russia or Stalin personally and say Stalin should be hung. But the average Russian doesn't want to."

"If Russia sends innocent people to concentration camps and is tightening up on its civil liberties," he declared, "that is the fault of America—the terrific campaign of war talk in the United States."

#### Asks More Missionaries

"It's possible the Americans will come to their senses and realize they've got to get along with Russia," he stated. "I don't think we're absolutely bound to have Fascism in this country."

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston, president of the federation, called for more social missionaries in the opening address.

Bishop Hartman warned against "the blind alley of partisanship" in the federation and remarked:

"The totalitarians—both Fascist and Communist—seek, by stifling freedom of the press, assemblage and discussion, and by calling down fire from heaven in the form of secret police, to impose the millennium at once upon the ignorant masses of mankind."

There are times, he said, however, when Christians, Fascists, Communists, atheists and Republicans might be found supporting "some common program for humanity," but that does not mean all should be classified in the same bracket.

#### PRO-RUSSIAN STAND OF MINORITY CONDEMNED BY METHODISTS

#### THREAT OF RED IMPERIALISM IGNORED BY FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

*By Frederick Woltman, World-Telegram Staff Writer*

Kansas City, Dec. 30.—The threats of Russian imperialism, of the revived Communist International and of Communist infiltration tactics in America were ignored completely by the Methodist Federation of Social Action at its annual conference just ended here.

In a series of eight, lengthy "social action" declarations, the federation, a powerful but unofficial adjunct of the Methodist Church, tackled virtually every problem of consequence to America and the world today.

The resolutions contained not one single direct or implied criticism of the roles played by the Soviet dictatorship in the international scene or by the Communist party in the local scene. Nor was there the slightest hint of a conflict between world Communism and the remaining democracies of the world.

#### All Aimed at U. S.

The resolutions, which will eventually be presented to the Methodist Church, itself, for adoption, directed their fire solely at United States policies, either at home or abroad.

Dodging the question of whether the government has a right not to employ Communists who take their orders from Moscow, the conference asked an end to the President's recent order for loyalty tests; urged a withdrawal of the Executive order authorizing the Attorney General to make public a list of subversive Communist groups and opposed any law requiring members of the Communist party to register as foreign agents.

It asked an end to the Truman Doctrine for Greece, calling it a "perversion of the American democratic tradition." It attacked (without naming it) the Marshall Plan for European recovery as "a means of political pressure."

And it called for an embargo on United States military aid to the Chinese Nationalists and for a coalition Chinese government which would include the Communists. Although the question of Soviet military aid to the Chinese Communists was raised from the floor, it was left out of the resolutions. Ignored also was the resulting possibility of a Communist, Soviet-dominated China.

#### Baruch Plan Ignored

The Methodist Federation's American-Soviet relations report "appealed to the leaders of our government to surrender the methods of war." It opposed compulsory military training and demanded we stop manufacturing atomic bombs.

But no mention was made of the official Baruch plan for world atomic control, which the Communists oppose; or of Russia's insistence on the veto power and her basic opposition to any form of atomic inspection by a world agency—the crux of international atomic control.

#### Deny They Are Fronts

To an outsider, these omissions were hard to understand. The 75-odd delegates—Methodist clergymen, missionaries and other workers—are sincere believers that Christianity has a major responsibility for eradicating the ills of humanity. And that's their job to do something about it.

While liberal or leftish in their viewpoints, most of them it was evident, have no use for Communism. A few delegates were industrialists.

Indeed, the delegates unanimously and with vigor went on record declaring that the federation "proposes the Christianization of society, nothing more or less. It 'fronts' neither for Communism nor for capitalism. Its 'ism' is Christianity."

Among the active leaders were such distinguished Methodist bishops as Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston, retiring president of the federation; Bishop Robert N. Brooks of New Orleans, the federation's new Negro president; Bishop W. Earl Ledden, Syracuse; Bishop Edward Kelly and Bishop Charles Brashares, Iowa City, Iowa. Although not present, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Portland, Oreg., and Bishop Louis T. Watkins, Louisville, were elected vice presidents.

One possible explanation for the glaring omission of Communism and the Soviet Union as a factor in today's world crisis may be the fact that the cards were stacked against the delegates.

On the controversial issues of Russia, European recovery, China and civil liberties in America, they heard only one side of the story.

#### Long Record of Sympathy

Thus, the keynote speaker on civil liberties who masterminded that resolution was Dr. Harry F. Ward. Dr. Ward has worked closely with the Communist party and its leaders for many years. He has written for the party's official organ, the Daily Worker, praising Marxism.

In 1940 Dr. Ward resigned as chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, protesting its membership referendum banning Communists from the ACLU's board of directors. He is now co-chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, the legal defense arm of the Communist party. His sympathy with the Communists is widely known.

His keynote address might have come straight out of the Daily Worker.

In it, Dr. Ward declared: "All departments of the government, from the President down, are now engaged in destroying the Constitution." He proposed that the loyalty standards for federal employees be set by the United Public Workers (CIO), which is almost completely under Communist control.

His cospeaker was Carl Marzani, recently sentenced by a federal jury to a year in prison for concealing his Communist party membership in order to retain a key post in the OSS and later the State Department.

Denying he was a Communist party member, Mr Marzani told the delegates, nevertheless, that he was "very sympathetic to it."

"I did not join the Communist party," he said, "for the simple reason that I could not have kept my job as instructor at New York University."

#### No Critics Heard

The Soviet-American expert was Dr. Jerome Davis, long a fervent and uncompromising apologist for the Soviet Union. No critic of Russia spoke.

Mainspring of the convention was Dr. Jack McMichael, the federation's executive secretary. Dr. McMichael denied a statement, published by this reporter and elsewhere, that he was once a member of the Young Communist League. For years he has supported succession of Communist fronts, including the Civil Rights Congress, American Peace Mobilization (vice chairman) and American Youth Congress (chairman), all of which are on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive Communist organizations.

Shortly before the conference adjourned yesterday, one of its leaders and a strong anti-Communist, the Rev. Leland C. Spurrier, Celina, Tex., remarked to this reporter:

"There is a death struggle going on in the world today between Communism and Democracy."

Asked why that was never once mentioned before this Methodist gathering, Dr. Spurrier looked genuinely startled.

"Well," he replied, "we first want to make sure that democracy works."

#### AFFRONT TO A CHURCH

##### *An Editorial*

The great Methodist Church of this country with its 11,000,000 patriotic members, has been subjected to a notable indignity over the week end. Its enormous prestige has been used by an unofficial adjunct of the church, the so-called Methodist Federation for Social Action, as a national sounding board for Communists and fellow travelers to expound the gospel of the party line.

This has occurred in a Kansas City conference of the federation. Accounts of the meeting have been given to the World-Telegram by Frederick Woltman, a reporter who has won the Pulitzer Prize for competency in ferreting out the efforts of fellow travelers to operate in the guise of unreproachable American organizations.

We are sure that Methodists, in general, are quite as shocked as we are to read Mr. Woltman's disclosures of what went on at that conference, representing only a small minority of the church. Appealing in the name of religion and using the stories of Mary and Jesus, the Sermon on the Mount and the Good Samaritan, speakers made strong attacks on America's foreign policies while praising those of the Soviet Union.

One speaker saw in the Christmas story "not the improvement of the present social order but its revolutionary abolition and replacement anew." And another forecast "an emerging new order pushing its way up through blood, tears and strife." There was even defense of Russian concentration camps—on the ground, of all things, that "war talk in America" was forcing the Soviets "to tighten up on civil liberties."

We can recall no other instance of so flagrant abuse and misuse of the name of a great church. None but insidious, unprincipled leftists would have such unsurpassed gall. But there is reassurance in the fact that the "social action" program formulated at Kansas City is to go before the Methodist Church as a whole. And we are confident that the rank and file of clergy and laymen, once they have learned the facts, will lose no time in disavowing this curious offshoot. To that end, we commend the dispatches of Mr. Woltman for laying bare the facts.

#### LOYAL METHODISTS CONDEMN

##### *An Editorial*

Distinguished Methodist preachers and leaders have been quick to condemn the blatantly pro-Communist rantings and resolutions of the Methodist Federation of Social Action at Kansas City.

But prompt and firm as their repudiation has been, these Methodist leaders voice it with a dignity and a proper regard for freedom of speech that reflects high credit on themselves and their great church.

After all, even churches have their loud-speaking, trouble-making minorities. No one is going to lose respect for 11,000,000 Methodists just because a mere unofficial group of 5,000, under cover of the Methodist name, choose grotesquely to mix Christianity with pro-Communism and make a conspicuously disloyal spectacle of themselves.

This group's doings and declarations at Kansas City, as reported by World-Telegram staff writer, Frederick Woltman, not only followed the Communist party line in dutifully denouncing each and every American policy distasteful to Moscow, but also showed plain signs of astute Commie tactics and training. The final resolutions, for example, were contrived to be completely Communist without even mentioning the word.

All such Commie borings into churches should be promptly made known to both the churches and the public. The mask of religion is not only the most hypocritical but also one of the most dangerous of all the disguises behind which the Commies plan and plot.

Methodist leaders need not fear this Federation of Social Action has so far done their church serious harm. But they should continue emphatically to repudiate its pro-Communist declarations now. They should also prepare, at their next general conference, to detach it definitely and officially from the Methodist Church and deny it the protection and prestige of that name.

#### MILLER LETTER

Here are the claims and charges in the letter of Clyde R. Miller, followed by a statement of the facts in each case:

1. Mr. Miller called upon the trustees of Columbia University to rescind the 1947 Pulitzer Prize awarded Mr. Woltman. He based his request on Mr. Woltman's coverage of the Kansas City convention.

The Facts: The Kansas City meeting occurred more than a year after the prize-winning articles appeared (throughout 1946). The former could have no possible bearing on the latter. Mr. Miller was merely using Columbia University as a *springboard for publicity*. His request was promptly rejected by Dean Carl W. Ackerman of Columbia's School of Journalism. Such a step, the dean notified him, "would be incompatible with our academic heritage."

2. In his letter Mr. Miller claimed to be acting "as a faculty member of Columbia's Teachers College and as a lifelong Methodist," interested primarily in the good name of Columbia University.

The Facts: Many who saw or heard of his letter got the mistaken impression that the complaint originated at Teachers College, obviously an unbiased source. This is completely false. Mr. Miller has not taught at Teachers College since before Pearl Harbor. He is on leave-of-absence status. He was actually acting as a national executive committee member of the MFSA and co-chairman of its New York branch, and had been a delegate, scheduled speaker and spirited leader in the Kansas City convention. Not a single one of these connections was even hinted at in the Miller letter. Instead, the prestige of Teachers College was used to conceal the self-serving nature of Mr. Miller's gesture.

3. In his letter, Mr. Miller used such general expressions as "deliberate distortion of facts," "malicious propaganda," "misleading," "deliberately false," "hypocritical," "unparalleled gall," "Woltman falsehoods," "unscrupulous journalism" and "bear false witness" . . .

The Facts: Except for citing two headlines and one editorial, the Miller letter gives no specific proof to justify his characterizations. The headlines and editorial mentioned are cited in the MFSA's Report and will be taken up in that connection.

Only a small fraction of the three Woltman articles are challenged in the federation's own report, most of which dealt with headlines, which are of necessity generalizations, and with one editorial. The report generally ignored the specific, documented material on which the headlines were based. Out of a total of 622 lines of text, the MFSA's purported point-by-point analysis questioned but 56 lines of the Woltman articles. This is 11 percent of the total wordage. Actually, 91 percent of the printed Woltman text is not even questioned by the MFSA. In the final article, summarizing the events at Kansas City, the report raised objections involving only eight lines out of 213 written by Mr. Woltman.

4. The Miller letter sought to link Scripps-Howard to a far-fetched plot "to make 'Communist' an evil word" and "to create an hysterical fear of anything which they choose to label 'Communist.'"

The Facts: Here the issue is not the *use* of the word "Communist" but the *misuse* of it. A careful reading of the text of the Woltman articles will show the word, as used, was applied correctly. Mr. Miller's hypersensitivity over the word "Communist" may arise from the fact that for ten years at least he has been an active apologist for both the Communist party and Communist front organizations.

In March, 1941, Mr. Miller signed a statement defending the Communist party. This was at the very peak of the Communist party's campaign to inspire defense plant strikes, to discredit President Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and "Wall Street imperialist" and to sabotage lend lease, selective service, aid-to-Britain and all other parts of the nation's defense program. He reached the astonishing conclusion that the Communist party "upholds the democratic achievement of the American people . . ." Dr. Miller's involvements in Communist front enterprises are documented further in his biography at the end of this report. They extend right down to the present.

5. Referring to the Scripps-Howard articles, he asserted that "Today's campaign is obviously to condition the American people for war."

The Facts: This is Mr. Miller's own conclusion, for which he offers no evidence. It is the argument now being raised by the Communists and their mouthpiece, the Daily Worker, against President Truman, Gen. Marshall, Gen. Eisenhower, Bernard Baruch, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the top leadership of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and anyone else who does not accept their program.

#### The Federation's "Report on Kansas City Meeting"

Following is a point-by-point discussion of the charges made in the report, which was prepared in the office of the MFSA:

1. The report charged "there is clear evidence" that Mr. Woltman was sent to Kansas City "with a predetermined bias against the federation and a preconceived idea of how the meeting should be reported." As "evidence," it quoted this excerpt from Woltman's advance story on the convention with its own emphasis:

"The Soviet dictatorship *will* be extolled, America's foreign policy *will* be castigated, Yugoslavia's Communist dictatorship *will* be gently whitewashed \* \* \*."

The Facts: By giving only part of the sentence and omitting a conditional clause, the authors of the report distorted its meaning. The actual quote follows:

"Most of the federation's rank and file members and officials are non-Communists. Many are pacifists. Yet, if the federation and its scheduled speakers run true to form, the Soviet dictatorship will be extolled, America's entire foreign policy will be castigated, Yugoslavia's Communist dictator Tito will be gently whitewashed and Chiang Kai-shek will be denounced."

The decision to cover the Kansas City convention was based on the advance list of key speakers, namely Messrs. Ward, Davis, Marzani, Fen Yu-hsiang and McMichael, and on a study of their background and that of the federation which indicated the Communist point of view on vital issues of the day would prevail. A reading of Mr. Woltman's first article, published on Dec. 26, before the convention, shows his prediction was thoroughly justified by the documentation cited therein.

2. As a general refutation to the Scripps-Howard articles, the report cited the federation's respectable origin and listed, as past and present officers, estimable figures in Methodism.

The Facts: The articles nowhere attempted to dispute this state of facts. On the contrary, in his Dec. 30 article, Mr. Woltman stated that the delegates "are sincere believers that Christianity has a major responsibility for eradicating the ills of humanity"; and that, "while liberal or leftish in their viewpoints, most of them, it was evident, have no use for Communism."

At the same time, the articles pointed out that the MFSA had for several decades been dominated by Dr. Ward and in recent years by M. McMichael, the former's successor, and that both were key speakers in the Kansas City sessions. Mr. McMichael's record will be discussed later. The significance of Dr. Ward's influence on the federation may be gathered from the following statement he made on May 21, 1946, in a radio forum with William Z. Foster, secretary of the Communist party:

"Mr. Foster and I, in different approaches, have shown that both in theory and practice Communism is thoroughly democratic. We have shown that the Soviet Union has a highly democratic regime, and that its postwar foreign policy makes for democracy and peace."

More recently, on Dec. 11, 1947, Dr. Ward told an audience at Public School 3, Queens, N. Y., that he had sat in on policy-making sessions of the Communist Party. This information is supplied by Dr. L. M. Birkhead, national director of the Friends of Democracy, who debated him.

3. The report charged falsification in a headline, "MINORITY SINGS RED HYMNS," on the grounds that all the hymns sung in Kansas City were from the Methodist Hymnal.

The Facts: This headline ran on one day, in World-Telegram alone. It was not the main headline but appeared above the carry-over part of the text, continued from Page One. The copyreader was writing figuratively, using the Webster Dictionary definition of a "hymn" as a "song of praise or adoration." The text nowhere suggested that the delegates sang other than Methodist hymns. The use of "hymn" in this connection was unfortunate, but it has been magnified out of all proportion in the light of the vast accumulation of facts about the Kansas City convention.

4. The report took exception to the editorial published on Dec. 30, 1947, particularly to its statement that the MFSA's 5000 members "choose grotesquely to mix Christianity with pro-Communism, and make a conspicuously disloyal spectacle of themselves." The only mention of Communism, according to the report, said: "It (the MFSA) 'fronts' for neither Communism nor capitalism. Its 'ism' is Christianity."

The Facts: The Dec. 30 editorial is reprinted above. The Dec. 29 and 30 dispatches by Mr. Woltman show conclusively that, whatever their motives or professions of political faith, the delegates to Kansas City adopted a social action program which gave aid and comfort to the Communist party and the Soviet Foreign Office on vital issues of the day. There was no dissenting or opposing viewpoint advanced. In the absence of a minority report, the editorial writer could only accept the Kansas City results as representing the entire membership.

5. The report challenged the headline and lead of Woltman's Dec. 26 article, emphasizing it as follows:

**"METHODIST MINORITY GIVES REDS SOUNDING BOARD FOR PARTY LINE"**

"The prestige of the Methodist Church will be used . . . to furnish a *national sounding board for Communists and Fellow-Travelers to expound the gospel of the Communist line.*"

As a refutation, the report declared: a. "Not one Communist at any time" helped plan the convention. b. Not a single speech or resolution "praises Communism in the slightest degree." c. There were other speakers who were clearly non-Communists and worship services were ignored.

The Facts: Reference to the Woltman articles will show that none of them said or implied that Communists had a hand in planning the conference, or that Communism was indorsed as such. The individuals referred to as Communists or fellow-travelers were named specifically in the Dec. 26 article, which gave the reasons for including them in those categories. One of them, Carl Marzani, was a secret member of the Communist party, a federal jury decided. The Dec. 29 and 30 articles show how they were given a sounding board.

The articles nowhere implied that all the speakers or a majority of them were Communists or party liners. On the contrary, the Dec. 26 article pointed out that the program "includes bishops, ministers, church workers and other speakers with no leftist political record." Obviously, there were many issues, such as religion, labor, human rights and agriculture, which involved no question of Communism. The Dec. 30 article stated that Kermit Eby, key speaker on labor, was a "chief foe of the Communists in the CIO."

But it was on the controversial issues, which do involve a conflict with Communism or USSR policy, that the sounding board was supplied to the pro-Communist viewpoint. On the problems of the Far East, the Marshall Plan, Soviet imperialism, the infiltration tactics of the Communists in the United States, there were no speakers for the opposing, or middle-of-the-road or liberal points of view.

6. The report attacked as "completely false" this quote from the Dec. 26 Woltman article: "The Methodist Federation for Social Action for years has closely followed the Communist line on many issues."

The Facts: "On many issues" does not mean "on all issues." Nor does it necessarily mean "on most issues." Yet the report is able to cite but one occasion—in 1939—when the federation deviated from the party line. That was its call for an embargo on Russia after the USSR attacked Finland.

The World-Telegram has made a thorough study of the Social Questions Bulletin, the federation's official organ, since 1935. It revealed a continuous series of instances in which the MFSA took a stand strictly in accord with that of the Communist party.

Even in the case cited by the report, a resolution for an embargo on Russia, there was no criticism whatsoever of the Soviet attack on Finland. On the contrary, the resolution, published in the December, 1939, Bulletin, was accompanied by a defense of the USSR initiated by Dr. Harry F. Ward. Three months later, the Bulletin criticized aid to Finland.

Here are a few highlights of the federation's party line record:

The MFSA officially affiliated with the American League Against War and Fascism and the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Bulletin carried plugs for the American Peace Mobilization, created by the Communist party to undermine President Roosevelt's defense program and foreign policy of aid-to-the-Allies during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Non-Aggression Pact. In April, 1946, it officially sponsored the conference which set up the National Committee to Win-the-Peace, successor to the APM. All of these organizations were included last December in the Department of Justice list of subversive and Communist groups. The May, 1941, Bulletin castigated the Rapp-Coudert Legislative Inquiry Into Communists operating under cover in New York City's schools.

Over the years the Bulletin carried numerous articles eulogizing the Soviet system, most of them by Dr. Ward. The November, 1940, Bulletin fell right in behind the Nazi peace offensive which Moscow and the Communist party were pushing. It called for "a conference of all interested nations to arrange a democratic peace,"—in other words, a democratic peace with the Nazis! There were scores of such cases in the files of the World-Telegram.

7. The report quoted Woltman's Dec. 26 article: "One beneficiary of this religious sounding board is to be Carl Marzani, the Communists' own pet martyr." In reply, it declared: "Mr. Marzani was not an invited speaker, but came as one of the many resource people . . ."

The Facts: The MFAS's [sic.] own program, mimeographed and distributed weeks before the Kansas City meeting, read as follows:

#### "COMMISSIONS

"L. The Christian Church and Civil Liberties . . .

Resource Leaders: . . . Carl Marzani, victim of the present government loyalty purge."

At the convention itself, Marzani was finally invited to address the entire assemblage of delegates on the grounds that his message was so important. Thus, the convention second main speaker on civil liberties and the Communists (Dr. Ward being the first) was a convicted perjurer and a Communist.

8. The report charged that the press failed to report that "a special invitation to speak" had been sent Rep. Walter Judd, strong supporter of Chiang Kai-shek and severe critic of Marshal Feng.

The Facts: Rep. Judd was not invited to speak prior to the convention. The invitation was sent during the Kansas City sessions, as a last-minute gesture, with little likelihood that he could accept. Any imputation that the invitation was a move to balance the speakers' list is false. It came up over an entirely different issue.

9. The report charged that the press failed to report that "Mr. Frederick Woltman himself was unanimously invited . . . to speak."

The Facts: This also was a last-minute gesture, made on the day of adjournment. Mr. Woltman explained that, as a newspaperman, it was not his function to address the convention and thanked the delegates for the courtesy.

10. The report denied flatly Mr. Woltman's statements that the Rev. Jack McMichael was a "former youth leader in the Young Communist League" and "was once a member" of it. Declared the report: "Mr. McMichael was never a member of the Young Communist League and never attended one of its meetings."

The Facts: To give him his say, Mr. Woltman's Dec. 30 article carried Mr. McMichael's denial. At the same time the World-Telegram knows individuals who were members of the American Youth Congress and the Young Communist League when Mr. McMichael was a member of both and who are willing to say so.

Over the past eight years at least, Mr. McMichael has fronted for the Communists in numerous front enterprises; his record runs down to date. Part of it is set forth in a biography at the end of this pamphlet.

Mr. McMichael was active in the following organizations characterized as subversive and Communist by the Department of Justice last December:

American Youth Congress, president from July 6, 1939, until it expired late in 1941.

American Peace Mobilization; one of its seven vice chairmen.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, set up as a rival to the American Civil Liberties Union after the latter by membership referendum barred Communist party members from its board of directors; member of its provisional committee.

Civil Rights Congress, current legal defense arm of the Communist party; a sponsor.

National Committee to Win-the-Peace; committee member.

United May Day Committee; 1947 sponsor.

11. The report charged that "Mr. McMichael told the delegates that Mr. Woltman had described him in a recent article as a former leader of the Young Communist League. This Mr. Woltman promptly and *unequivocally denied*."

The Facts: This is an inaccurate version of what occurred. What Mr. McMichael actually told the delegates was that Mr. Woltman had described him as "former chairman of the Young Communist League." That characterization had been carried by a Kansas City paper and a national press service, not in any of the Woltman articles. Knowing it to be incorrect, Mr. Woltman made a prompt denial.

12. The report quoted the Dies Committee in an attempt to prove that the American Youth Congress, of which Mr. McMichael was chairman from 1939 to its demise in 1941, was not Communist-controlled. In a report to Congress in January, 1940, according to the MFSA report, the House Un-American Activities Committee found the American Youth Congress to consist of "the largest possible number of organizations of American young people, the vast majority of whom have no connection with Communism, Nazism or any movement of that sort . . ."

The Facts: The report gave only half of the quotation. It omitted the last half in which the Dies Committee declared: "The Young Communist League, as well as certain other organizations in which Communists have played an important part" have "exerted an influence in the American Youth Congress out of all proportion to its size."

It is inconceivable that the report's authors are unaware of the Dies Committee's subsequent report to Congress, 1944, page 525:

"For a period of seven years, from 1934 to 1941—the American Youth Congress was one of the most influential front organizations ever set up by the Communists in this country . . . In the end . . . it was all but universally recognized that the Communists were in complete control."

13. The report challenged as completely untrue the lead paragraph of Mr. Woltman's Dec. 29 article. That paragraph stated that the spirit of Christmas and the Sermon on the Mount were invoked at Kansas City to justify "an all-out attack on America's foreign policies and a glowing defense of the Soviet Union in both her foreign and domestic affairs."

The Facts: The only specific refutation made was: a. that "no one had any word of praise" for the USSR; and b. the Rev. McMichael, in his opening address, declared that the Soviet Union had "committed sins" and is "by no means perfect"—a view expressed also by Dr. Jerome Davis, the keynote speaker on Soviet-American relations.

The two speakers did put themselves on record as conceding that the Soviet system was not yet perfect. Its most ardent admirer could scarcely do less. To set the record straight, we are including excerpts of their speeches which for lack of space could not be used in Mr. Woltman's dispatches of Dec. 29 and 30. Whether they bear out the lead objected to may be judged by the reader.

Mr. McMichael on Dec. 27 said, among other things:

"Let the Christmas spirit be a manifesto on behalf of the poor . . . It would mean not the improvement of the social order but its revolutionary abolition and replacement anew and end the conflict between the classes. The authors of the Christmas story ask that there be an end to all imperialism, etc. . . ."

"Let us apply the Christmas story and song of Mary. Suppose the writers of American foreign policy did that, come weal, come woe, suppose those who are dedicated to the rich and privileged, the princes on their thrones in Greece, the

grafting, rich exploiters in China, suppose they defended the poor and the oppressed instead . . .

"The civil war in China . . . is in decisive measure due to our U. S. foreign policy. Nor is Moscow responsible . . . In Greece and China the Communists are not, by far, a majority of the opponents.

"Our foreign policy is clothed in the most humanitarian and democratic garb. Most people around the world refuse to be fooled. Practically the only ones fooled are we Americans . . . billions across the earth see the result of our government's foreign policy. And we still profess to be disciples of the Christmas spirit . . .

"The Christmas myth is very safe, of course. The same is true of our policy toward colonial peoples. . . . Drastic steps are needed in behalf of the poor. Yet, in case after case, we stood by the colonial powers . . . "There is disturbing evidence about the European Recovery Program. Its architects are not interested in the transformation of society, but in the maintenance of the prewar society . . . I doubt if we, who take seriously the Christmas story, can believe any such program (the Marshall Plan) is adequate for the common people today. It is all tied up with the Christmas story. Any approach to the Marshall Plan that is calculated toward a tragic, cold war and splitting the East from the West in Europe will be harmful to the East and disastrous to the West . . ."

"The Christmas story is to be true to Jesus . . ." U. S. foreign policy "is Pharisaic, self-righteous, double-standard, with the Soviet Union pictured as the devil incarnate and Washington as the source of all good . . ." This "is hardly in harmony with one who gets his roots from the song of the poor, the Christmas story, the story of Mary . . ."

Our government "is taken over by people who cannot be too concerned about the poor—the businessmen and military men."

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is "taking increasingly the attitude of the Pharisee and decreasingly recognizing the need for a fundamental change in our foreign policy."

Dr. Davis, the only speaker, according to the MFSA report, who "actually dealt with the Soviet Union," said in part:

The question of American-Soviet relations "is the greatest moral and spiritual problem facing the American people."

"The struggle is not between Communism and democracy. This is a spurious and false conception. The struggle is between reaction, the old order, the control of property and an emerging new order pushing its way up from blood and tears and strife. And unfortunately the forces of the United States are lined up with the forces of reaction. The problem is how we can be the good Samaritan to Russia . . ."

Here Dr. Davis told of the evil and corruption of Russia under the Czar, then painted a glowing picture of the Soviet Union.

"I'm not here to say that there aren't evils in Russia. The Soviets are people like us. And you know we have plenty of evils in the United States . . .

"We must not judge Russia on the basis of hypocrisy. . . . Look at the peace record of Russia as against that of the United States. The United States invaded Russia after World War I. . . . Between the two wars, Soviet Russia had the best peace record of any nation in the world. . . .

"We must deal with Russia on the basis of the Prophets of the Old Testament, the Sermon on the Mount, not on the basis of American profits. . . . Russia smashed cartels; we promoted them."

In his speech, Dr. Davis made no mention of Russia's slave labor camps, the totalitarianism of the regime, suppression of free speech, her insistence on the veto power in the U. N., her turn-down of the Baruch atomic control plan or her expanding imperialism.

His talk brought several skeptical questions from the floor. One delegate said: "The crowd in control in Russia seems to me to be as totalitarian as Hitler. How can I stand in my pulpit and make the speech you did? I am referring to the attitude of Molotov, the thought police and all that . . ." Dr. Davis replied:

"Russia isn't perfect. We too have people who occasionally make mistakes. There are a great many restrictions on the Communists here . . . Because of the terrific campaign in the United States, the warlike talk, Russia is tightening up. My surprise is that Russia has so few restrictions."

Another skeptical delegate asked: "What shall we tell our parishioners about Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania?" He replied:

"Just follow the road Jesus laid out. I think Russia is entitled to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia . . . It's possible Americans will come to their senses

and realize they've got to get along with Russia. I don't think we're absolutely bound to have Fascism in this country."

A third delegate asked: "Would you say there is as much freedom of speech in America as in Russia?" Dr. Davis answered:

"We have some good things they have and vice versa. They have racial equality . . . Of course, in Russia you can't attack Socialism, or Stalin personally, or say that Stalin should be hung. But the average Russian doesn't want to."

The fourth delegate said: "What about slave labor camps in Russia?" Dr. Davis replied:

"First we should ask, 'What is a concentration camp?' It is simply a place where you keep criminals. We call them prisons in this country. Don't get excited about concentration camps. They're simply places where criminals are sent . . .

"No doubt there are some so-called innocent people in concentration camps in Russia. But there are innocent people sent to jail here . . .

"The more our present policy exists, the more innocent people will be sent to concentration camps in Russia."

14. Concerning the resolutions—namely, the social action program—adopted by the convention, the reports asserted: "There was no wholesale flaying of our government in the resolutions."

The Facts: The Woltman articles neither said nor implied that the resolutions flayed the United States government. It was the speakers who did. Mr. Woltman's final article, of Dec. 30, dealt with the resolutions. Its first three paragraphs, which summed them up, were nowhere questioned or challenged in the entire report of the MFSA. Indeed, the report raised objections to but eight lines of the text out of the 213 altogether.

What Mr. Woltman actually wrote about the program adopted in Kansas City and what the MFSA itself did not deny, follows:

"The threats of Russian imperialism, of the revived Communist International and of Communist infiltration tactics in America were ignored completely by the Methodist Federation for Social Action at its annual conference just ended here.

"In a series of eight lengthy 'social action' declarations, the federation . . . tackled virtually every problem of consequence to America and the world today.

"The resolutions contained not one single direct or implied criticism of the roles played by the Soviet dictatorship in the international scene or by the Communist party in the local scene. Nor was there the slightest hint of a conflict between world Communism and the remaining democracies of the world."

An analysis of the resolutions shows conclusively a pattern which conforms closely to the Communist line on these issues: Marshall Plan, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Great Britain, Korea, American colonial policy, China, American-Soviet relations and civil liberties and the Communist party in the United States. The World-Telegram is in possession of ample corroborating material.

15. The report challenged as incorrect this statement in the Dec. 29 article:

"What the meeting's planners had in mind . . . was evident from their literature display. It contained many books and pamphlets on the Soviet, but not one by a critic."

The Facts: Publications on the Soviet Union and related subjects had the largest and most conspicuous spot on the literature table. There was not a single piece of literature by a critic of the Soviet or Communist point of view, such, for instance, as "I Want To Be Like Stalin," by Dr. George Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University; "I Chose Freedom," by Kravchenko or "Forced Labor in Soviet Russia," by David Dallin.

On the contrary, the following predominated:

Publications by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, foremost pro-Soviet propaganda agency in America, including a bibliography on the USSR.

"Soviet Democracy," by Dr. Harry F. Ward.

"Behind Soviet Power," by Dr. Jerome Davis.

"Soviet Russia Since the War," by the Dean of Canterbury.

*Soviet Russia Today*, monthly pro-Soviet propaganda magazine.

Literature from the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, a Communist front which promotes Soviet foreign policy in the Far East.

"The Church and the Chinese Communists," by Dr. James C. Endicott, Jr. of Toronto, Canada, who recently gave up his missionary post to join the Chinese Communists.

16. The report challenged a sentence in Mr. Woltman's Dec. 30 dispatch to the effect that the convention dodged "the question of whether the government has a

right not to employ Communists who take their orders from Moscow." It declared:

"On the contrary, it was stated at the meeting, with no disagreement, that Americans who are agents of any foreign governments should be prosecuted for not registering as foreign agents . . ."

The Facts: During the discussion of the civil liberties resolution, which was steered throughout by Dr. Harry F. Ward, a delegate (the Rev. Leland C. Spurrier of Celina, Tex.), arose and asked why the convention should not go on record naming the Communists as agents of a foreign government. Dr. Ward quickly brushed him aside with an offhand remark that it was up to the courts to decide that question. That ended the discussion. There was no such recommendation in the resolution. On the contrary, the resolution itself expressed opposition to the principle of "requiring members of any political party" to register as foreign agents.

In contrast to the convention's failure to take a stand on Communists as foreign agents, the delegates unanimously resolved to "request the Department of Justice to conduct an investigation to determine whether or not agents of a foreign power, namely the Vatican State, are violating the Foreign Agents' Registration Act." This resolution was introduced by Clyde R. Miller.

17. The report reiterated its charge that Mr. Waltman falsely reported the MFSA was providing Communists and fellow travelers with a sounding board for the Communist line.

The Facts: The two main speeches on civil liberties were not a discussion of civil liberties but a plea for the Communists by two of their most ardent advocates, Dr. Ward and Carl Marzani. There was no spokesman for the liberal point of view—that of the American Civil Liberties Union or the Workers Defense League, of which Bishop Francis J. McConnell, a vice president of MFSA, is an official. Dr. Ward was introduced as honorary national chairman of the Civil Rights Congress. But the delegates were not told that the CRC is the current legal defense arm of the Communist party.

Dr. Ward made the startling proposal that the government let the United Public Workers Union (CIO) determine the loyalty of all federal employees. This would be equivalent to handing the problem over to the Communist party. For the UPW is completely Communist dominated. CIO President Philip Murray recognized this when he selected Abram Flaxer, its president, to represent the pro-Communist viewpoint in the 1946 CIO convention.

Mr. Marzani also presented the Communist party's viewpoint on civil liberties. He explained his conviction—for concealing his party membership while a State Department employee—thus: "Trial by jury represents a minimum of justice."

The resolutions called for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; asked the President to cancel loyalty tests as now constituted; called on the President to withdraw his order authorizing the Attorney General to publish lists of Communist, Nazi, Fascist, subversive organizations. In neither the speeches nor the resolutions was the slightest recognition given to the problems of the Communists in American life, their infiltration into labor and other organizations and their primary loyalty to a totalitarian, anti-democratic concept.

18. The report charged that "the press has seemed to try to convey the impression that the MFSA claims to speak for the Methodist Church."

The Facts: The Waltman articles and editorials stressed the unofficial, minority nature of the MFSA. The fact remains, however, that MFSA's headquarters is that of the Methodist Church, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City, and its switchboard is the same. Moreover, the report boasts that the 1944 General Conference of the Methodist Church put its official blessing on the federation.

19. Ending with a plea for "moral support" from the 1948 General Conference of the Methodist Church, the report charged the World-Telegram and Scripps-Howard with interfering in the affairs of the Methodist Church. It declared:

"The General Conference, we are sure, will not accept this outside interference in its affairs. . . . The Methodist Church does not take orders from outsiders. It will not be intimidated."

The Facts: No question of religion or church organization was raised in any of the articles or editorials.

Shortly after his return from Kansas City, Mr. Waltman received a letter from Dr. Charles E. Schofield, editor of the Methodist World, a delegate to the Kansas City meeting and chairman of its Commission on Soviet-American Relations. It read, in part:

THE METHODIST CHURCH  
*Editorial Division—Board of Education*

Nashville 2, Tenn.

Adult Publications  
 Charles E. Schofield, Editor

JAN. 5, 1948.

Mr. FREDERICK WOLTMAN,  
*New York World-Telegram, New York City, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. WOLTMAN: I read with very careful attention the report of the Kansas City meeting which you put on the wire at the close of the session. It seems to me that you have done a very fair job in reporting the closing day's session and interpreting the whole meeting. . . . I just wanted you to know that I appreciate your kind of reporting. With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Cordially yours,

CHARLES E. SCHOFIELD

At the time of the appearance of the Woltman articles, Methodist preachers and leaders in New York were polled by the New York World-Telegram concerning the Kansas City meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The results of that poll will be found in the December 30, 1947, issue of the New York World-Telegram, at pages 1 and 20. Dr. Arthur B. Moss, pastor of the John Street Methodist Church, the oldest Methodist Church in America, summarized the feelings of most of the followers of John Wesley as follows:

The Methodist Federation for Social Action is an entirely un-official group in the Methodist Church. Its membership is less than 5,000 in a denomination that numbers well over 8 million. Despite its tiny status, however, it is highly articulate and knows how to make the best use of publicity. Naturally it speaks only for itself. The attitude of the Church as a whole will be determined at the next general conference in Boston in May.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the New York area of the Methodist Church said:

I resigned the Vice-Presidency of the organization because I thought their attacks on Mr. Dulles [John Foster Dulles] unconscionable and un-Christian. I hold Mr. Dulles in very high esteem and think him one of the ablest statesmen active today. The Federation never tried to get in touch with him personally to hear his side of the story when he opposed the Soviet program.

During the last year or so the Federation has departed from its ancient reputation for accuracy in issuing reports and studies and apparently is going down the pro-Communist line . . .

Rev. Alpheus C. Robbins, pastor of the Calvary Methodist Church in the Bronx said:

I deplore the fact it uses the name Methodist when it doesn't represent the church as a whole at all. It is a small group, boring from within, in the typical pro-Communist manner.

It's a shame they use the Christmas story and the time of the birth of Christ to support the Soviet way of life when we know that the Soviets do not recognize Christianity.

This group is wholly unofficial and it is no more representative of the Methodist Church than a group of subway riders picked at random would be.

Rev. Charles S. Geiger, pastor of the Union Methodist Church in Brooklyn says:

I might agree with some criticism of the way we have handled things, and we have made some mistakes, but I certainly would not go along with the hot-head element in its all-out approval of the Soviet Union. It seems to me the people in Kansas City have taken an unnecessarily critical view of our own system and an overly favorable one of the Russian system.

Dr. Lewis E. Christian, pastor of the Washington Square Methodist Church, was somewhat less critical of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. He said:

I believe that the Methodist Federation for Social Action has a right to express its convictions concerning the new social order, and to redefine Christianity in its attack on a secular world.

Other comments on the 1947 meeting of the federation are:

The Washington Post of December 30, 1947, at page 16, in a news item datelined Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 29, reports, in part, as follows:

The Methodist Federation for Social Action—which declares it fronts neither for communism nor capitalism but seeks Christianization of society—today demanded that the United States approach its relationships with Russia with understanding and good will.

Dr. Charles E. Schofield, Nashville, Tenn., editor of The Methodist Church, obtained adoption of a resolution which condemned universal military training as tending "only to inflame the present critical international situation." It also demanded an immediate end to United States manufacture of atomic bombs and destruction of the United States bomb stockpile on concurrence of other major powers.

Lest federation be listed as a subversive organization, because of the attention columnists have given to it, a resolution was adopted declaring the organization represents "the effort of honest men and women to find a truly Christian solution to the pressing problem of our times."

In other resolutions, the federation:

Demanded immediate withdrawal of American military advisory groups from China and an embargo on shipments of munitions to that country.

Urged recall of Myron Taylor, Presidential envoy to the Vatican, contending that "propaganda emanating from the Vatican" tended to lead to a "full holy war on Russia."

Urged Congress to repeal the public order which denies the right of appeal to persons dismissed from the State, War and Navy Departments for alleged subversive activity.

Asked the President to revoke an Executive order requiring the oath of loyalty as a qualification for holding Federal office.

Demanded Russia and the United States immediately evacuate Korea and that this Nation recognize the Republic of Indonesia.

The New York Times of December 30, 1947, at page 18, in a news item datelined Kansas City, Dec. 29, reports that a resolution adopted by the Federation on the last day of the convention denied any support of communism. The resolution stated in part:

The Methodist Federation For Social Action proposes the Christianization of society, nothing more nor less. It fronts neither for communism nor capitalism. Its "ism" is Christianity.

In another resolution the Federation called on the United States Government to press for joint action between the United States and Russia for the evacuating of Korea and the free election in that country.

#### 1948

The report of the Executive Secretary at the annual meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action held at Oskaloosa, Iowa, December 28-30, 1948, makes reference to the following questions and answers appearing in a pamphlet issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, entitled "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion."

#### 92. *What is the Methodist Federation for Social Action?*

A tool of the Communist Party, denounced by numerous loyal American Methodists. It claims to speak for 17 Methodist Bishops and 4,000 clergies and laymen. Not an official church organization.

93. *Where is it located and what is it trying to do?*

150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Although strictly unofficial as a "church" organization, it is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party.

The Executive Secretary, in a report to the annual meeting included the following:

The Un-American Committee's charges against the Methodist Federation for Social Action are ridiculous and untrue. The Methodist Federation is a democratic fellowship of Methodist bishops (more than 20), and 5,571 pastors, church men and women, founded in 1907 and the original source of the Social Creed of the Methodist Church and of the Churches. The Federation's policies and program are formulated and carried out by Methodist bishops, pastors, lay men and lay women loyal to the Gospel of Jesus to the principles of American democracy, and to the Social Creed and positions of the Methodist Church. These constitute our only "party line." Federation members seek to develop attitudes and actions which conform to the principles of Jesus, John Wesley, and Thomas Jefferson. Obviously they cannot at the same time satisfy men like J. Parnell Thomas and John Rankin of the Un-American Committee.

Further in the report to the annual meeting the Executive Secretary says:

When the Methodist Federation for Social Action makes a move, it does so on the basis of decisions carefully considered and discussed at the Annual Meeting or in the meetings of the strong and annually elected Executive Committee or Administrative Committee. We nationally make plenty of study and action recommendation to our increasing number of local and Conference chapter. But each chapter is autonomous and makes its own decisions.

We in the Federation were not alarmed by attacks last year from a particularly immoral, irresponsible segment of the press or more lately by the reactionary House Committee on Un-American Activities. We might be alarmed indeed if our program proved satisfactory or conformed to the tenets and approach of those who abhor the democratic, brotherly world which the Federation has sought and which is the sure outcome of prophetic religion.

We welcome any examination of Federation program, statements, and actions, not from the standpoint of the tenets and procedures of the Un-American Committee which we repudiate and reject, but from the standpoint of: the ethical religious, objective validity of these positions; the democratic and objective procedures by which they are reached; or the Christian character of the men and women who formulate Federation program, and their loyalty to the Gospel of Jesus and the prophets as well as to American democracy and the Church.

It is to be noted that throughout his report the Executive Secretary uses the term "Un-American Committee," a misnomer, coined and applied to the House Committee on Un-American Activities by the Communists and the Communist Party.

However, there is one matter that the executive secretary does not explain. He stated that "when the Methodist Federation for Social Action makes a move, it does so on the basis of a decision carefully considered and discussed at the annual meeting or in the meetings of the strong and annually elected executive committee or administrative committee," yet in their condemnation of the government's loyalty program, the federation apparently based their conclusions on newspaper reports. Support for this is found in a statement of the federation wherein they say, "We are greatly disturbed over the reports which constantly reach the public" and "these reports are so numerous in the press . . ."

In his criticism of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the executive secretary of the federation in his report says "The committee does claim to have certain unverified newspaper clippings in its file telling of a meeting of our organization in Kansas City last December." It thus appears that the federation condemns any

conclusion of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that is based on newspaper reports, yet finds that it is perfectly proper for the Federation to condemn the Government's loyalty program on the strength of press reports.

The New York Times of December 28, 1948, on page 3, contains an item regarding a report to be presented at the opening session of the annual meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action at Oskaloosa. The report, prepared by the Federation's Commission for Propaganda Analysis, of which Clyde R. Miller was chairman, is as follows:

In the light of the headline hysteria featuring Whittaker Chambers, pumpkin patches, the "conversion" to Roman Catholicism of Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, the denunciation in the clerical press of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam for his rejection of the "holy War" and his part in organizing Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, it seems not unlikely that the authoritarian philosophy of the Vatican state is seeking to attain not without some degree of success its objective of the destruction of Protestantism, destruction of separation of church and state and of free public schools. Surely in the House Committee on Un-American Activities it has found a Government agency to further its claims.

An examination of the anti-Protestant propaganda which has come from the House Committee and has been ardently exploited by the Roman Catholic hierarchy confirms that this propaganda is intended to make the word "communist" as potent a stimulus to automatic rection [sic.] as the word "heretic" was during the Holy Inquisition—as potent a stimulus as the word "Jew" was in the Hitler regime in Germany.

More, by linking communism with Protestantism and with the defense of public schools and the constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state, these twin propaganda groups clearly hope to succeed in making Protestantism, separation of church and state and public schools as odious from the propaganda standpoints as the word "communism"—in short, to establish complete identification of these terms. This does not mean the abandonment of the Jew-Communist propaganda weapon so effectively used by Goebbels and Father Coughlin but only an addition to the arsenal of forces fighting for American fascism.

In the last ten years, the report added, the House Committee has "issued propaganda which has tended to reinforce the hierarchy's political position, particularly with respect to American foreign policy."

"For example," it added, "the House committee never investigated Father Charles Coughlin or the general identity of his propaganda with that of Joseph Goebbels and the effect of spreading anti-Semitism in America and transferring to it the blessing of Almighty God."

At the same annual membership meeting, the Methodist Federation for Social Action revised its "Program of Study and Action." The revised program is as follows:

The METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION is an organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. It rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society, and seeks to replace it with social and economic planning in order to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. It seeks the establishment of full democracy and unreserved brotherhood in our political, economic, and social life. This calls for complete eradication of fascism—its vestiges and threats—throughout the world and in the U. S. A. in particular.

Through a concrete immediate program, the METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION works to make peace secure and, ultimately, to attain a society in which the people themselves cooperatively and democratically plan and provide the production and distribution of goods and services with the motive and to the end, not of profits for the few, but of service for all; and in which frustrating and unbrotherly barriers of inequality, whether grounded on class distinction or on race or national or sex discrimination, have been ended, sup-

planted by brotherhood full and unreserved, and by equal opportunity for maximum personal development.

In the light of this overall goal we seek to bring the impact of prophetic religion to bear upon our society and its institutions—economic, political and social. Our program seeks:

**I. TO EXTEND, STRENGTHEN, AND COOPERATE WITH:**

**a. THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WHICH IS:**

- (1) An indispensable tool through which the workers, themselves, through collective bargaining, can have a direct, democratic voice in the imperative process of expanding people's purchasing power, which serves as a stimulus to more production and employment;
- (2) Essential to extension of industrial democracy as a necessary bulwark of political democracy;
- (3) An enemy of fascism, which has everywhere sought to curb and destroy democratically organized labor.

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- (1) Return to the principles of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act.
- (2) Repeal Taft-Hartley and similar repressive anti-labor legislation.
- (3) Thwart persisting state and federal legislative attacks on labor's rights.
- (4) Strengthen the Department of Labor and all Federal and State conciliation services.
- (5) Extend Church-labor cooperation in all possible ways. In particular—
  - (a) Expose NAM attempts to further isolate the Church from labor in its Church and Industry Conferences which exclude union representatives.
  - (b) Espouse fair labor standards and democratic collective bargaining in the Nashville Plan and other institutions of the Church.
  - (c) Support a training program among churchmen in the field of religion and labor through:
    - (1) Setting up more Students-in-Industry groups;
    - (2) Helping in the formation of local Religion-Labor Fellowships for the development of understanding;
    - (3) Recruiting, training and dedicating young people for participation in the labor movement;
    - (4) Special courses in colleges and theological seminaries;
    - (5) Inviting labor leaders to address annual conferences;
    - (6) Setting up trips for young people and adults in the church for studies in industry and conferences with labor leaders;
    - (7) Taking student and minister groups to observe labor conventions.
  - (d) Support the Church in assigning specialized ministers to work with organized labor.
- (6) Cooperate in promoting these ends with progressive employers.

**b. THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT, both rural and urban as:**

- (1) A democratic vehicle for increasing real income and thus purchasing power and employment;
- (2) Another force for democracy's preservation and extension.

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- (1) Expose and frustrate legislative attacks on the power and growth of cooperatives, as the campaign of the National Tax Equality Association to secure unfair taxation of the savings returns of cooperatives.
- (2) Continue education about, and on behalf of, cooperatives.
- (3) Seek extension of participation by churchmen and churches in the Cooperative Movement, e. g., help realize as a Federation goal the organization of at least thirty parish credit unions.

**II. TO ESTABLISH AND EXTEND FULL ETHNIC DEMOCRACY**

- a. Repudiate, in word and deed, the myth of racial and national superiority and corresponding practices of racial and national discrimination and segregation;
- b. Seek to end these practices wherever manifest (including the Church).
- c. Seek complete realization of democratic promise of equal opportunity.

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- a. Support strong, permanent federal Fair Employment Practices Committee, and parallel state FEPC's, aimed at the elimination of all racial and religious discrimination in industry (remembering that discrimination plays into the hands of those who favor a "pool" of unemployed to keep down mass living standards and strengthen economic autocracy, and who find racial and religious minorities convenient supply sources for such a "pool").
- b. Seek abolition of white primaries, restrictive housing covenants, segregation in divine worship, transportation, education, (especially Methodist institutions of learning), hotel and eating and recreational facilities, armed forces, etc.—whether applied against Negroes, Jews, Japanese-Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, or any other racial, national, or religious minorities.
- c. End all discrimination and segregation in our nation's capitol.
- d. Help establish or develop inclusive, interracial churches.
- e. Secure non-discriminatory employment policies in and by all church institutions.
- f. Develop inclusive, interracial MFSA chapters.
- g. Expose and eradicate anti-Semitism.
- h. Abolish Oriental exclusion laws.
- i. Support and implement the Methodist General Conference resolution on race.

### III. TO EXTEND AND UNIVERSALIZE DEMOCRATIC SUFFRAGE (of which fascism makes a mockery).

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- a. Abolish the poll tax, white primary, etc.
- b. Lower the voting age to 18.
- c. Fully enfranchise the American Indians and citizens of the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Alaska, etc.
- d. Support such democratic gains as:
  - (1) Supreme Court ruling on white primaries.
  - (2) Georgia's abolition of poll tax and reduction of voting age to 18.
  - (3) Extension of suffrage to women (as in France, Jugoslavia, etc.).
- e. Help get out the vote in all local state, and federal elections; and help find socially conscious candidates to run for office.

### IV. TO ESTABLISH, PRESERVE, AND UNDERGIRD CIVIL LIBERTIES AND MINORITY RIGHTS (remembering how fascism destroyed civil liberties and attacked rights of one minority after the other: Jews, Communists, pacifists, Socialists, trade unionists, Catholics, Protestants, women).

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- a. Stand guard for the liberties, rights, and equal opportunity of all these groups, e. g., seek adequate financial support within Methodism for Methodist conscientious objectors, oppose proposals to outlaw the Communist or other minority political parties, contribute to the legal defense of communists or others brought to trial simply for their political views.
- b. Support academic freedom (for example, as menaced by the Thomas-Rankin Committee's attempt to tell students what organizations they shall join and the University presidents what organizations and what faculty members they shall tolerate).
- c. Support freedom of the church press and of the pulpit.
- d. Support Federal anti-lynching legislation and the Civil Rights legislative program as a whole. Change Senate rules to end filibuster.
- e. Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
- f. Strengthen the Civil Rights Work of the Federal Government through a stronger Civil Rights section in the Department of Justice, a permanent President's Committee on Civil Rights, and a joint Congressional Civil Rights Committee.
- g. End the blacklisting of legal and peaceful organizations by the Attorney General under Presidential directive.
- h. Repeal the Smith Act as an abridgement of free speech and free assembly.
- i. Study, support and implement the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

V. TO CONTEST ALL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY IMPERIALISM (a particularly brutal manifestation of which has been given to the world by fascism).

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- a. Seek to expand peoples' power (democratic rule) and raise the standard of living (mass purchasing power) throughout the world, remembering that a strong, democratic trade union movement is one of our chief allies in seeking these goals.
- b. Promote political and economic independence for all colonial peoples—in the Far East, Near East, Oceania, Latin America, Africa. Defend the invaded Indonesian Republic by strong United Nations action and by withdrawing from the Netherlands all American ERP and other aid, until all aggressive troops are withdrawn and Indonesia is completely free.
- c. Support United Nations administration and trusteeship over still dependent territories, such as those formerly mandated to Japan. Develop civilian control of U. S. Pacific dependencies, with promotion of the peoples' social and educational advance.
- d. Oppose American economic imperialism as basic to the struggle against British, French, Dutch political colonialism.
- e. Urge self-determination for Puerto Rico and statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

VI. TO SEEK FULL, SOCIALLY USEFUL EMPLOYMENT IN THE DAYS, AND FOR THE NEEDS, OF PEACE (The widespread lack of which in the past brought fascism to Germany and other lands—and the lack of which in the future could bring fascism again to the same and new nations, including the U. S. A.). Full, useful, employment, within the framework of American democracy constitutes, therefore, a basic and immediate goal of the Federation.

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- a. Encourage international economic cooperation (vs. imperialist competition) to promote economic expansion, higher living standards, more world trade, implemented by:
  - (1) A world-wide reconstruction plan operated by and through the United Nations to replace UNRRA and to fight starvation and devastation everywhere on a non-political basis.
  - (2) Reciprocal trade extension, etc.
- b. Support and promote overall social-economic planning to meet crying human needs, implemented by:
  - (1) Nationally integrated systems of socially owned and operated TVA's, MVA's, CVA's, and a St. Lawrence waterway in order to develop great potential resources for human enrichment and betterment.
  - (2) A vast public and private housing program to end all rural and urban slums, and to make healthful housing available to all.
  - (3) Full peacetime use of the plant and equipment built for war under social control and for the social good.
  - (4) Increased unemployment compensation and expansion of Social Security benefits and extension of coverage to workers in ecclesiastical and other non-profit institutions, domestic workers, farmers, etc.
  - (5) Expansion of educational facilities and opportunities without discrimination, including e. g., support of Federal Aid to Public (not private) Education.
  - (6) Expansion of recreational and health facilities, to include adequate medical care for all, as in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.
  - (7) Constructive public works giving employment to those unable to find jobs through private channels.
  - (8) Extension and support of Farm Security Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, and other programs to lift living standards.
  - (9) Return to price controls under a democratic form of organization, and with participation by the local community, to keep living costs down and mass purchasing power up.
  - (10) Acceptance and application of the principle of an annual living wage and increased minimum wage.
  - (11) A stronger "full employment" bill.

c. Support a progressive program to meet rural needs, including such specifics:

(1) A thorough study of cooperative ownership of farm machinery that all farmers may have access to the implements of farming.

(2) Guaranteed floor under farm prices of at least 90 per cent of parity.

(3) Continued low-interest government loans to family-type farmers.

(4) Expansion of rural electrification, telephone, road building; health, welfare, and cultural programs that the good things of life might be enjoyed by all alike.

(5) Demands for legislation to curb the alarming expansion of large scale and corporation-farm systems and protect the family-type farmer who represents a substantial percentage of the American population.

(6) Urge our Government to give full support to the original program of the International Food and Agriculture Organization, which contemplated a world program to seek a methodical solution for the age-old problem of reconciling hunger and surpluses, the specific objectives of the program being: to improve the level of nutrition and standard of living of all people; to improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution; to better the condition of the rural population of the world; to stabilize the prices of agricultural commodities on the world market; to establish a world food reserve adequate for any emergency that might arise through the failure of crops; and to provide funds for financing the distribution of surplus agricultural crops.

(7) Extend more federal employment services to farm labor groups.

(8) Enlarge and expand the program of federal aid to migrant labor, including more adequate housing.

(9) Expansion and extension of soil conservation with direct payments to farmers for soil conservation practices.

(10) An ever-normal granary program on a much expanded basis with emphasis on federal aid and loans to REA-type of cooperatively-owned storage facilities.

(11) Federal crop insurance for all essential crops against hazards beyond control of the farmers.

d. Continue and extend labor-management committees and the cooperation developed during the war to the end of a cooperative endeavor to secure maximum employment.

e. Remove discrimination against economically disadvantaged areas (especially the South) to promote industrial and economic expansion—(the recent ICC ruling on freight rate discrimination being a definite victory in this direction).

f. Support a progressive tax program to stimulate sound economic expansion and increase purchasing power at the bottom (where emphasis is more on consumption than on saving). This involves:

(1) Abolition of sales taxes.

(2) Levying of stiff inheritance taxes, steeply graduated income taxes, etc.

(3) Opposition to any "across the board" reduction of income taxes, which violates the graduation principle.

g. Accept nationally the proposition that labor-saving machinery and all technological advancement shall serve the community as a whole, not merely the privileged few who own and control the machines (which points to the ultimate ownership and control of the basic means of production by the people as a whole).

**VII. TO COMBAT THE EVILS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM BY SEEKING NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CURBS ON MONOPOLIES AND CARTELS.** (These do a disservice to the common weal by restricting the production of needed goods and services.) Accepting the ultimate goal of people's ownership and control of the primary sources of power, we urge:

a. Public or social civilian ownership and control of atomic power.

b. United Nations control to insure the constructive (vs. destructive) production and use of atomic power.

VIII. TO PROMOTE AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AIMED AT LASTING PEACE AND PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN THE WORLD THROUGH THE EXTENSION OF PEOPLES' POWER.

*This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—*

- a. Support and implement the Methodist General Conference position on War and Peace. Cooperate to that end with the Commission on World Peace, the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, the Woman's Division of Christian Service, and other concerned agencies.
- b. Support and implement the United Nations Charter, and seek whole-hearted participation in all of its important agencies, such as the Economic and Social Council.
- c. Cease manufacture and stockpiling of atom bombs and destroy existing stockpiles.
- d. Outlaw the atom bomb and other weapons of mass destruction (e. g., for biological warfare) through the U. N.
- e. Oppose peacetime military conscription in the U. S. A., and seek its abolition throughout the world as part of a bold, world-wide disarmament program. Repeal the Selective Service Act of 1948.
- f. Substantially reduce national military budget.
- g. Oppose further militarization of the "Marshall Plan" as in proposed military alliance with Marshall Plan countries.
- h. Engage in friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union. End the Cold War. Solve problems through negotiations.
- i. Engage in friendly cooperation with the new regimes of Europe (both East and West) and Asia, treating them all as equals and refraining from self-righteousness or a "double standard" of ethical judgment in our dealings with them or with the Soviet Union. Secure prompt recognition of the developing new people's government in China and large-scale peaceful cooperation and aid.
- j. End existing economic, political and military support of colonial regimes, of fascist regimes in Spain and Argentina and of reactionary and proto-fascist forces in Greece, China and elsewhere.
- k. Return to a progressive, democratic, reform program in Japan.
- l. Promote a peaceful, unified, democratic Germany, free to develop its own peaceful economic system. Internationalize the Ruhr for the benefit of all Europe's people.
- m. End diplomatic representation with the Vatican in any guise, in keeping with the principle of separation of Church and State and with the need for a progressive peace policy.
- n. Curb the power and influence of international cartels through the kind of intergovernment cooperation in peace, which the war has proved possible.

This report is given additional publicity by William Henry Chamberlin, writing in the January 22, 1949, issue of the *New Leader*. Mr. Chamberlin's article is—

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, which has an irrepressible yearning to give publicity to pro-Soviet and anti-American views at its meetings and in its publication, *Social Questions Bulletin*, is at it again. In what seems to be an effort to divert attention from criticism of its persistent fellow-traveler line by appealing to sectarian bigotry it has alleged a new "Popish plot" so fantastically unreal that it might excite the envy and admiration of Titus Oates.

The Federation's "commission for propaganda analysis," of which Clyde R. Miller is chairman, makes the following allegation in a recent public statement:

*"It seems not unlikely that the authoritarian philosophy of the Vatican State is seeking to attain, not without some degree of success, its objective of the destruction of Protestantism, destruction of separation of church and state and of free public schools. Surely in the House Committee on Un-American Activities it has found a government agency to further its claims."*

The statement continues with allegations to the effect that "anti-Protestant propaganda" has been emanating from the Un-American Activities Committee and that the Roman Catholic hierarchy wants to make the word communist "as potent a stimulus to automatic rejection as the word 'heretic' was during the Holy Inquisition."

The irrationality of this curious imaginative concoction can easily be exposed. Is there a single community in the United States where Protestantism is being "destroyed" or where free public schools have ceased to function? As for separation of church and state, this principle has been strengthened, not weakened by recent decisions of the Supreme Court. The horrific "Popish plot" which the Federation tries to conjure up turns out to be only a dud shell.

STILL SILLIER is the attempt to press the Un-American Activities Committee, the majority of whose members are not and never have been Catholics, into the service of the supposed sinister designs of the Vatican. The only "anti-Protestant propaganda" that has been published by the Committee is a well-documented exposure of Communist infiltration into the Protestant churches. Had there been similar infiltration into the Catholic Church there is not the slightest reason to suppose the Committee would not have given it full publicity.

As for automatic negative rejection of the word "Communist" this would certainly be the logical consequence if all Americans were aware of such invariable features of Communist systems as brutal proscription of great numbers of people on class lines and wide-spread employment of forced labor indistinguishable from slavery. Unfortunately not all Americans are familiar with the organized brutality and tyranny which, on the basis of the historical record, may be considered synonymous with Communism. If they were, such an organization as the Federation for Social Action would expire for lack of clients and certainly would not be permitted to use the name Methodist as a screen for its activities.

A Methodist correspondent who joined the Federation in ignorance of its real character expresses amazement that some Bishops of that church lend the authority of their names to its activities. He continues:

"Social Questions Bulletin gets no better. The whole slant is to discredit our foreign policy and to hold us responsible for the threat of war. Our government is always wrong, and Soviet Russia right. I need only refer to the lengthy article in each issue by Harry F. Ward called Behind the Headlines."

The name of Harry F. Ward is indeed a banner for the Federation. He is perhaps the nearest American equivalent of the Dean of Canterbury and his writings and speeches reveal a sympathy with Soviet Communism that is positively fanatical.

#### 1950

The Daily Worker of July 20, 1950, at page 9, reports Rev. Jack R. McMichael at the meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action at Wilberforce University as condemning the United States intervention in Korea and saying that the United States was "the only foreigner in what apparently is nothing more than a civil war."

Rev. McMichael is further reported to have condemned America's refusal to recognize the Chinese People's Republic, and "keeping alive the myth that any other Chinese Government exists."

He is quoted as saying, "We are here to speak for peace. We must stop competing in an armament race, and start competing in service to the people."

The meeting held at Wilberforce University in July 1950 was the annual conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The Knoxville News Sentinel of July 21, 1950, at page 18, reports in a news item date lined Wilberforce, Ohio, July 21—that the conference urged a general presidential pardon for the 11 convicted Communist Party leaders; called for the defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill; called for presidential amnesty for "political prisoners," including conscientious objectors, the Hollywood Ten, the Executive Committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

It was further reported that the Federation condemned Russian propaganda which "pictures America as a warmongering nation, and itself as the chief exponent of peace."

Proof of this will be found in the Social Questions Bulletin of June 1950 which contains a summary of the minutes of the 1950 meeting by Betty Alpert, secretary pro tem. Under the heading of "Prophetic Religion and the Struggle for Democratic Liberties" Miss Alpert quotes from the minutes as follows:

Many of our hard-won liberties have become casualties of the Cold War. Today, for the first time since the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798, American citizens are in prison because of their political ideas. While these citizens are in prison, we are not free.

Many Americans, in high places and low, are being persecuted on the basis of guilt by association, which is utterly foreign to our tradition, and which deprives citizens of their livelihood and reputation. Latest evidences of violations of our freedoms are the passage of a law in Birmingham, Alabama, banning the presence of any Communist Party member within the city limits, and which in effect may outlaw communication or any private association with any Communist Party member, as well as distribution of Communist Party literature or Communist Front literature. Likewise, it is now illegal to sell the Communist Party paper on the streets in Detroit, Michigan. We must protect the liberties of those with whom we disagree, or face the loss of our own liberties.

We implore our people to call upon their Congressman to defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which threatens to establish thought-control and a police state here, and which threatens every teacher, lawyer, trade union organizer, and minister in our country. The alleged target of this bill is world communism; the real victim will be our American Democracy.

The right of any individual to speak his mind as to what is right or wrong is democracy's best safeguard. We therefore call for repeal of the Smith Act as being unconstitutional, and designed to suppress any unpopular political philosophies. We appeal for Presidential amnesty for all convicted under the Smith Act.

Since the secret ballot is basic to our democratic form of government, we do not believe people should be jailed for refusing to divulge their political convictions, or for refusing to give information which would jeopardize the employment or life of other people not directly connected with individuals being "investigated." We ask Presidential amnesty for these political prisoners: Conscientious Objectors to War; The Hollywood Ten; the executive committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Richard Morford of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship; George Marshall of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

We believe government practices in loyalty oath procedures are undermining our civil liberties.

There must be no arbitrary dismissal of government employees without presentation of charges against them, opportunity to face and cross-examine accusers, and to plead their case in a court of their peers.

We oppose loyalty oaths to officers of trade unions, in schools and colleges, and wherever they infringe American rights.

We believe freedom of movement is basic. We deplore the refusing of visas to visitors from other lands because of race or ideas. We call for repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act. We protest the campaign of deportation of aliens for their ideas or associations. Over one hundred such cases are pending. We ask our members and chapters to give help in such cases as come to their attention.

We protest wire-tapping for evidence as infringement on personal privacy.

We protest a developing pattern of judicial punishment of lawyers who defend politically unpopular persons.

Issuance of lists of "subversive" organizations by the Un-American Activities Committee, the U. S. Attorney General, and other agencies, without hearing the organizations concerned, is unjust, unfair, unconstitutional, and destructive of our liberties.

We condemn the New York State Feinberg Law, and similar thought-control laws.

We point out the increasing tendency toward monopoly control of press and radio, making these media of information propaganda agencies, instead of impartial disseminators of news. We protest the ban of *The Nation* from New York City schools.

We command the U. S. Supreme Court's recent decisions against segregation. We need to be alert to see that these decisions are carried out.

1951

The committee received considerable literature in the form of books, pamphlets, circulars, etc., obtained at the recent meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action held at the First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois, September 4-6, 1951. This material is all stamped "Disbursed or sold by the Methodist Federation for Social Action at National Membership Meeting, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois, September 4-6, 1951." Included in the collection will be found pamphlets issued by the American Institute of Pacific Relations; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Civil Rights Congress; Fellowship of Reconciliation; as well as pamphlets written by Albert E. Kahn, Corliss Lamont, and Dalton Trumbo. The book "Peekskill U. S. A." by Howard Fast was similarly stamped. Howard Fast and Dalton Trumbo have been identified as being members of the Communist Party. Corliss Lamont is associated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which has been officially cited as a Communist-front organization.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and the Civil Rights Congress have been classified as Communist organizations by the Attorney General of the United States.

The 1951 meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action was the subject of considerable news items in the press.

The Washington Daily News of August 30, 1951, at page 29, in a news item datelined New York, August 30, reports that an attempt will be made to unseat the Rev. Jack McMichael as executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action when the Federation meets in Evanston, Illinois. It was further reported that:

Three prominent signers of the statement resigned from the Federation after Rev. McMichael was reelected to a two-year term last June. They were Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston, retiring president and keynote speaker at the Kansas City convention; Dean Walter G. Muelder of the Boston University School of Theology, a Federation vice president, and Dr. Emory S. Bucke, editor of Zion's Herald.

The Boston University Chapter has announced it will withdraw automatically if the McMichael reelection is confirmed by the 1951 convention in Evanston Sept. 4-6.

The chapter charged Rev. McMichael with running an undemocratic and irresponsible organization and with using Federation machinery to promote "ideologies repugnant to the membership."

Last year the Methodist Council of Bishops urged that the Federation drop the word "Methodist" from its name. "We deplore and sharply disagree with certain positions taken and statements published of late in the Federation's official bulletin," declared the Bishops.

Rev. McMichael refused to eliminate the word "Methodist."

As a result, on Sept. 14, 1950, the Methodist Board of Publications, owner of the church's property, unanimously directed the Federation to vacate its national headquarters in the Methodist Church building in New York City. But so far Rev. McMichael has refused to move.

Meanwhile, the National Conference of Methodist Youth has asserted that it will withdraw its backing unless Rev. McMichael is removed from control next week.

For months Zion's Herald, oldest Methodist publication in this country, has been attacking Rev. McMichael's leadership. His failure to exercise "independent Christian perspective," it said, tends to aid "that Communist imperialism of the Soviet Union which threatens both the peace and freedom of many lands."

Rev. McMichael's staunchest defender is Bishop Francis J. McConnell, retired elder statesman of the Methodist Church. Another defender, following the 1947 Kansas City convention, was Bishop James C. Baker of California, presiding Bishop of the Council of Bishops.

The Chicago Daily Tribune of September 5, 1951, at page 8, contains the following article on the 1951 meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action:

Delegates to a conference of the Methodist Federation of Social Action in Evanston yesterday heard speakers extol socialism, pacifism, and world government, denounce communism and war, and urge them to action in the political arena. No one spoke a good word for capitalism.

The conference was the annual meeting of the federation, which has been described by the house un-American activities committee as a conspicuous communist front. The three-day meeting is being held in the First Methodist Church of Evanston, altho the federation has no official connection with the Methodist church.

The Cook county council of the American Legion, acting at the request of Evanston post 42 and Garnet post 785, had urged the governing board of the Evanston church to withdraw permission for use of the church for the meeting. In a letter to The Tribune's Voice of the People, however, R. A. Page, chairman of the board of trustees, said the governing board had no intention of revoking its permission.

Some 60 delegates found the Sunday school hall where they met equipped with a long table laden with scores of pamphlets, tracts, and books, for sale or free issue. They ranged from rabid advocacy of communism and life in the soviet union, thru denunciations of the Korean war, approval of the Red Chinese government, support of convicted American communist leaders and Hollywood Communists, dissertations on labor problems by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, to the social creed of the Methodist church.

Last year the federation met at the Negro university in Wilberforce, O. Yesterday the federation president, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, retired, asserted the federation should be grateful to Evanston's "middle class" church for giving the federation a meeting place.

McConnell also ridiculed a Tribune editorial which asserted that the federation usually shows a fondness for meeting behind closed doors, as indicated in this newspaper's files. Yesterday's meeting was open to the press.

Drawing a distinction between soviet communism and communism, McConnell said he knew none in the federation who professed adherence to Stalin's brand, altho some members might advance ideas for a better society "which might seem like communism."

He denounced soviet communism for not including in it any Christian ideals, particularly the Christian belief in the value of the human soul.

An English Socialist, Dr. Donald O. Soper, who established a reputation as an orator on the soap boxes of Hyde Park in London, also denounced communism in all forms, and urged American Methodists to accept socialism.

"We must match communism in political action," said Dr. Soper, who described himself as a leftwing member of the British Labor party. "I cannot imagine how any Christian can avoid socialism."

One of Methodism's leading preachers, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane of Detroit, urged support of a sovereign world federation, denounced the "insanity" of the international arms race, and asserted Americans are controlled by the ghosts of outworn ideas, beliefs, and convictions.

The Rev. Jack R. McMichael, federation executive secretary, said that the organization believes in the right of all people to hear all sides of all arguments. McMichael also denounced the war in Korea.

Both McMichael and McConnell have been listed by the un-American activities committee as supporters of numerous communist fronts. They and the federation have denied being "communist tools."

The 1951 meeting was reported by the Chicago Daily Tribune of September 6, 1951, at page 9, as follows:

A committee of the Methodist Federation of Social Action, meeting in the First Methodist church of Evanston, recommended yesterday that the United States recognize immediately Red China and that the Red Chinese delegates be seated in the United Nations.

The committee vote on recognition was 19 to 2, and on the seating of delegates, 13 to 6. The committee's recommendations are expected to be adopted by the conference today.

The Rev. Kenneth M. Smith of Colorado Springs was chairman of the committee. The only opposition came from Arthur W. Sanders of Mill Valley, Cal., a Methodist layman whose son is in the army.

"I could not conscientiously vote for immediate recognition of Red China while we have our boys in Korea giving their lives and limbs in this war," he said.

The committee's action was taken after a defense of the Red regime in China by a former Congregational missionary, Dr. Lucius Porter, ex-professor at Yenching university. Dr. Porter predicted that Christianity would continue to grow under the communist regime of Mao Tze-tung altho the role of foreign missionaries would diminish.

He reported that he had lived under the Red regime in China for eight months. The courtesy and thoughtfulness of Mao's "liberating armies" in not upsetting the village life of the common people, he said, was "very impressive."

Dr. Porter pointed out that in the first council of 600 set up to guide the new government, religious groups had been given representation—five Buddhists and two Christians.

He quoted from a letter he had received from a Chinese Christian scholar as follows, "I can conscientiously testify that we live under a government that wants to help the people."

The former missionary asserted that he was sure the communist revolution in China was a "popular movement." It was distinguished from the Red revolution in Russia, he said, because the emphasis had been upon the efforts of individuals to seek a better life, whereas the revolution in Russia had been a throwback to "mass, institutional living."

The Rev. Sumpter M. Riley, Jr., Negro, Chicago district superintendent of the Lexington conference of the Methodist church, assailed The Tribune's account of the opening day's session, which noted that none of the speakers had a good word for capitalism.

"Capitalism is opposed to democracy," he said. "We want a democratic America, not a capitalist America."

He also spoke against what he described as the color barrier in the Methodist church.

The conference session yesterday, second of the three day meeting, was enlivened by an incipient revolt among the delegates. Resolutions were circulated demanding the resignation of the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, executive secretary of the organization.

McMichael has been listed by the un-American activities committee as a supporter of numerous communist fronts. The federation itself also has been described as a communist front. Dissenters from the administration of McMichael asserted that they were "tired of apologizing" for his soft attitude toward communism. The revolt was expected to come to a head at the business meeting of the federation last night.

The meeting is being held in the First Methodist church altho the federation is not an official agency of the church. The use of the church for the meeting was protested by American Legion posts in Evanston.

The Chicago Daily News of September 6, 1951, reports the meeting in the following words:

The general assembly of the Methodist Federation for Social Action Thursday rejected a resolution urging the United States to recognize Red China.

The Methodist ministers and laymen also turned down a resolution urging the United Nations to seat a delegation of Chinese Communists.

Instead the assembly adopted by a 22 to 15 vote a resolution stating that the Chinese Communists should be granted a U. N. seat only if a truce is negotiated in Korea.

THE ASSEMBLY'S action was regarded as a rebuff to some delegates considered leftists.

The vote came in the closing session of the assembly's three-day annual meeting in the First Methodist Church of Evanston.

THE RESOLUTIONS urging U. S. recognition and a U. N. seat for the Reds had been approved Wednesday by the federation's peace commission, with the backing of Jack McMichael, executive secretary of the federation.

Despite criticism from some delegates, the assembly on Wednesday endorsed his re-election.

Roger Ragen of the Boston University chapter said his group would withdraw if McMichael stayed on.

THE DELEGATES also voted to delete from a resolution a section on the preamble that read:

"We are supporting a corrupt government rejected by the people of China; we have backed the French in a police action against the people of Indochina; we are planning large-scale remilitarization of Japan and West Germany; we have supported moneyed oil interests in Iran, and repressive measures in other areas of Asia and Africa."

BISHOP EMERITUS Frank J. McConnell of Lucasville, Ohio, federation president, said:

"I question whether we have all the knowledge requisite to making these broad statements in the preamble."

Later a resolution was adopted urging U. N. troops be pulled back to the 38th Parallel pending truce negotiations.

The federation has no direct connection with the Methodist church.

The Chicago Tribune of September 7, 1951, carries a front page article regarding the final session of the Methodist Federation's annual meeting. The article, in part, is as follows:

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, in its final session yesterday in the First Methodist Church of Evanston, refused to condemn the soviet union by name, but adopted a brief resolution opposing all dictatorships. It also condemned the errors of communism and "laissez faire capitalism," favoring a socialist type of economy.

In a heated debate with a minority attempting to soft pedal any apparent pro-communist actions, the leftist group also associated itself with defense of Dr. E. B. DuBois, Negro author, under indictment as a foreign agent in connection with an alleged communist front peace movement.

The federation, which is not an official Methodist group, also called for the seating of Red China in the United Nations but "on the condition of a negotiated peace." In a close vote the delegates defeated a move to demand immediate recognition of the Reds by the United States. \* \* \*

Various prominent Methodist clergymen have resigned from its membership which is reported to be 3,000 among the 11 million American Methodists. Fifty-six members attended the three day meeting.

The nearest the federation came to criticism of soviet Russia was in a peace resolution. It stated that the "soviet Union and its allies share in the responsibility for the present international debacle" and that both "east and west" share the guilt of the current crisis and the responsibility to secure peace.

\* \* \*

Dr. Albert Barnett, professor at the Candler school of theology, Emory college, Atlanta, and a member of the federation's executive committee, tried repeatedly with a few others to disassociate the federation from any tinge of communism.

"You are going out of your way to expound a justification for communism," he warned. "I am a great admirer of DuBois, but I oppose his name being mentioned in any resolution."

The federation came to the support of the 83 year old Negro educator by asserting that "we demand the right of people to work for peace according to the dictates of their consciences without the danger of imprisonment as foreign agents, as in the case of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, whose reputation has long been established as a defender of civil liberties."

The Daily Worker of September 10, 1951, features a four-column headline front page story on the meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action at Evanston, Illinois. It was reported that the delegates devoted most of their time to preparing four reports: dealing with peace, the struggle for democratic liberties, the struggle for racial equality, and a balanced co-operative economy. It was also reported that the federation recommended the seating of U. N. delegates of the People's Republic of China on the condition of a negotiated truce with the cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of troops to the 38th Parallel during negotiations.

According to a news item in the September 10, 1951, issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune, at page 22, the Rev. Charles M. Crowe of the

Wilmette Parish Methodist Church, Chicago, though not mentioning the Methodist Federation for Social Action, said:

"It is regrettable that the true social concerns of the church shou'd be obscured and negated by the left-wing pronouncements of this strictly unofficial body," Dr. Crowe declared. "Such views do not represent the voice of the Methodist church. This small group has done a great disservice to Methodism.

"Because of the wide publicity about this meeting, the propaganda effort of the Evanston meeting should be challenged and repudiated."

\* \* \*

"It is rather a struggle for the soul of man and for power over the human spirit and the human mind," he warned. "In their essence, the issues are spiritual. With them, no Christian can be neutral. Behind all political and economic questions, the fact remains that the sickle and hammer have challenged the cross of Christ for the allegiance of the hearts of men."

The social service federation refused to condemn communism as such, but only "errors" in the soviet union's setup. It also condemned "laissez faire" capitalism. It asked for recognition of China.

"There can be no compromise with communism," Dr. Crowe said. "Christianity and communism represent two diametrically opposed philosophies of life and society. They never can be reconciled and are basically antagonistic. They cannot live side by side in the same world for the reason that the very nature of communism itself will not permit that to do so. The assertion that the Christian church is permitted to operate freely in communist dominated countries is simply not so."

Dr. Crowe said this of Dr. Donald O. Soper of London, Hyde Park soap box orator who attended the Evanston meeting: "When the English left-wing socialist preacher said at Evanston that no one can be a Christian and not be a socialist, he is wrong. Considering the present state of the British economy, such a statement to an American audience is an ironical absurdity."

The Washington Daily News of September 17, 1951, at page 19, carries a news item datelined New York, September 17, on the 1951 meeting. In this item it was reported:

For some years now, the federation, claiming 4,000 members, including a few influential bishops, has been a pivot of controversy within the 11,000,000-member Methodist Church. Staunch supporters have turned against the McMichael leadership, including the National Conference of Methodist Youth, the Christian Advocate (The Voice of Methodism) and the influential Zions Herald. Important chapters, such as Boston University's, had announced his re-election would mean their automatic withdrawal.

Yet all this was disregarded in Evanston. And 56 delegates made high pronouncements of social and political policy under the Methodist label.

Many of them were right up the Communist alley.

For instance, the delegates called for the seating of Red China in the United Nations "on the condition of a negotiated peace."

They passed a resolution condemning all dictatorships but refused to name the Soviet Union specifically.

The conference urged the repeal of the McCarran internal security law and the Smith Act, under which the 11 Communist chiefs were convicted.

According to an article in the October 1, 1951, issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune, organized opposition within the Methodist Church to the activities of the Methodist Federation for Social Action was launched at a meeting of delegates from sixteen states in Chicago on September 30. An organization to be known as the Circuit Riders was formed. According to the article, membership in the organization will be confined to members of the Methodist Church who oppose extreme liberal and subversive elements attempting to use the Methodists to promulgate their theories. The Methodist Federation for Social Action was condemned for inculcating hate, arraying class against class, and defying authority of the Methodist Church.

According to an article in the Daily Worker of April 24, 1951, at page 3, datelined Portland, Oreg., April 23, the Northwest regional

conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action urged the repeal of the McCarran Act and that deportation proceedings against eight Portland, Oreg., residents be dropped.

### DO THE ACTIONS AND DEEDS OF THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION PARALLEL THE OBJECTIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The Epworth Herald of March 3, 1934, contains an article by Winifred L. Chappell, identified therein as secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. This article, a plea to draftees to sabotage war and the preparations for war, requires no comment by this committee. The reader can determine for himself whether such advice to young men of draft age is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our country. Miss Chappell's article follows:

Young church fellows of draft age must decide something when war breaks out. I say *when* rather than *if*, for though the pending war could even yet be stopped if enough people did the necessary thing about it, the fact is that today the peace forces are doing almost nothing, while the war makers are as busy as bees and the forces that make for war are running forward headlong.

In general these youth have four choices instead of two as most of them think. First they can conform, yield to the draft, play the game of the war makers, be cannon fodder, get shot or gassed or blinded or deleggded or de-armed—but, if possible, beat "the enemy" to it and shoot, gas, blind, de-arm the fellows on the other side first.

In the second place, they can be conscientious objectors, and go to prison. A few score did that during the World War; a few hundred or thousand will do it next time. That takes even more courage than to go over the top. It takes just as much physical courage—the C. O.'s (Conscientious Objectors) in some prisons during the World War were subjected to extremely cruel treatment. And, in addition, it takes moral courage of a type and degree impossible in peace time to measure or comprehend. When the country is suddenly set toward war—when movie by persuasive picture and radio by persuasive voice, when the press, the pulpit, the schoolroom, the conversation of all the people, the enticements of the blonde or the brunette beauty, are for "patriotism," for defense of one's country, for bayoneting the enemy, what unspeakably clear thinking and brave doing it takes to be a C. O.!

If the fellow's parents are with him it helps some—unless the burden of having them held traitors offsets the help it gives. His preacher *must* be with him. If you will be a C. O., insist that your pastor stand back of you. Our church has spoken. Just now, while peace is still here, the tide in the church is running pretty strongly in the direction of refusal to bear arms. Also in the schools that point of view is getting something more than a hearing. Several Methodist youth at this very hour are forfeiting their greatly desired college courses, because they refuse preparation to participate in the war game. In at least one or two of our universities some students and faculty members are preparing to see to it that the resources of the public speaking, the literature, the chemical, and technological departments are not used for war, not, at least, without the public knowing all about it. In Great Britain the famous Oxford Union has publicly stated that it will not, in the event of war, defend king and country.

But now a third choice, hardly so much as even heard of during the World War, appears in this possibility: Stay out of jail—why thus separate yourself from the masses? Why thus let yourself be put out of the game? Accept the draft, take the drill, go into the camps and onto the battlefield, or into the munitions factories and transportation work—but sabotage war preparations and war. Be agitators for sabotage. Down tools when the order is to make and load munitions. Spoil war materials and machinery.

If, thinking realistically of this third way, you shrink violently back because you see that it means deceit, lies, by word and deed, the answer is that if you choose the first way, the "honorable" way of patriotism, then also will you have to lie and deceive—that's part of war. Nor will you wholly escape these ungodly practices

if you make the second choice. Very likely, for instance, you will be called on to give evidence against other C. O.'s. Will you do it or will you lie in their behalf?

The fourth choice is really a further development of the third. It calls for sabotage but with the deliberate, conscious, informed intent to get rid of the present economic system, of which war is a part, and to build a new world to the existence of which peace is a necessity.

If you will make this choice, make it now and begin to meet, before war breaks, with others of like purpose and of iron will to carry out the purpose. This means knowing what selfish capitalism is like, not just in general, but in particular—not flinching even from knowing by name and specific deed the big profit takers who have betrayed the people—how they have profited from the starvation of children; how they have called upon police and militia, club and gas bomb, and machine gun to put down the workers when they have cried for bread.

And it is not enough to know about capitalism. Also you must know with mind and emotion and will to achieve, the kind of new society you want. Those who would build the new world must look with wide, appraising eyes at the good earth's resources and at man's brilliant achievements in converting the resources into usable and beautiful forms, and at man's organizational power and knowledge to transport the things garnered and made to meet the needs of the remotest peoples. They must want desperately that all the peoples of the world should be set free forever from poverty and given a chance at culture, beauty and spirituality.

Youth in the Christian church must wake up, or they are not going to be the leaders in the programs here described. We church folk are getting little or no teaching or training in the hard matter of turning the war situation, when it is here, into a deliberate program for a new social order. It is well, then, for the fellows who are ear-marked for cannon fodder and for aiming their targets (targets being a soft word for the most diabolical equipment for killing that an age of science and technology can devise) at the boys in the enemy camp, to begin to make contact with others with the same ideals, and begin to study these possibilities—and others you may think of—in the light of Christian teachings.

High ideals will give zest to the task—but it is a grim way. Perhaps church boys (and though I write of boys, the girls have almost precisely the same choices to make) are right in thinking that for them there are but two choices—war or jail.

On March 30, 1934, the House of Representatives adopted House Resolution 198. This resolution provided for the appointment of a special committee to conduct an investigation of the extent, character, and objects of Nazi propaganda activities in the United States, and the diffusion within the United States of subversive propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries and attacks the principle of the form of Government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation. Representative John W. McCormack was appointed chairman. The committee conducted public and executive hearings in several cities. On February 15, 1935, the committee filed its report to Congress, with the following recommendations:

1. That the Congress should enact a statute requiring all publicity, propaganda, or public-relations agents or other agents or agencies, who represent in this country any foreign government or a foreign political party or foreign industrial or commercial organization, to register with the Secretary of State of the United States, and to state name and location of such foreign employer, the character of the service to be rendered, and the amount of compensation paid or to be paid therefor.

2. That Congress should enact a statute conferring upon the Secretary of Labor authority to shorten or terminate the stay in this country of any visitor admitted here under temporary visa, whenever in the judgment of the Secretary such visitor shall engage in the promotion or dissemination of propaganda or engage in political activity in the United States.

3. We recommend that the Department of State, in collaboration with the Department of Labor, negotiate treaties and agreements with foreign nations by

which such nations shall agree to receive back any person entering this country from such foreign nation at any time such immigrant shall become subject to deportation under our laws.

4. That Congress should make it unlawful to advise, counsel, or urge any member of the military or naval forces of the United States, including the reserves thereof, to disobey the laws or regulations governing such forces.

5. That Congress should enact necessary legislation so that the United States attorneys outside of the District of Columbia can proceed against witnesses who refuse to answer questions, or refuse to produce documents and records, or refuse to appear or who in any other manner hold in contempt the authority of any Congressional committee vested with the powers herein described, at any time during the official life of the committee.

6. That Congress should make it an unlawful act for any person to advocate changes in a manner that incites to the overthrow or destruction by force and violence of the Government of the United States, or of the form of government guaranteed to the several States by article IV, section 4, of the Constitution of the United States.

On January 7, 1935, Winifred L. Chappell, as secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, addressed a letter to the Honorable John W. McCormack, House of Representatives, enclosing the following resolution that had been adopted by a group of Methodist preachers on December 31, and which Miss Chappell had been instructed to forward to Congressman McCormack:

WHEREAS, proposals have been made to the Congressional Committee investigating un-American activities to enact a federal sedition bill penalizing mere utterances, a bill to exclude from the mails all Communist publications, the reestablishment of a secret service section in the Department of Justice aimed at radical organizations, and even more stringent regulations of immigration for the purpose of setting up an inquisition into political opinions, and

WHEREAS, these proposals and others similar are aimed at freedom of speech and press contrary to the provisions of the Constitution and American tradition,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we the undersigned ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church oppose the enactment of any and all laws penalizing mere utterances in the absence of overt acts, increasing the powers of censorship over the mails exercised by the Post Office Department, creating any agency in the federal government to deal with any activities because of their political or economic character, or adding to the present severe restrictions on political opinion in controlling immigration and deportation.

We condemn all such proposals as un-American and wholly unnecessary in the interest of protecting public safety or order. Present legislation is more than adequate. If legislative action is needed, it is rather in the direction of repealing existing restrictive statutes than in enacting new ones.

(Signed) LEE H. BALL  
 ARCHEY D. BALL  
 CHARLES C. WEBBER  
 ALBERT ALLINGER  
 LESTER W. AUMAN  
 HARTLEY J. HARTMAN  
 RALPH B. URSY  
 C. LLOYD LEE  
 DORR DIEFENDORF  
 WAYNE WHITE

The following editorial, appearing in the February 13, 1935, issue of the Washington News, also indicates that the Methodist Federation for Social Service was opposed to legislation intended to suppress radicalism:

A timely warning is issued by the Methodist Federation for Social Service against proposed measures to suppress radicals.

Speaking for the Federation, Dr. Harry F. Ward said:

"If American citizens let these laws pass, they will wake up and find they have lost all the freedom guaranteed them by the Constitution. If the Communists are denied their constitutional rights, we shall soon see the order of events that was followed in Europe. First the Communists are repressed; then the Socialists, then the labor unions, then the others.

"If this legislation is passed big business will have the legal machinery to put out of business any organization that opposes capitalism or war or that conducts a strike. It will not be necessary to subsidize Fascist storm troops. They will kill democracy in the name of democracy, and they will trample upon every sacred principle of Christianity."

To appreciate the logic of Dr. Ward's statement, Americans have only to recall the tyranny of the Federal spy system under Attorney Generals Palmer and Daugherty.

In January 1939, the Methodist Federation for Social Service issued a pamphlet entitled, "The Boycott Question." The inside front cover is devoted to listing books, pamphlets, and articles. Among the pamphlets appears one by the American League for Peace and Democracy and another by the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression. Articles appearing in the then current issue of the following publications are mentioned:

*Amerasia*, that now defunct magazine which figured so prominently in the disappearance of confidential papers from the State Department and other Government agencies;

*Far Eastern Survey*, an official publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations, an organization presently under the scrutiny of a Senate committee;

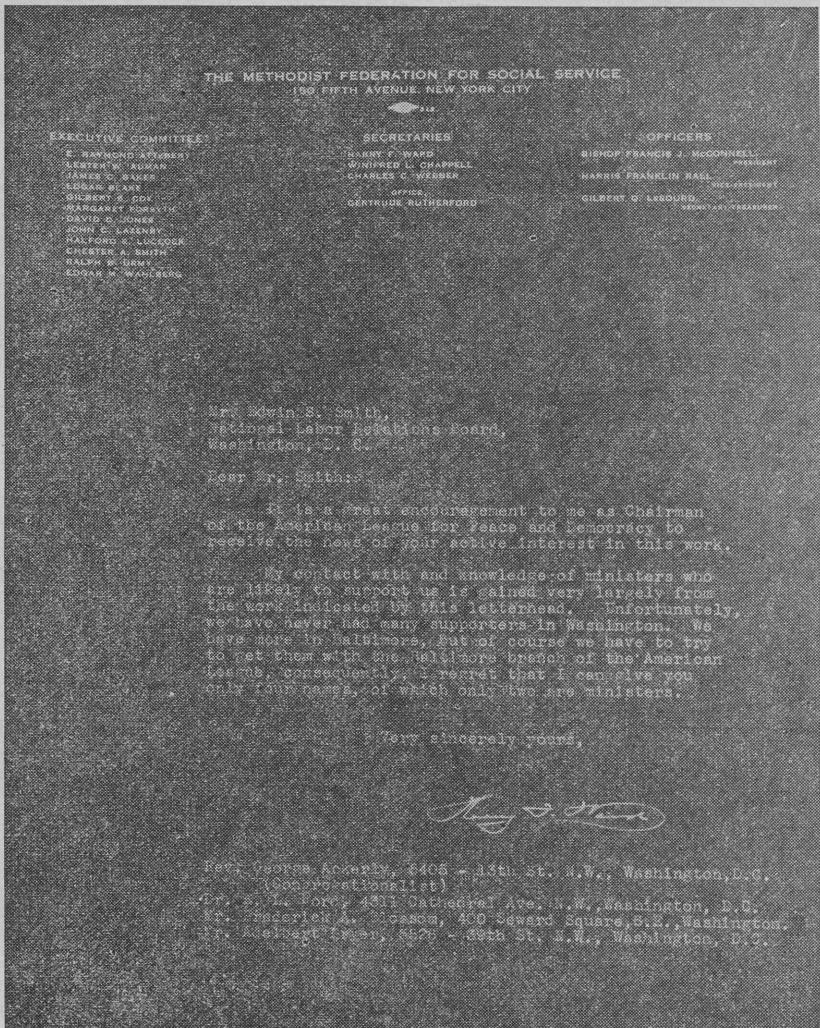
*China Today*, a publication of the American Friends of the Chinese People.

Writers of the several articles include Frederick V. Field, Civil Rights Congress official recently remanded to jail for his failure to reveal the source of funds used to furnish bail for convicted Communists; W. W. Lockwood and Ch'ao-ting Chi, of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Ch'ao-ting Chi is well known for his Communist-front activities. He was one of the editors of *Amerasia*; a speaker at the joint meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism and of the American Friends of the Chinese People; a speaker for *New Masses*; a speaker for the United Student Peace Committee of the American Student Union; a speaker for the American League for Peace and Democracy; a member of the Executive Committee of the China Aid Council; and a member of the Advisory Council of the Theater Arts Committee.

The following undated letter is reproduced to illustrate that Harry F. Ward, as one of the secretaries of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, used the stationery of the Federation to promote the cause of the American League for Peace and Democracy:

## EXHIBIT 4

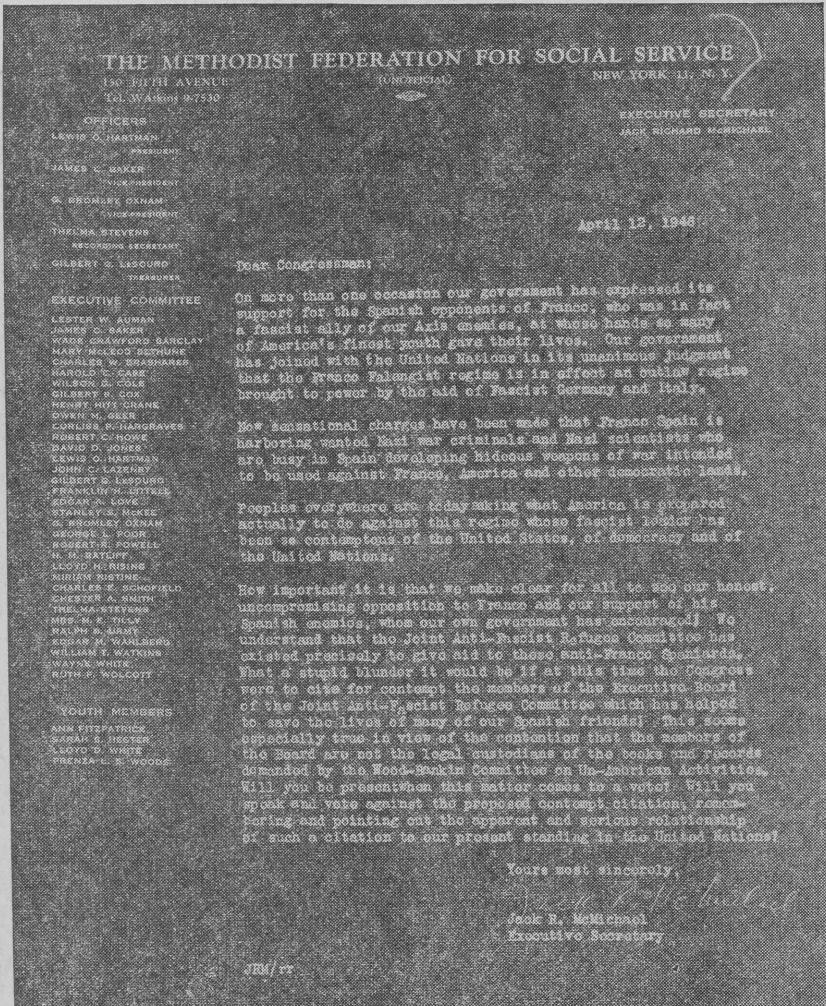


Methodist Federation for Social Service, undated letter.

On April 4, 1946, members of the executive board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities in response to subpoenas. As a result of their refusal to respond to questions, they were cited for contempt. The Methodist Federation for Social Service addressed the following letter to members of Congress, urging that the contempt citations

against the members of the executive board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee be rejected:

## EXHIBIT 6



Methodist Federation for Social Service, letter, dated April 12, 1946.

The Methodist Federation for Social Service issued a series of undated circulars, each entitled Crisis Leaflet. Produced in part in catechetical form, these circulars are an illustration of some of the things advocated by the Methodist Federation for Social Service. As an example, Crisis Leaflet No. 9 contains the following:

## Jobs for all?

The only country that has a complete social-economic plan is the Soviet Union, and they have no unemployment. This is not because their industry is expanding. We had plenty of unemployment when we were expanding. They got rid of it because they planned to get rid of it. Their plan provides for everybody to take part. . . .

Under the profit system, share-the-work means share-the-misery. Under a planned society, share-the-work means share-the-leisure and the cultural opportunities.

Crisis Leaflet No. 12 berates capitalism, as follows:

Freedom Under Capitalism?

Did you ever figure out how much freedom you have under the profit system? Or how long it will last?

In the attempt to save the profit system the capitalist countries are all abandoning democracy. All of them are developing the Fascist state, with its centralized control.

Democracy is proclaimed a failure in capitalist countries because they tried to get political freedom without economic freedom. They let a few own and run the essential property of the nation. So the big interests became able to control the Government and destroy our liberties.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action issued a circular entitled, "Methodist Bishops Unanimously Protest Un-American Practices of our Government." The full text of the protest is:

We are greatly disturbed over the reports which constantly reach the public, of un-American and unconstitutional practices by governmental authorities in the attempts to rid public offices of employees alleged to be engaged in "subversive" efforts against our nation.

These reports are so numerous in the press, and so freely admitted and defended by governmental agencies, that we cannot doubt that, while the reports of each governmental procedure may be exaggerated, there is enough of fact in them to warrant serious alarm among our citizens.

We admit the right of any agency, governmental or other, to scrutinize carefully the fitness of any applicant for public post but we insist that the examination of employees already chosen by the government should itself not be conducted in un-American ways. By such ways we mean the dismissal of employees without informing them of the charges against them and without granting them opportunity of facing their accusers.

We protest against judging men by vague and unsubstantiated assertion of their holding subversive views, or of associating with so-called suspicious characters. We maintain that such methods are not calculated to secure a high type of public servants, and we declare our judgment that the methods are themselves violations of constitutional guarantees, and are therefore un-American.

This protest was undoubtedly aimed at the program inaugurated by the President of the United States in an effort to rid the Government of employees of questionable loyalty. According to the above-quoted text, it is the judgment of the Methodist Federation for Social Action that the methods adopted by the President of the United States are themselves violations of Constitutional guarantees, and are therefore un-American. It is interesting to compare the judgment of the Methodist Federation for Social Action with that of the judiciary.

The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit decided the case of Dorothy Bailey *vs.* Seth W. Richardson, et al., on March 22, 1950. Miss Bailey, employed by the Federal Security Agency, was advised on November 1, 1948, by the Fourth Regional Loyalty Board "that, on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that you are disloyal to the Government of the United States." On February 9, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board sustained the finding. Miss Bailey brought action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment and for an order directing her reinstatement in Government employ. The District Court granted a defense motion for judgment. An appeal to the United States Court of Appeals followed. The appellate court said:

... We cannot ignore the world situation in which not merely two ideologies but two potentially adverse forces presently exist, and certainly we cannot require

that the President and the Congress ignore it. Infiltration of government service is now a recognized technique for the overthrow of government. We do not think that the individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution necessarily mean that a government dedicated to those rights cannot preserve itself in the world as it is. This case presents a small segment of that momentous question. In the light of all that is well known, much of which is recited in opinions of the Supreme Court, we cannot say that a policy of caution in respect to members of the Communist Party in the Government service under current circumstances is forbidden by any restriction in the Constitution. The risks are for the President to estimate, and the assumption of risk is for him to decide. If he thinks that under present circumstances only those whose loyalty is beyond suspicion should be employed by this Government, the policy is his to make. The responsibility in this field is his, and the power to meet it must also be his. The judiciary cannot dictate that he must either retain in Government service those whom he reasonably suspects or else reveal publicly the means and methods by which he detects disloyalty.

Upon the contention that suspicion of disloyalty has characteristics distinguishing it from suspicion of other offenses, we conclude that the differences tend to solidify rather than to weaken the application of the doctrine that the President and the Congress are responsible for the qualifications, ability, judgment and loyalty of Government employees and that removal from Government employment is within their discretion.

It is our clear opinion that the President, absent congressional restriction, may remove from Government service any person of whose loyalty he is not completely convinced. He may do so without assigning any reason and without giving the employee any explanatory notice. If, as a matter of policy, he chooses to give the employee a general description of the information which concerns him and to hear what the employee has to say, he does not thereby strip himself of any portion of his constitutional power to choose and to remove.

We conclude that the Executive Order<sup>1</sup> before us and the proceedings under it violated no congressional limitation upon the executive power of removal; that no constitutional right was involved in this non-appointment or dismissal; and that, insofar as the circumstances imposed hardship upon the individual, the exigencies of government in the public interest under current conditions must prevail, as they always must when a similar clash arises . . .

The Pacific Northwest Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action issued the following statement regarding the Canwell, Committee (Washington State Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities):

The joint resolution passed by the Washington State Legislature in March 1947, looks to be extremely un-American and un-democratic.

The resolution states that its purpose is to investigate persons and groups operating "Under cover of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights." This is an indirect admission that those to be investigated are acting within their constitutional rights as American citizens.

This committee is given almost unlimited powers: "All the powers conferred upon legislative committees . . . , (and) all powers necessary or convenient to accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution . . . To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure . . . as it may to it appear appropriate . . . to summon and subpoena witnesses, . . . to administer oaths . . . every department . . . of the state government, including the attorney general . . . shall furnish the committee . . . any and all such assistance . . . as the committee or subcommittee deems proper . . . ; and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Washington State Patrol and all officers and members thereof shall furnish such assistance to the committee as the chairman may direct.

In both Seattle newspapers there was a combined announcement by the committee of a future public hearing and a list of the things it will establish by said hearing. This, indeed, is an overt perversion of justice which holds the person to be guilty before the hearing has even started.

Let us do all in our power as Christian citizens to explain to our fellow citizens the shocking nature of this bill and the committee it establishes.

<sup>1</sup>Executive Order 9835, March 21, 1947 [committee footnote].

## CRITICISM OF THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Over a period of years, there has been considerable criticism of the pronouncements and activities of the federation, both from within and without the Methodist Church. Those criticisms coming from within the church and its membership should be entitled to more consideration than those from other sources. They indicate in many instances a definite disagreement with the objectives of the federation.

The February 1932 issue of the *National Republic* contains an article by George B. Lockwood, entitled, "The Enemy Within the Gates of Methodism." The article states:

Every Methodist in the country, and indeed every member of the Protestant Church, for all denominations are to some extent showing similar symptoms, should send to the Methodist Federation for Social Service, 150 Broadway, New York City, for a copy of the November 15th issue of the Social Service Bulletin. Perhaps to avoid imposing undue expense on this organization and ensure receipt of a copy, a two-cent stamp should be enclosed, and if copies of this issue are no longer available, some other issue should be asked for.

This suggestion is made because the *National Republic* does not believe that many Methodists, or Protestants generally, know how far this and other churches are being committed to the socialist and even to the atheist-communist movement. The evidence is clear enough in the releases of this publication. Fully ninety-five per cent of the rank and file of the Methodist and of other Protestant churches are not in sympathy with communism, socialism, or the resistance to the Constitution and laws of the federal government of the several states, involved in defiance of the laws making every citizen a member of the unorganized militia subject to call in case of invasion or insurrection.

The Methodist Federation of Social Service, it has been stated, is not an official bureau of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North), but it is permitted to use the name of the church in its propaganda, which circulates widely, especially among ministers with semi-official sanction. The use of the name could be stopped if the will to do it existed.

The first article in the November 15th "Social Service Bulletin" is entitled "From Some Fall Conference." A memorial of the Michigan conference asking Congress to withdraw all support of military defense training in civilian education institutions is recorded. The report of the social service commission of the Ohio conference, said to have been unanimously adopted by the conference, is quoted, with this comment: "The press gave it wide publicity. A reporter eagerly taking the copy said: 'Does the church generally stand for things like this? That's socialism.'" The comment of the Social Service Bulletin is: "So be it." Resolutions of the social service commission of the Pittsburgh conference are also quoted including the statement: "To apply the word democracy to the system under which we live is a ghastly joke." It is declared that the action of the American government in not joining the League Court is a "disgrace." "Preachers are invited to unite with those Christian leaders who have publicly declared to the President and to Congress that THEY OWE DUTY TO A HIGHER MORAL POWER THAN THE STATE." This was the charge made against the Roman Catholic Church in the campaign of 1928. The report suggests that churches supplement their appeals for disarmament with the GANDHI METHOD OF DISCIPLINE in the methods of non-violence." Gandhi, be it remembered is resisting the government under which he lives. Declarations have been made even from the pulpit that the policy of prohibition should be resisted as immoral. The adoption by foes of prohibition, on such grounds, of the Gandhi means of resistance to law proposed by this conference would cause millions of people out of sympathy with the law to erect stills in public, collect great crowds of sympathizers to obstruct the execution of the law by "peaceful" means, and so crowd the jails, obstruct traffic, and render the police power so helpless that the execution of the law would be made impossible without great bloodshed.

The Rock River Conference, it is stated, adopted resolutions asking the President to acquire the hatred of France and others of the allies by trying to bring about a revision of the "war guilt" clause of the Versailles treaty, which the

United States did not sign, and urging Congress to so revise the laws that aliens declining to consent to defend this country in time of insurrection or invasion may be admitted to American citizenship. It also resolved in favor of the church giving moral support to those of its members who refuse to defend the United States in case of invasion or insurrection. The General Conference is asked to urge the United States to take the initiative in the "total abolition of national armies and navies," including the insignificant military force which is maintained in this country to quell armed insurrection should it be undertaken in fulfillment in this country of the proclaimed policies of powerful insurrectionary elements, committed to the overthrow of our government by violence.

An encouraging item is the one which tells what befell a report prepared by radicals for submission to the Wisconsin Conference. The statement was "inadvertently released to the press ahead of time. Scare heads riled up some of the preachers. The upshot was that the commission was not even allowed to read the report on the floor." The report denounced President Hoover for "childish chatter that the 'American way of life must be preserved,'" which it said "indicates an incompetency and ignorance which borders on the immoral in its evasion of responsibility." The report praised the British dole system. This report also dealt with many political questions in characteristic socialist fashion, including "freedom of conscience without bounds," the MacIntosh case, pacifism, internationalism, birth control, prison reform, the radio industry, the motion picture industry, etc., etc.

Harry F. Ward, moving spirit of the Methodist Social Service Federation, according to this bulletin, is visiting in Moscow. He writes that opposition to the Communist dictatorship is practically ended in Soviet Russia. "The grade is made," he says, "and the intelligentsia are accommodating themselves to it and even beginning to be proud of it." The Social Service Bulletin says that one of its exchanges, the Moscow News, English bolshevik daily, comments on Dr. Ward's visit: "Dr. Ward, who is author of 'Our Economic Morality,' a book on capitalist ethics in economics, plans to write a parallel volume on communist ethics in economics." And doubtless Dr. Ward will find plenty of ethics in atheism, wholesale slaughter of political dissenters, and ruthless suppression of all independence of thought in the red fatherland, where the theory of socialism, as promoted by the Social Service Bulletin, is in full flower.

The Social Service Bulletin deplores the discontinuation of "Labor's News," organ of the Federated Press, which has long been engaged, under communist and socialist direction, in distributing propaganda to sympathetic journals. The Bulletin announces that subscribers will receive instead the New Leader, socialist organ, the American Guardian, radical weekly or the Labor Age, organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, socialist organization.

Miscellaneous items in the Social Service Bulletin are of significance. Henry Ford, who has made millions out of his communist commercial connections, is quoted as praising the work done by the bolsheviks' Leningrad factory in producing tractors. Roy Burt, of the Epworth League office, has visited Tom Mooney in prison and "ranks him with the four or five outstanding personalities he has met in a generation." Mooney's correspondence with the Moscow masters, showing his affiliation with their conspiracy to overthrow the American government by violence, extirpate religion and destroy family life, has recently been published. Ralph Chapman, "I. W. W. poet" is quoted in condemnation of the imprisonment of the I. W. W. leaders who were convicted of killing members of the American Legion in Centralia, Wash. Readers are urged to write to the American Civil Liberties Union about a test case they are making in New Jersey of the right of an atheist to refuse to testify under an oath, recognizing the existence of a God, and an attempt is made to show that Thomas Edison, who lived in New Jersey and testified under oath there, would have been refused permission to testify in that state because he was an atheist, which he was not. Three pro-Soviet books are commended to the attention of the readers. The United States is accused of being in the same boat with Japan because of its intervention in Latin American countries at the request of constitutional authorities, without seizing territory, although Japan is in China over the violent protest of the Chinese government and is seizing sovereignty over vast territory for itself. Such a statement indicates violent bias against America.

Dan B. Brummitt is quoted as saying that communists in Soviet Russia know all about American wickedness, injustice and tyranny, as cited by revolutionary radicals in the Scottsboro, Dayton, Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings cases, and "as to unemployment, how they rub that in."

Members of the church are urged "to use the church as an instrument in getting rid of capitalism and inaugurating a decent, humane society," and it quotes Norman Thomas, socialist leader, as saying in the Christian Century that the Christian religion "which in the main has been an opiate, yet carries in its sacred books so much dynamite." This echoes the bolshevist-atheist slogan: "Religion is the opium of the people."

Reference is made to the fact that the Methodists Social Service Federation "is participating with a group of liberal organizations working on an unemployment program." The animus of this movement is understood when the declaration is quoted, in depreciation of the relief program carried on in this country during a period of depression unparalleled for generosity in world history: "No industrial nation has been so derelict as ours . . . the (present) plan of relief is the most fruitless and degrading plan ever undertaken by any nation," etc., etc. The nation in which wages and standards of living are and long have been from two to ten times as high as those maintained in any European, Asiatic or Latin-American country, and so far beyond those in favored Soviet Russia that poverty in the United States is a more desirable condition than affluence among the serfs of oriental socialism, is described as the most backward in the world, which of course helps to explain why this publication is so strongly in favor of every effort to persuade the youth of the land not to be willing to defend it when threatened by revolutionary violence.

Harry F. Ward, head of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, now in Moscow drinking deep from the headsprings of bolshevism, has been active as a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which chiefly occupies itself with the defense of revolutionary radicals who fall within the toils of the law. On this board he sat alongside some of the revolutionary communist leaders of the country. The executive spirit and guiding spirit of this A. C. L. U. is Roger Baldwin, who calls himself a "philosophical anarchist." He was a delegate to the communist controlled International Anti-Imperialist League at its convention in July, 1930, in Frankfort, Germany. He admitted helping New York communists frame a telegram to Count Karolyi which induced him to refuse to appear in New York City under the auspices of the socialists, on the ground that they were not sufficiently revolutionary. The American Civil Liberties Union has accepted subsidies from the communist-socialist controlled Gardland [sic.] fund, which spent a million and a half dollars financing the I. W. W., the revolutionary communist party and its official journals, the Lane pamphlet which has been used to foment opposition to military training in American schools and colleges, and even handed \$250 to the Wyoming conference of the Methodist Episcopal church to urge the disarming of America in the face of the open threats by the revolutionary organizations to which it gave most of its money, to overthrow American government by force and violence. Ward is connected also with Union Theological Seminary, of New York.

The author of this article was reared in a Methodist home and graduated from a Methodist college. His father, far from believing that there was anything inconsistent about being a Methodist, and at the same time being loyal to the American government under which Methodism grew to be one of the most numerous and powerful religious organizations in the world, in his youth turned his back on college to shoulder a musket, fight for his country, and with other Methodists receive the thanks of Abraham Lincoln for the loyalty of the Methodist Church to the nation in time of peril. This soldier-father was for many years a volunteer choir leader and trustee of the Methodist Church in his home town. His closest friends were the several Union soldiers who long served as pastors of that church, sturdy men who would have knocked down any pantalleted pacifist who had suggested that thereby they had done anything un-Christian, or that the "copperhead" draft-resisters who shot them in the back were worthy of "moral" support of their church. In comparative poverty he denied himself in order to give money to support the Methodist Church, and to send eight of his children to a Methodist college. Not to protest the effort now being made to use the Methodist Church to betray the principles and undermine the government for which he fought, would be to dishonor my father's memory. To stand by without protest while the foundations of the church he loved are undermined by men out of sympathy with the historic traditions and beliefs of Methodism, and propagandists for alien rather than American political creeds would be to be false to his memory and to the ideals of true Methodism. It is clear that the use of church publications to preach grossly materialistic state socialism and of pulpits to proclaim state socialist despotism rather than religion and human liberty as the effective means of human regeneration is responsible for the obvious fact that the

people are losing interest in religion, and that by the time of the red dawn, if we proceed along present lines, these churches will be sufficiently depopulated to make their conversion into cinemas and communist schools of atheism easy of accomplishment.

The following news item, date-lined Columbus, Ohio, April 29, and appearing in the April 30, 1936, issue of the Los Angeles Examiner indicates the existence of a movement of laymen and ministers in opposition to the Methodist Federation for Social Service:

After a day of wrangling over "strategy," 75 members of the so-called Methodist Federation for Social Service today accepted a memorial to submit to the quadrennial conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church on which they purpose to defend themselves against a vigorous movement of laymen and ministers who have branded the Federation "Red."

The Federation group, which claims 2,500 members, was presided over by Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of New York. The memorial which the church conference, opening Friday in Columbus, is asked to approve as an expression of the Methodist Church, was drafted by the Federation secretary, Dr. Harry F. Ward, well-known as the chairman of the Communist-dominated American League Against War and Fascism.

The declaration has as its main theme:

"We urge members of our church and our fellow citizens to abandon the profit-seeking economy and substitute an economic method which does not violate the divine law, which leads humanity to a more abundant life . . .

"As a substitute for the profit-seeking economy we urge a planned and planning social economy . . .

"Planning by the people depends upon ownership by the people."

Dr. Ray Allen, of Buffalo, N. Y., criticized the memorial as a "waste of breath" because, he said:

"The general conference may go ahead some, but they won't go ahead a long way and anything that has the earmarks of Harry Ward on it they'll turn down."

Dr. Ralph B. Urmey, of Westfield, N. J., pointing out that the purpose of the Federation was to make the general conference "take a step in advance," urged adoption of the memorial on the plea:

"Let's get all we can."

Doctor Ward, arguing against change of the memorial, declared:

"The strategy behind the regional conferences was to combat two things: First, an organized reaction in the conference to attack this Federation; second, a general reaction throughout the whole country."

The "reaction" to which Doctor Ward referred is a move headed by laymen conferences of the church which are expected to ask the general conference to purge the church of Communism and to refuse the Federation the right to use the word "Methodist" in its name.

That this movement is appreciated by the Federation was seen in a long discussion today over use of the term "profit" in the memorial. Under pressure from the floor at the morning session, Bishop McConnell appointed a committee to rephrase the memorial. Doctor Ward was named one of the committee.

Additional evidence that Methodist laymen objected to the program and activities of the Methodist Federation for Social Service will be found in the following article appearing in the Washington Herald of April 23, 1936:

Gradually but inexorably THE TRUTH is becoming known about SNEAK COMMUNISM in the educational, religious and cultural institutions of America.

It required the patriotic and persistent delving of a subcommittee of the House of Representatives to show how Professors Charles A. Beard and George S. Counts, of the "Social Frontier" group at Columbia University, have perverted the purposes of the American Historical Association as a means of bootlegging Marxism into PUBLIC SCHOOLS of the country.

Now, due to the courage and convictions of certain preachers and loyal laymen, the hypocritical work of the socalled METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE is being "shown up" to the eight million members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Moreover, there is a strong probability that, before another month goes by, this group of collectivist conspirators will be officially forbidden to misuse any longer

the name of this CHRISTIAN communion as an instrument for propagation of ATHEIST communism.

The Methodist Federation for Social Service PURPORTS to be an "authorized agency of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

At the head of it is BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, of New York, a Marxist.

One of its secretaries is DR. HARRY F. WARD, professor of CHRISTIAN ETHICS at the Union Theological Seminary; associated with Beard and Counts in a number of "movements;" chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union—the director of which Roger Baldwin, says "Communism is the goal;" and national chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, of which Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, is vice chairman, and which—so says M. J. Olgin, Russian-born revolutionist, in this book, "Why Communism?"—was FORMED BY THE COMMUNISTS as a "front for propaganda."

The other secretary of the federation is WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL, who on March 3, 1934, published in the "Epworth Herald" an article advising American youth in event of war, to enter the army in order to be able to SABOTAGE THE NATION'S DEFENSE FROM WITHIN.

This self-constituted "Federation" issues a monthly publication, "The Social Questions Bulletin," edited by Ward and Winifred Chappell, which in its mast-head describes the federation as—"An organization which seeks to abolish the profit system in order to develop a classless society based upon the obligation of mutual service."

Just what that "program" has to do with the religion of John and Charles Wesley is, of course, far from obvious.

Last year, this federation began laying out strategy to capture the official indorsement of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which it has NEVER HAD.

In the June, 1935, issue of its bulletin Ward and Miss Chappell proposed to hold a preliminary "conference" of the federation group prior to the general conference of the entire church, aimed at taking the general conference by storm.

The preliminary conference would be simply a "packed" gathering. As the Ward-Chappell bulletin said of a preceding "preliminary conference":

"It was agreed that time would be saved and confusion avoided in the discussion if this gathering called together ONLY THOSE WHOSE THINKING AND ETHICAL JUDGMENT HAD REACHED THE POINT OF REJECTING THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. Thus the conference could center on planning and action."

Now the campaign is about to be executed.

The general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church will begin at Columbus, Ohio, on May 1 (Europe's Labor Day).

Accordingly—we now quote from "the Literary Digest" of April 18, 1936—

"The Federation for Social Service will be first on the field. It has called a meeting in Columbus for April 29, where it is intended to map the campaign for the general conference two days later."

But hold! Methodists have been waking up to what BISHOP McCONNELL and HARRY F. WARD and WINIFRED CHAPPELL are doing.

At the general conference in Columbus will be representatives of the conference of Methodist laymen organized two years ago by Methodist business men in Chicago; also of an interstate group of which former Gov. Arthur M. Hyde, of Missouri, is a distinguished member; and also of the laymen of the New York conference.

These patriotic Methodists are going to FIGHT the Ward-Chappell outfit.

In fact, war was formally declared last Thursday night by the New York laymen at a dinner at Kingston, New York.

This group, representing 300 local churches with 60,000 members, heard the subversive activities of the Methodist federation vigorously denounced, and adopted UNANIMOUSLY a resolution declaring:

"That this body protests the use of the name Methodist UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES by the Methodist Federation for Social Service, since it DOES NOT HAVE A LEGAL OR A MORAL RIGHT TO DO SO."

However, laymen will not have to wage the battle alone.

Numerous Methodist bishops and clergymen are also in arms.

Attending the general conference, for example, will be the Rev. Rembert Gilman Smith, D. D., sometime professor in Emory College, Atlanta, and now pastor of the Methodist Church at Pryor, Okla.

Dr. Smith has made an intensive study of the Methodist Federation.

He has likewise DESCRIBED IT in a 19-page booklet called "Methodist Reds," which is being widely distributed among Methodists by such outstanding

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members of the church as John W. Davis, former ambassador to Great Britain and one-time Democratic nominee for President.

In his pamphlet, Dr. Smith makes these startling charges:

"There is proof, growing almost daily stronger, that a group of prominent and powerful Methodist leaders desire to make their denomination a totalitarian church, controlling the social, economic and international life. They are seeking to do this by aggressive propaganda. . . .

"They prefer that these changes be made by voting rather than violence, but some of the more radical of these Methodist leaders are not quite sure that ballots will suffice, and are admitting into their minds with tolerance, if not with hospitality, the possibility that BULLETS, as well as BALLOTS, may be necessary before the existing system is destroyed. . . .

"No laborious research is necessary to find out that there is a group of influential Methodist leaders who have joined 'the trek to Moscow,' and that they are using their church influence to get others to join them.

### "WHAT THESE METHODIST REDS WISH IS AN APPROXIMATION OF THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM.

"They favor communism, with the atheism left out, but there is reason to infer that they wish it, even with the allied atheism, if that is the only way it can be gotten, hoping, perhaps, to destroy the atheism as soon as possible."

The following article appearing on the front page of the October 13, 1938, issue of the Bureau County Republican indicates a growing dissension among Methodists over the activities of the Methodist Federation for Social Service:

The Methodist Laymen's Organization of the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at its annual convention in Chicago Friday, adopted resolutions denouncing the Methodist Federation for Social Service, an organization which is supporting Communism. The resolutions declare the laymen's organization is loyal to the American Constitution and to the principles of representative government, and is opposed to any organization whose activities are subversive to those principles. The resolutions criticize the conference for having given the Methodist Federation for Social Service a place on the official program of the conference [and] requested that no such action be repeated in the future. The resolutions also declare that no part of the funds of the church should be apportioned to the Methodist Federation for Social Service of New York City, as has been requested.

A thing that aroused the ire of the laymen was the fact that a place on the official program of the church had been assigned to the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the radical organization which turned the meeting over to the C. I. O. The objectionable assignment was set on the official program for 5:30 o'clock Thursday evening and entitled "Methodist Social Service Dinner." At the dinner Rev. Armand Guerrero of the Forest Park Church of Chicago, president of the Methodist Federation, who wrote letters to the Republican supporting sit-down strikes, and criticizing the courts, officiated, and the speaker of the evening was Van A. Bittner, an organizer for the C. I. O. Bittner, who started with the coal miners' organization, has figured conspicuously as a C. I. O. leader and associate of John L. Lewis in the steel and automobile industries. Bittner occupied the entire time set apart for the speaking program.

The resolutions adopted by unanimous vote of the lay delegates, follows:

"We (the lay delegates) express our allegiance to the American Constitution and to the principles of representative government therein contained. We declare ourselves as opposed to any organization whose activities are subversive of those principles.

"Since the Rock River branch of the Methodist Federation for Social Service is not an official organization of our church, we regard the inclusion on the official program of the conference of a meeting under the auspices of that organization, to imply an official recognition contrary to the action of the last General Conference. We accordingly request that such action be not repeated in the future.

"We also regard as contrary to the action of the last General Conference, the special apportionment plan of the Rock River and other Conferences under which any church may apportion a part of its benevolence fund to the Methodist Federation for Social Service of New York City."

The dinner and program assigned to the radicals was held on the second floor of the Child's restaurant, half a block from the Temple church at the corner of Clark and Washington Streets, where the main sessions were held, and close to the Terrace Garden of the Morrison Hotel, where the sessions of the laymen's

organization were conducted. After the dinner Rev. Guerrero, late of the Forest Park Church, officiated as toastmaster. Rev. Guerrero is president of the Rock River branch of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and accompanying him were Rev. A. A. Whitmeyer of the Humboldt Park Church, Rev. Fred J. Schnell of Palatine, and other officers of the association. Present also was Rev. Horace Smith, president of the Garrett Biblical Institute, and several hundred ministers and laymen.

Rev. Guerrero made a brief announcement in introducing the speaker of the evening. He said that the ministers probably were giving too much attention to theological matters and perhaps too little to industrial and social questions. Therefore he said he had selected as the speaker of the evening, Van C. Bittner, an organizer of the C. I. O. Bittner has frequently been mentioned in labor negotiations in the steel and automobile industries the last year.

Bittner, in his address, said that he started in his career with organized labor with the United Mine Workers. Later he was promoted and the last year or two his activities have been connected with labor organization in the steel and automobile industries. He told of the development of the labor movement the last few years and spoke of the contest the C. I. O. is having with the American Federation of Labor of which William Green is president. He said he was not concerned so much about carrying on a fight with the American Federation of Labor as he was in extending the scope of activities of the C. I. O. The difference between the two organizations, he said, is that the American Federation of Labor believes in craft unions; that is in the organization of each trade in a separate body, such as the engineers, electricians, machinists, etc., while the C. I. O. advocates organization by industries; that is to take into one union all of the employees of an entire company from top to bottom.

Bittner told of the aid the C. I. O. is receiving from the Federal government. He said he frequently hears the complaints that the National Labor Relations Board is prejudiced in favor of the C. I. O. as against the employers.

"Of course it is prejudiced," said Bittner, "the National Labor Relations Board is the only official support we have ever had. Its purpose is to protect labor. That is why it is created. We never had a tribunal before."

Bittner made no reference to the charges of William Green that the NLRB is unjust to the American Federation of Labor, nor of those of the employers who complain that the decisions of the board are uniformly against them, the manufacturers claiming that the labor board is supposed to have judicial functions and to conduct a fair and impartial handling of the relations between employers and labor. The labor board originates charges, conducts prosecutions and renders decisions.

Bittner said it is frequently charged by an antagonistic employer that the labor unions are not responsible. He said he was not going to say anything about that himself but he would call attention to the fact that employers are dealing with the C. I. O. He said that although some employers are claiming they are irresponsible, yet they are still dealing with the unions. "Do you think they would deal with us if they thought we were not responsible under our contracts?" said Bittner. The NLRB requires employers to deal with labor unions.

Bittner said it is also charged that the C. I. O. is honeycombed with Communism and that a large number of paid Communists are at the head of their various groups of organizers. "I am not going to say anything on that question," said Bittner. "I will leave it to you ministers and you laymen to decide for yourselves. I will point out church authority. You will not have to go outside of your own denomination. I will refer you to Bishop Francis J. McConnell of your church, who is at the head of the New York area. Ask the bishop if he thinks we are Communists." Bishop McConnell is the president of the Methodist Federation for Social Service which is advocating the overthrow of our present form of government in the United States, and the setting up of a government by social workers as is done in the soviet union . . .

. . . H. U. Bailey of Princeton, addressed the convention on the issue of radicalism. He said, "Many of the nations of the world are now confronted with an issue pertaining to the form of government which is to prevail. Established forms of one kind or another have been overthrown and something new set up in their stead. Some countries have gone radical or Communist and others ultra conservative or Fascist. The seeds of discontent are being planted in this country and are active in industrial and educational circles and are even spreading to the churches. It is now manifest in many Protestant denominations. In our own church we have the Methodist Federation for Social Service, an organization which is concerned with one topic only and that is the form of government we are to have. The Federation does not concern itself with social, educational, entertainment or

other features as its name might imply. It has to do only with materialism and politics. It seeks the control of property and the control of human lives. The atmosphere is surcharged with many devices to get something for nothing. The newspapers are full of C. I. O. and other activities. It is the subject of conversation wherever people meet.

Mr. Bailey said the platform of the Methodist Federation for Social Service stands primarily for the overthrow of the "profit system" which has prevailed in the world since the time of Abraham. The "profit system" means the private ownership of property which sometimes is known as the "competitive system." The setting up of communal committees selected by "social workers" is proposed to succeed the profit system. To bring about this change of conditions the Federation advocates the following:

To do away with political parties.

To do away with elected public officials from the President down to the lowliest office.

To do away with legislative bodies.

To do away with courts and judges.

To do away with competition among individuals in the earning of a living.

The working plans of the Federation, he said, are outlined in a series of 18 Crisis leaflets which are known as the platform of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The new order to be set up, is termed "social economic planning," terms which in the last few years have been adopted by the Federal government. The platform says that the Federation program means "a planned society built upon the principle of everybody working on some job necessary to the well being of society." It adds that people under this plan, who refuse to do the work set up for them by the social committee, will automatically be deprived of supplies; that everybody must work according to the job set out for them and at the compensation stipulated. This program is termed "a planned society." The Federation platform says:

"The only country which has a complete social, economic plan is the Soviet Union and they have no unemployment. It is not because their industry is expanding. We had plenty of unemployment when we were expanding. They got rid of it because they planned to get rid of it. Their plan provides for everybody to take part."

In another part of the platform the Federation again commends the Russian system. It says: "the only country in the world that has a big scale social economic plan is the Soviet Union."

Another part of the platform argues that the taking over of property through a change in the laws or the Constitution would take too much time. Under the Federation plan, it says it "wouldn't take long to write 'transfer from private property to social ownership'." This is if a right interpretation is given to the Constitution.

In carrying out such a plan the platform says it can be expected that difficulties may be encountered from property owners, policemen, sheriffs, and soldiers with clubs, tear gas and machine guns; also prisons and electric chairs and judges who interpret laws and constitutions in terms of the property rights of the people they have grown up with. The platform adds, "Yes, it is a man-size job, but when were Americans—pioneers and children of pioneers—in a big land, afraid of a big job?"

The Federation has a clever interpretation for the use of the word "violence." The social planners claim they will not institute violence. They say that when the attempt is made to take over the property, the owners will probably use violence in defending it. In such case people have a right to defend themselves and the social planners hold that personal rights are greater than property rights . . .

The proceedings at the convention of the lay delegates demonstrated that the members of the Methodist church as a body, are almost a unit in opposition to the activity of the radicals. It was mentioned some time ago that the Methodist church in Princeton is, as far as known, 100 percent against such activities and it was suggested that the same percentage may prevail among the membership of the Methodist churches throughout Bureau county. The attitude of the lay delegates at the conference in Chicago last Friday demonstrated that the lay delegates of the churches represented at the conference are against the "social planning" scheme of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The activities in its behalf are confined largely to college professors and ministers mostly in the larger cities. . . .

Disagreement with the policies of the Methodist Federation for Social Action spread to the Methodist church in Alabama, as is reflected by the following news item appearing in the Washington Daily

News of January 6, 1948, page 16, and datelined Birmingham, January 6:

Methodist ministers of the Birmingham district, in a meeting here, denounced the pro-Russian stand of the Methodist Federation for Social Action in its recent meeting in Kansas City.

A resolution adopted at the meeting here said:

"We denounce as a misrepresentation of Methodism and the membership of the Methodist Church the reported plans, programs and purposes of the alleged Methodist Federation for Social Action purported to have been held in Kansas City Dec. 26, and renounce the action of the leaders of such organization in using the name of the Methodist Church for the advancement of their individual theories."

A copy of the resolution is to be sent to the College of Bishops. It called for action to prevent any further misrepresentation of Methodism.

Dr. John D. Hunter, superintendent of the Birmingham district, said he had checked the minutes of the Church's General Conference and found no authorization for such a committee to speak for the Methodist Church.

Several newspapers carried a statement by Bishop A. Frank Smith, titular head of the three Methodist Church Conferences in North and East Texas. The news item, as it appeared in the New York Times of January 4, 1948, datelined Houston, Texas, January 3, is, in part, as follows:

... The statement was released to clarify newspaper reports which indicates that the Federation for Social Action, which recently met in Kansas City, Mo., was an agency of the Methodist Church.

The Federation reportedly was addressed by speakers with communistic leanings and passed resolutions attacking United States foreign policy without a condemnation of Russian tactics.

In disclaiming any connection between the Federation and the Methodist Church Bishop Smith attacked what he called efforts to discredit American democracy and exalt "atheistic communism."

"Any word spoken or action taken by individuals calling themselves Methodists that might discredit American democracy and exalt communism or any other totalitarian philosophy has my unreserved condemnation," the Bishop said.

"It will receive the emphatic and instant condemnation of Methodists."

After releasing the statement Dr. Jones disclosed that the Methodist Pastors Conference had unanimously endorsed Bishop Smith's stand on the federation.

The Bishop's statement said in part:

"The Methodist Church imposes no restrictions upon the social, economic and political views of its members. The Church will never deny its members the inalienable right of absolute freedom of thought and expression. What they say as individuals is the personal affair of those concerned."

"No Methodist or group can speak for the Methodist Church save the delegated General Conference.

"The Methodist Federation for Social Action is an organization maintained by people primarily interested in social and economic questions and has existed for forty years. It is not now and never has been an agency or adjunct of the Methodist Church, draws no support from the Methodist Church and its opinions are those of its members.

"The federation has never claimed to speak for the Methodist Church. Any effort to make it appear that it represents the Church is wholly unwarranted.

"The Methodist Church in belief and practice is arrayed unitedly against atheistic communism and every other form of Godless selfish control of human relations that impoverish life or interferes with the highest human development and happiness."

The Reader's Digest of February 1950, contains an article by Stanley High entitled "Methodism's Pink Fringe." Because of the action taken by Methodist churches in various parts of the country as a result of Mr. High's story, the article is included herein and is as follows:

With its base of operations in America's largest and most powerful Protestant church, the Methodist Federation for Social Action sets forth its economic objective on the masthead of its regularly published *Social Questions Bulletin*:

"The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges."

"Thus," writes the Rev. Jack McMichael, the Federation's executive secretary, "we seek not merely to patch up but fundamentally to transform an economic system which has only been able to 'solve' the acute moral and social problem of mass unemployment by an economy for war. And we reject a foreign policy which assures temporary profit for a few but growing insecurity, deprivation of liberty and the increasing threat of atomic death for the many."

"The Christmas story, the story of Mary," said Mr. McMichael in a Christmas message to the Federation, "means not the improvement of the present social order but its revolutionary abolition and replacement anew."

In his address last year as Federation president, Methodist Bishop Robert N. Brooks declared that in our society "decay and putrefaction have truly set in."

A former Federation secretary, the Rev. Harry F. Ward, recently wrote: "The profit-seeking economy cannot much longer defy the moral law."

A vice-president of the Federation and Dean of Boston University School of Theology, Methodism's most influential divinity school, is Dr. Walter G. Muelter, who has thus described postwar America:

"Catastrophe and calamity on a giant scale face the nation. The great opportunity to build an economy of full production, full employment, economic democracy, security and personal freedom is being devoted to autocratic concentrations of economic, political and military power. These are sinister days when Christian possibilities are being betrayed for Fascist realities. The strangulation of the labor movement, the repression of minority parties, peacetime conscription, the militarization of education, repression of civil servants and teachers, and the refusal to implement racial brotherhood provide a cumulative threat to spiritual values and an invitation to the coming of God's righteous judgment in doom."

Such views are unquestionably contrary to the convictions of a great majority of Methodists, yet they are being zealously promoted by a powerful and growing minority in the name of Methodism. I believe this to be a threat to the prophetic tradition of the church and a serious liability for Protestantism as a whole. That such a left-wing minority is officially tolerated is, in itself, an indication of the success of their tactics in concealing their real aims behind a humanitarian facade.

Here are quotations from representative articles in the Federation's *Bulletin* which further reveal the ideas on America and Soviet Russia which it seeks to advance.

From "Behind the Headlines," a regular editorial feature: "The picture is not merely decadence. It is degeneracy. Capitalist society led by the United States, trying to stop the advance of social democracy, is destroying the democracy it brought into being."

From an article by the Rev. Alson J. Smith, until last year editor of the *Bulletin*: "What the European Recovery Program seeks is not the rebuilding of Europe but the rebuilding of a particular kind of Europe—a capitalist Europe, safe for investment and exploitation."

From a published report by Mr. McMichael: "More than all other outside foreign factors put together, it is the foreign policy of the United States which feeds and stimulates the costly, tragic civil wars in Greece and China, and which undergirds their hopelessly reactionary, anti-poor, pro-status-quo and anti-democratic governments. And this reaction-supporting war-feeding U. S. foreign policy has been clothed all along in the most democratic and humanitarian garb."

From an article by Dr. Jerome Davis: "In the light of the record of the past 30 years, in the light of the actual facts, the Soviet Union certainly has a record as a force for peace the equal of that of the United States."

From "Behind the Headlines": Back of the actions of all our leaders since Roosevelt died "is evident fear of the demonstrated success of socialist planned economy, first in the Soviet Union and now in Poland-Czechoslovakia where U. N. reports show a greater gain in production under joint planning than in Western Europe."

An article in the *Bulletin* quotes, with approval, this statement of Professor Harold J. Laski: "Russia is not the greatest threat to peace, it is the United States. Stalin does not want war and will do anything to keep the country from war. The same cannot be said for America."

Since, in a church of nearly nine million members, the Federation has only about 5,800, some Methodists with whom I have talked minimize its importance and influence. But its membership is rapidly increasing. It is organized in chapters in most of the annual conferences in which, administratively, Methodism is

divided. It has units, led by faculty members, in Methodist theological schools. "If you're not a pacifist or a socialist or both," one Methodist theologue told me, "you feel pretty foolish around here."

The president of the Federation is a Methodist bishop—as were his two predecessors. Five of its six vice-presidents are bishops. Its recording secretary is the head, for work among Methodist women, of the Department of Christian Social Relations. Its treasurer is associate secretary of the Missionary Education Movement. Its assistant treasurer is editor of the *Pastor's Journal*, a Methodist publication for preachers.

The Federation's membership rolls include 16—or nearly half—of the church's active bishops and the ministers of some of the country's largest Methodist parishes. The heads of the church's four leading theological schools are members. So are the editors of three Methodist papers and several Sunday-school publications, the executive secretary and associate secretary of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, the executive secretary of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, the three top executives of the Methodist Peace Commission, the superintendent of the Department of Negro Work, and many others who hold positions of influence in the church and, through numerous interdenominational agencies, in Protestantism.

Two years ago the Federation called a national conference in Kansas City, Mo., to discuss "The Christian Church and Present-Day Tensions." Its guest of honor and headlined speaker on China was "Christian General" Feng Yu-hsiang, who, having gone over to the Communists, was reputedly in the United States as their emissary. "The Communist side," he said, "is really the army of the people, the peasants." Though Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is, himself, a Methodist and though his government was officially recognized by the United States, no speaker was scheduled to present the pro-government, anti-Communist point of view.

Headlined speaker and consultant on American-Soviet Relations at Kansas City was Dr. Jerome Davis, one of the country's foremost apologists for Russia, a member of some 40 organizations officially listed as Communist fronts.

Dr. Davis's book, *Behind Soviet Power*, is one of the cleverest, most all-out pro-Soviet books yet published in America. It was sent, free of charge, to all the 22,000 Methodist preachers in the United States by two prominent Federation members. With the book went a letter, signed by these high officials, and written on the official stationery of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions and Church Extension, recommending that the book be read.

"The greatest moral and spiritual problem facing the American people," said Dr. Davis at Kansas City, "is not the struggle between Communism and democracy. That is a spurious issue. It is the struggle between reaction, the old order, the control of property and an emerging new order pushing its way up through blood, tears and strife."

When someone asked him about Russia's concentration camps, Dr. Davis replied: "They are simply places to keep criminals." Asked about Russia's conquest of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, he declared that Russia was entitled to them. Asked about reports of the jailing of innocent people, he said: "If Russia sends innocent people to concentration camps and is tightening up on its civil liberties, that is the fault of America—the terrific war talk in the United States."

No speaker with contrary views was scheduled.

A scheduled "resource leader" for the discussion of "The Christian Church and Civil Liberties" was Carl Marzani. For concealing his Communist Party membership in order to retain his post in the U. S. Government, Marzani had recently been indicted, found guilty and sentenced to a year in jail. On the program at Kansas City he was officially described as a "victim of the present Government loyalty-purge."

In defending the Methodist Federation for Social Action, some of its spokesmen lay great stress on its status as an "unofficial" agency of the Methodist Church. But there is nothing unofficial about the Methodist dignitaries who grace its letterhead, constitute its membership and make an official place for it and its message on the program of so many official Methodist conferences. Whereas the church has official agencies to speak for it on peace, temperance and other issues, the Federation, though "unofficial," is the only church-wide agency which speaks in the name of Methodism on economic and related questions.

The Federation's national offices are housed in the official Methodist building in New York City. Its telephone number is the Methodist number. Though having no church, the Rev. Jack McMichael maintains his standing as a Methodist minister by virtue of the official approval of his position as Federation secretary

by the presiding bishop at every meeting of the annual conference to which he belongs.

Mr. McMichael, whose duties as Federation secretary are a full-time job, is young, personable, and dynamic. Much in demand as a speaker, particularly among young people and students, he travels the length and breadth of the country, carrying the Federation message to Methodism and beyond it. Prior to becoming Federation secretary in 1945, he was chairman of the American Youth Congress—one of the Communists' most notorious fronts, identified by the U. S. Attorney General as subversive. He has been associated with 36 organizations listed as Communist fronts—16 of them, according to the Attorney General, subversive.

Fully as influential in leading the Federation and shaping its policies is Dr. Harry F. Ward, its "grand old man" and former secretary. Few Americans not admitted party members have a longer, more inclusive record of fronting for the Communists. He has been affiliated with at least 70 organizations and undertakings officially listed as Communist fronts. He has written extensively for Communist Party publications including the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses*.

To discredit America at home and abroad, to condemn the American economic system as un-Christian, to promote conclusions which give aid and comfort to the Communists are, undoubtedly, the right of any American. To promote them in the name of a great Protestant church is, I believe, to misrepresent it and to bring its ministry into disrepute. Predominantly, the faith of Methodism and the faith of Protestantism are of an order far different from that and far more conducive to Christian progress. For those of that church to fail to reassert their faith against this growing, aggressive minority will be to fail both America and the church.

An editorial in the *Christian Advocate*, issue of February 9, 1950, pages 12 and 13, is in form and content a reply to Dr. High's article. Inasmuch as Dr. High's article is included in this report, the editorial of the *Christian Advocate* is also presented herein. It is as follows:

In the current issue of *Reader's Digest*, Stanley High, who was once a probationer for a Methodist Annual Conference but was never admitted into membership, and who ran, unsuccessfully, for the editorship of *The Epworth Herald*, official youth publication of The Methodist Episcopal Church, has written an article titled, "Methodism's Pink Fringe." It is clever and half-convincing—only half-convincing to careful readers because the facts are fractional facts.

Throughout the article Dr. High descends to the level of the kind of reporting we have done in the first sentence of this editorial. There we have set down two unpleasant and uncomplimentary facts about Dr. High's relationships with the Methodists, among whom his father was a distinguished minister. We might have enumerated many complimentary facts, and we hereby apologize to Dr. High for following, for the moment, the bad example he has set throughout "Methodism's Pink Fringe." We would do this personally but Dr. High has just left for Australia.

That piece of writing, in which he has been so scrupulously selective in his choice of facts to support his thesis, concerns the sinning and sinned-against Methodist Federation for Social Action. The article is only the most recent of a series of attacks that began in 1907, when the organization started as the Methodist Federation for Social Service, then as now an unofficial critic of political, economic, and social ideas and actions. Because its leaders have never cared much for safety and security, it has been an embarrassment to many Methodists, and it has been attacked as persistently inside as outside the church.

"Communist" is only the last of the bad names that have been hurled against the federation. It has been called "modernist" and "Pacifist" and "socialist" and much else that cannot be printed in THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE. But name-calling, cheapest trick in the propagandist's bag, has never cowed the federation. Rightly or wrongly—and the reader ought not to judge without examining the federation's principles in their entirety, and not Dr. High's excerpt—this group has gone on, championing the rights of the workers when Stalin was still the Czar's exile in Siberia, opposing the Oriental exclusion act when Chiang Kai-shek's party was still in league with the Russian Communists, calling for an embargo on scrap-iron shipments to Japan before Pearl Harbor, demanding a like embargo on Russia for its attack on Finland while the men of Berlin and Moscow were still allies. The federation even opposed certain New Deal policies when Dr. High was still on the White House staff, writing publicity for the Roosevelt administration.

Understandably, Dr. High has made no effort to compile a history of the federation, which the Methodist General Conference of 1944 called "a history of achievement." He has made no attempt to describe the federation's work. He has taken a few fractional facts and, after the manner of the astute debater he is, has based his argument on them. On several occasions THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE has been at variance with the policies and programs of the federation, but we think that Dr. High is a long way from proving his case.

For instance, there is the much-debated Kansas City meeting of 1947 on the topic, "The Christian Church and Present-Day Tensions." General Feng Yu-hsiang spoke there, as he had spoken a few days previously before the Methodist Board of Missions and as he spoke before other groups, inside and outside the churches. Jerome Davis, author of "Behind Soviet Power," also spoke; and his book was sent to all Methodist ministers, but not by the federation. Carl Marzani, whom Dr. High singles out of a score of resource persons, was also present.

These are facts, but they are not the definitive facts about the meeting. The keynote address was not that of General Feng or Dr. Davis, but of Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, past president of the federation, who warned against "the totalitarians—both Fascists and Communists." The opening worship message was given by a staff member of the Board of Evangelism. The list of invited speakers included President Louie D. Newton of the Southern Baptist Convention; Rev. Edgar Wahlberg, whose community work was highly praised in *Reader's Digest* and who served with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in China and Greece; Dr. L. N. Palar, chief of the Indonesian delegation to the United Nations; and many others.

Only a small portion of time was given to the speakers. Most of the schedule was devoted to the delegates themselves—and the list included several lawyers, an editor, a shoe manufacturer, a clothing manufacturer and others from the commercial and industrial world—who discussed the relationship of the church to American-Soviet affairs, colonization and the Far East, Europe, labor, agriculture, community, and civil liberties. Mr. Marzani was a resource person in this last-named group, but so was Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

Except for Dr. Davis' statement, no speaker actually dealt with the Soviet Union, and there was no praise for its policies. Nor was there any praise of Russia in any resolution adopted, including that on Soviet-American relations. Rev. Jack McMichael, federation secretary who receives a considerable budget of space in Dr. High's article, said at Kansas City: "The Soviet Union has not only made mistakes in its history, but has committed sins. The Soviet Union is by no means a Utopia. And the United States has certainly made many and great contributions to the peoples of the world. But both of these great nations are human and sinful; both have potentialities for evil, but also for good. Neither has a monopoly of virtue and neither a monopoly of sin."

Of course, this Kansas City meeting was about as badly reported as any in recent years. The New York *World-Telegram* headlined: "Minority Sings Red Hymns." All were from the Methodist Hymnal and included "Faith of Our Fathers" and "In Christ There Is No East or West." But Dr. High is a responsible journalist, who ought not to be willing to take newspaper accounts of a conference which one newspaper man condemned in advance, before a speech was made or a discussion held or a report heard, as "a national sounding board for Communists and fellow travelers to expound the gospel of the Communist line."

Furthermore, Dr. High ought to know Methodists well enough to realize that they have the maturity to consider other points of view besides their own. When Board of Missions officials sent out Dr. Davis' book, "Behind Soviet Power," they did urge that it be read. They also sent with it opposing statements from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; and the suggestion that these be read, too. If Methodists are to be missionaries against secularism, materialism, and militarism in Communism and other false religions, they need to know what they are fighting. Dr. Davis' book is a clear, if easily challenged statement. THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE would be interested in having Dr. High, or anyone else, cite the name of one Methodist who was converted to Communism by the study mentioned.

Despite all that has been written here, and much more that might be written on the weaknesses in Dr. High's case, THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE maintains that there should be an end to the anomalous situation in which any group, no matter what its principles or purposes, can make unofficial pronouncements and take unofficial actions that are regarded as official. Only the General Conference has the right to speak for Methodism; but non-Methodists, and many Methodists, do not know that. Because many of us do not agree with the positions taken by

the Methodist Federation for Social Action, that group ought, voluntarily, to drop the word "Methodist" from its name.

Furthermore, we believe that the General Conference of 1952 should set up a board of social action that would be responsible for studies and activities in this area of interest that has always been close to the heart of a reforming church. We made this suggestion before the General Conference of 1948. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam made it 20 years before that, in 1928. We believe that it is an idea whose time has come.

But, whether or not Methodists have an official social-action body, with duties outlined in the "Discipline" and officers responsible to the General Conference, we hope that there will always be room in the fellowship of the church for persons and groups who disagree with most of us on political and economic, as well as ecclesiastical doctrine. No church has a more complete plan for bringing both ministers and laymen to trial, if they are guilty of conduct that is "un-Methodistic." But we Methodists have never taken the position that disagreement means disunion, or dissent signifies disloyalty.

Dr. High has not proved that any Methodist is a Communist; he has not even said it. Furthermore, we doubt that he will, or can.

Without going into the merits or demerits of either Dr. High's article or the editorial in the *Christian Advocate*, there is one matter mentioned in both that requires some explanation. Dr. High said:

A scheduled "resource leader" for the discussion of "The Christian Church and Civil Liberties," was Carl Marzani.

The editorial said:

Carl Marzani, whom Dr. High singles out of a score of resource persons, was also present . . . Mr. Marzani was a resource person in this last-named group, but so was Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The term "resource leader" was apparently used by the federation in the preparation of its scheduled speakers at the annual conference held in late December 1947, but no definition of the words was offered. It was not claimed that Marzani was a member of the Methodist church, and the only apparent reason for his presence was to discuss "The Christian Church and Civil Liberties." It can not be said that the federation was without knowledge of Mr. Marzani's background, inasmuch as he was described in the federation's program as a "victim of the present Government loyalty purge."

It would have required but little effort on the part of some official of the Methodist Federation for Social Action to have ascertained that Marzani was indicted on January 17, 1947, on 11 counts of fraud, including denial that he was ever a member of the Communist Party; that he was convicted on May 22, 1947; and that the "present Government loyalty purge" was authorized by Executive Order 9835 on March 21, 1947, or subsequent to the time of Marzani's dismissal from Government employment and his indictment.

It is a little difficult to understand why a church group selected a convicted Communist perjurer to address them on the subject of the church and civil liberties.

A news item appearing in the April 22, 1950, issue of the *Washington Post*, page 9, datelined Cleveland, April 21, reflects the answer of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church to the article by Stanley High. The news item is as follows:

The Methodist Church's Council of Bishops today answered a magazine article titled "Methodism's Pink Fringe" by applauding a proposal to take "Methodist" from the name of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

"It is a voluntary and independent organization," said the Council. "It is not responsible to the church. It does not speak for the church, and over it neither the General Conference nor the Council of Bishops has jurisdiction."

The article, written by Stanley High in Reader's Digest, said the federation has opposed the American capitalist system and has shown sympathy for some Communist theories.

In New York, the Rev. Jack McMichael, executive secretary of the federation, called the article a "slanted and unfair piece of propaganda," that "is wholly unfounded."

Concerning the bishops' statement the federation does not officially represent the church, the Rev. Mr. McMichael said this is true of the federation, as well as many other Methodist organizations, including the Bishops' council.

The only body authorized to speak officially for the church, he said, is the General Methodist Conference.

The Rev. Mr. McMichael said the article quoted material "out of context" and omitted material showing the group strongly opposes communism.

Another article datelined Cleveland, April 18, and appearing in the April 19, 1950, issue of the New York Times, page 3, says in part:

The Methodist Council of Bishops meeting in closed session today considered methods to refute charges that there is a "pink fringe" in American Methodism.

The council discussed reports on an article in the February issue of Reader's Digest, "Methodism's Pink Fringe," by Stanley High, a staff writer.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action was organized in 1907, rents quarters in the Methodist Headquarters Building on 155th [sic.] Street in New York and has never been given any official recognition by the Methodist church. It is reported to have a membership of approximately 6,000 out of a total Methodist church membership of 9,000,000.

According to several Bishops, the federation's utterances or actions are accepted by most Americans as coming from the Methodist Church itself. The Bishops believe that the church must make itself clear in regard to the federation...

More repercussions from the High article will be found in the following news item datelined Rome, Georgia, February 10, and appearing in the New York Times of February 11, 1950, at page 16:

The board of managers of the First Methodist Church announced here today that it had petitioned the denomination's Council of Bishops to conduct an immediate investigation into "organization and activities" of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

The petition said that the federation was "apparently an organization within the Methodist Church taking the stand and promulgating certain highly questionable theories of government and social and political relations."

It noted that the federation was the subject of an article entitled "Methodism's Pink Fringe," in the current issue of The Reader's Digest. The article was written by Dr. Stanley High.

According to a news item appearing in the Washington Star of June 4, 1950, page 2, and datelined Westminster, Maryland, June 3, the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Church introduced a resolution asking that the Methodist Federation for Social Action be disassociated from the Methodist Church. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Memorials to the General Conference which will be held in 1952 at San Francisco.

The Washington Post of August 7, 1950, carries a news item on page 11, datelined Atlanta, August 6, regarding the statement unanimously adopted by the Methodist Federation for Social Action at its annual meeting at Wilberforce University the previous July. The statement is as follows:

We believe the right of any individual to speak his mind as to what is right or wrong is democracy's best safeguard. We therefore call for repeal of the Smith Act as being unconstitutional and designed to suppress any unpopular (at the time) political philosophy. We appeal for Presidential amnesty for all who have been convicted under the Smith Act.

The article further relates that eight bishops accused the Methodist Federation for Social Action of misusing "the name of a great church"

in defiance of "our traditions and deep convictions." It was reported that Bishop Arthur J. Moore, for himself and other bishops of the church's Southeastern jurisdiction, released a statement to the effect that the church's Council of Bishops had disowned the federation in April as an official organization authorized to speak for the church, and, in reference to the statement released by the Methodist Federation for Social Action, asserted:

We regard such statements from any source as aid to the Communist propaganda and program. We stand unalterably opposed to such statements and positions, and we are assured that the public will not hold the church responsible for the action of any official, or some 60 persons who met on their own initiative and expressed their personal views in open defiance of the will and convictions of the great body of the church.

The New York Times of September 15, 1950, carries a news item on page 27, datelined Dallas, Texas, September 14, to the effect that the Board of Publications of the Methodist Church voted unanimously at its annual meeting to evict the Methodist Federation for Social Action from the Methodist Building at 150 Fifth Avenue in New York City. It was further reported that the Council of Bishops, by resolution adopted April 20, 1950, asked the federation to drop the word "Methodist" from its name, which the federation failed to do.

In his book, "Moscow Over Methodism," 1950 revised edition, at pages 58 and 59, the Reverend Rembert Gilman Smith says:

The Methodist Federation for Social Service, under the leadership of Bishop F. J. McConnell and Dr. Harry F. Ward, has been nearly 30 years, the spearhead of church socialism in the United States. It has steadily moved to the left until, during the last four years, some of its proposals have been shocking not only to Methodists, but alarming also to patriots. It has advocated the confiscation of property, and the giving to property holders nothing but jobs. It has opposed the adoption by the federal Congress of a law to prohibit incitement to violence. It has prophesied that an inter-class war is near, and it has opposed it just about like Mark Anthony opposed the punishment of the assassins of Caesar by the mob.

Until 1936, this federation has been endorsed by the General Conference every four years. Bishop McConnell has said that it was twice endorsed in 1932. However, in 1936, it was not endorsed at all, and the General Conference treated it almost as though it were a skeleton in the closet, but it was allowed to continue the use of the name "Methodist".

Throughout the releases, statements, and other pronouncements of the Methodist Federation for Social Action will be found the oft-repeated denunciation of fascism. Only one denunciation of communism has been noted. This, as well as other matters advocated by the federation, is the subject of articles appearing in the May and June 1950 issues of the National Republic. Because of the importance of these articles, they are included herein and are as follows:

#### Part I (May 1950):

There has been considerable publicity concerning one of our strangest pro-Communist organizations—the Methodist Federation for Social Action (formerly the Methodist Federation for Social Service)—once branded as "a tool of the Communist Party" by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. Of course, we have come to expect subversive groups in our society today—it's all part of the pattern of Communist infiltration—but somehow we don't expect to find them taking root and growing up under the very wing of the church—in this instance, the largest and most influential Protestant denomination in America. Some of Methodism's nine million members have been shocked by these recent revelations—and that is encouraging. But unfortunately the great majority of Methodists, apparently through lack of knowledge of the facts, have remained indifferent to what is happening within their church, refusing to believe that some Methodist clergymen, dedicated and consecrated to Christian principles,

would ever align themselves with any atheistic followers of Karl Marx. In their pious indignation these insist that anyone, who states otherwise, is spreading anti-Protestant propaganda or is for some reason trying to discredit the church. This attitude on the part of so many churchmen, this refusal to face facts, permits the saboteurs to continue their boring from within—and that is dangerous.

Let's put the record straight right at the start in order that there may be no misunderstanding. This writer was brought up in the Methodist Church, comes from a family of long standing in the Methodist Church, and believes wholeheartedly in the spiritual mission of the church in American life. This writer believes that all churches should be strengthened, not weakened, encouraged, not discredited, in order that they may not only fulfill their spiritual mission, but that they may become a principal bulwark against the rising tide of Communism. The church must be our fortress as we face today's great challenge, and if it is to be impregnable, the weak spots in its structure must be exposed now. With that in mind, we must agree that it is pertinent for every Methodist—and every American, too—to know the facts concerning the "Methodist Federation for Social Action," and to act on those facts immediately before our largest Protestant denomination is undermined.

In this instance, it is not necessary for us to distort the facts in order to "make" a case. On the contrary, in this article we are merely going to let the Federation convict itself. For this organization has obliged us with its own "Program of Study and Action," a lengthy, Marxist-inspired document that should leave no doubts in anyone's mind as to its real purpose. Most Methodists probably have never seen or heard of this strange "program"; certainly few have ever taken the trouble to read it from start to finish. But it can be stated without exaggeration that few pamphlets printed on Communist presses follow the Communist Party Line more closely than does this one, and it's hard to conceive that a church, and especially a great institution like the Methodist Church, would tolerate such an organization and such a program. As Walter Trohan, writing recently in the Chicago Tribune, expressed it, this document "reveals its (the Federation's) pro-Communist aims, which are embedded in the midst of a welter of typical 'liberal' praises for trade unions, denunciations of 'fascism', diatribes against the Taft-Hartley law, and espousals of civil liberties laws."

Who is responsible for this subversive pamphlet? The guilt must be shared by many. Sixteen Methodist bishops, including the president and five vice-presidents, are members of the Federation, and it is certainly safe to assume that they had something to do with it. The Rev. Jack McMichael is Federation secretary. Prior to 1945 he was chairman of the American Youth Congress, cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General, and has been associated with numerous other Communist fronts. His hand can definitely be seen in the writing of this document. Many prominent Methodist clergymen belong to the Federation, and they, too, must know what it's all about. The "program" was revised by "the annual membership meeting", and, therefore, the membership must take part of the blame. The Federation occupies quarters in the Methodist Building, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and the Church, therefore, cannot disclaim responsibility. In fact, everyone of Methodism's nearly nine million members will be considered in some measure guilty as long as he does not raise his voice against this insidious, un-American organization which has established itself in the hard center core of his church. But first let's take a look at the document itself.

Since we cannot in this limited space cover this lengthy "Methodist Manifesto" in detail, we must be content with hitting just the high spots. But even in capsule form it is a program that should arouse every Methodist, who believes in his church, and every American, who loves his country, for neither church nor country could long survive the achievement of the objectives stated therein.

Unlike most Communist propaganda media, little or no subtlety is employed in this document. The preamble itself is a tip-off on what is coming. One sentence in this opening paragraph reads as follows:

"It (the Federation) rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society, and seeks to replace it with social and economic planning in order to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges."

What exactly does this mean? Obviously, it means that the socalled Methodist Federation rejects the free enterprise system and proposes a Socialistic State. It means that it would scrap our opportunity society, which has been the cornerstone of America's greatness, and would replace it with a new social-economic order wherein industry would be nationalized and individuals regimented. As we proceed, we shall discover that the Federation endorses virtually the same

program as that originally adopted by the Fabian Socialists a program which has already taken England to the brink of insolvency and which is only the first step to the Communist State.

Of course, we all know that our society as presently constituted is not perfect; no one has ever claimed it was. But there are two things for us to remember. First, we have all the means of bettering it within the framework of our Constitution. Second, our social and economic system, imperfect though it is, has given us the highest standard of living and the freest way of life in history. The dividends from this system are all that are keeping a large part of the world free and solvent today. From our own working man with his automobile and electric refrigerator and television set to the French farmer with his tractor and the Greek peasant with his loaf of bread, millions upon millions of people in the world today are deeply indebted to our way of life. And yet the socalled Methodist Federation, following the Moscow formula, would discard this time-honored system and consign the American people to totalitarianism, which pauperizes as it regiments. A strange mission, indeed, for socalled churchmen to embark upon.

Continuing the preamble, we learn that the Federation "seeks the establishment of full democracy and unreserved brotherhood in our political, economic and social life. This calls for complete eradication of Fascism—its vestiges and threats—throughout the world and in the U. S. A. in particular."

We can find no fault with the goal as expressed in this statement; we all seek "full democracy"—if we are agreed on the definition of that term. But we must be pardoned if we raise an eyebrow at that tell-tale word "Fascism", which appears repeatedly throughout this "Methodist Manifesto." We, too, hate Fascism and the whole Fascist philosophy of course; we fought a war because of it. But the truth is that Fascism is a relatively impotent force in today's world, that Communism is the present threat that Stalin is unquestionably a greater over-all menace to mankind than Hitler and Mussolini ever were, or than Franco and Peron are now. Why, then, does the Federation continually use Fascism as its convenient whipping-boy while always ignoring Communism? The reason becomes more obvious as we proceed; it's the same reason that Fascism is used as the "come-on" for so many Communist-front organizations—the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee [sic.] Committee, the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, and the American League Against War and Fascism, to mention only a few.

The first section of the Federation's program covers the trade union movement, which is described as "an enemy of Fascism". Again that word! And again no hint or suggestion that Labor might well be an enemy of Communism too! The proposed steps in this part of the program include repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and "similar repressive anti-labor legislation", thwarting State and Federal attacks on Labor's rights", extending church-labor cooperation, promoting "industrial democracy", recruiting, training and dedicating young people for participation in the Labor movement, and supporting an educational campaign among churchmen in this field.

Here, as elsewhere throughout this amazing document, are some provisions to which all right-thinking Americans can and do subscribe. They are the sugar coating designed to make the bitter pill of Marxism more palatable. They are the bait dangled in front of clergymen and church members to tempt them to swallow the hook. They are the come-on to lure Labor into the fold. But carefully inserted between these pro-Labor statements are whole phrases and sentences lifted almost intact out of Communist teaching. Only the most naive could be deceived—but unfortunately too many of our churchmen are naive.

The Federation also backs the cooperative movement, and would "expose and frustrate legislative attacks on the power and growth of cooperatives, as the campaign of the National Tax Equality Association to secure unfair taxation of the savings returns of cooperatives." It should be explained that by "unfair taxation" the Federation means *any* taxes against cooperatives. It would also "seek extension of participation by churchmen and churches in the cooperative movement, e. g., help realize as a Federation goal the organization of at least thirty parish "credit unions." This is a familiar left-wing tactic, and needs no explanation for those who understand that this proposal, if adopted, would undermine the American free enterprise system, would destroy private business, large and small, and would even make the church itself a favored competitor in every field of economic activity.

Section III deals with the extension of "democratic suffrage," of which, so reads the document, "fascism makes a mockery". Yes, we remember all too well the phony elections that used to take place in Hitler's Germany; they were "mockeries". But the important point is that the very same kind of "elections"

are held in the Soviet Union in this year 1950, and in the Russian satellite nations—elections in which there is only one slate of candidates and in which the people vote "yes, or else". One of the most important goals facing us today is to find some way of bringing a real, secret ballot to the Russian people, as we are now bringing it to the people of Japan, and Western Germany. Why does not the Methodist Federation mention this on its agenda? Why does it ignore the one-slate ballot behind the Iron Curtain, while at the same time volunteering to "help find socially conscious candidates to run for office" in America? Yes, believe it or not, this organization, harbored by a great religious denomination, presided over by a respected bishop, flaunts the traditional American principle of separation of church and state, repudiates our priceless theory of political freedom, and brazenly plans to pick our candidates for us, Moscow style. It sounds incredible, but it's all down in black and white in this church-sponsored, and Marxist-inspired "Program of Study and Action."

But this is only part of the story of how some leaders of a great Christian church have been duped into becoming missionaries for an atheistic cause. More facts concerning the "Methodist Federation for Social Action" and its infamous program will be revealed in the *National Republic* next month.

#### Part II (June 1950):

In the *National Republic* last month we turned the spotlight on an infamous document which is officially known as the "Program of Study and Action of the Methodist Federation for Social Action," but which we believe could be more fittingly termed "The 'Methodist' Manifesto". For it is so obviously Marxian-inspired that it constitutes practically a restatement of Communist Party aims. And while church leaders may deny that there is any official connection between the Methodist Church and the Methodist Federation, the fact is that the ties are embarrassingly close—a point which we will bring out more fully later.

In the installment last month we exposed the first part of this curious document, issued by an organization which bears the name of our largest Protestant denomination, but which has already been called "a tool of the Communist Party" by the House Committee on un-American Activities. On these pages now we shall briefly cover the second portion of the documents, more startling than the first perhaps, and shall then propose a program which Methodists should follow if they wish to save their church from complete left-wing domination.

Section IV of the Methodist Federation's platform, dealing with civil liberties and minority rights, merits the closest scrutiny. Here again is something that all right-thinking Americans endorse—the preservation of civil liberties and minority rights—if only we understand the meaning and limitations of those terms, if only we tackle the problems in a pro-American, not a pro-Communist, fashion. But here again the Federation reveals its Marxian leanings when it calls attention to "how fascism destroyed civil liberties and attacked rights of one minority after the other"—while on the very same page it lists Communists as a minority to be protected! Yes, that's right, fascists are ruthless tyrants, except presumably during the brief duration of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and are to be given no consideration—no liberties and no rights—in the strange world the Methodist Federation is blueprinting for us, but Communists, we are told, are to be pampered and coddled! Let's look at the principal proposals, in the Federation's own language, for achieving this "Communist paradise"—a Soviet America.

(a) "Stand guard for the liberties, rights and equal opportunity of all these groups, e. g., seek adequate financial support within Methodism for Methodist conscientious objectors, oppose proposals to outlaw the Communist or other minority political parties, contribute to the legal defense of Communists or others brought to trial simply for their political views." In other words, we are urged to shelter, support and defend the very men who are determined to overthrow our government and destroy the American way of life. And destroy the church too. It sounds incredible—coming from men who allegedly speak in the name of a great religious body!

(b) "Support academic freedom." This is a familiar refrain to those of us who know Communist tactics. For it is aimed, of course, at those who would oust Communist teachers from our schools and colleges, since apparently the Federation, like the Communist Party, defines academic freedom, not as the encouragement of the free-roaming mind, but merely as the license to teach sedition and treason—in America, not, of course, in Russia.

(c) "Support freedom of the church press and of the pulpit." Since such freedom is already enjoyed here, this, obviously, is a bald proposal to convert church

publications into organs of unadulterated propaganda on the pattern of the existing pro-Red sheet, "The Protestant," and to encourage clergymen to take their texts from the Communist Manifesto, as, indeed, more of them than we realize are already doing, wittingly or unwittingly. What the "Methodist" Federation apparently seeks for the church is what it seeks for the school—the license to preach Marxian philosophy.

(d) "Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities." The Methodist Federation applauds any and all action taken against fascists, but wants no exposure of Communists. And it wants, of course, no exposure of its own organization or its members. We must remember that the House Committee has already placed on the records that the Methodist Federation "is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party." That explains everything.

(e) "End the blacklisting of legal and peaceful organizations by the Attorney General under Presidential directive." This is another instance of following the Communist Party Line, another example of dictation from Moscow. The Federation reserves for itself the right to attack fascists and anti-Communists, but wants no besmirching of those who follow the godless ideology of Uncle Joe.

(f) "Repeal the Smith Act as an abridgement of free speech and free assembly." The Smith Act is the one under which eleven Communist leaders were recently tried and convicted on the charge of "conspiring to teach and advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence." This is the Methodist Federation's definition of free speech—advocating revolution. This is the Federation's idea of a "legal and peaceful" organization—the Communist Party.

Section V of the Federation's "Program of Study and Action" is entitled: "To Contest All Political, Economic and Military Imperialism, a particularly brutal manifestation of which has been given to the world by fascism".

It is difficult to explain the mental processes of Communists and fellow-travelers. In this instance, the comrades of the Federation are trying to tell us that it was brutal for Hitler to invade Poland, but not for Stalin, that Germany's attacks on Czechoslovakia, Holland, and Belgium were evil, but Russia's conquest of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania was benevolent. Aggression is aggression, whether it is committed by men marching under the Swastika or under the Hammer and Sickle; the people of little Finland know that. But how would the Federation curb this "imperialism"?

The "Methodist Manifesto" gives the answer. By promoting "political and economic independence for all colonial peoples" and by opposing "American economic imperialism as basic to the struggle against British, French, Dutch political colonialism". Apparently the "reverend" gentlemen of the Federation read nothing but what comes off the Kremlin's presses. Consequently they do not know that since the close of World War II the Philippines, India, and Indonesia have been granted independence. Can they list any territory that has been freed by the Soviet Union?

In its proposal "to seek full, socially useful employment in the days, and for the needs, of peace" the Federation points out that the widespread lack of such employment in the past "brought fascism to Germany and other lands, and the lack of which in the future could bring fascism again to the same and new nations, including the U. S. A." And to protect us against this imaginary fascist infiltration, they propose the whole program of social and economic planning—government owned and operated water power, nationally financed public housing, nationalized industry, cradle-to-grave security, federal aid to education, socialized medicine, a vast public works program, price controls, cooperative farming, increased farm subsidies, higher inheritance taxes, steeply graduated income taxes, and public "ownership and control of the basic means of production". This program, needless to say, would spell the doom of our opportunity society, would kill individual incentive and initiative, and would launch the totalitarian state in which men would goosestep at the whim of bureaucrats. We would have squandered the priceless American heritage.

But the final section in this amazing Marxian-inspired program of the Methodist Federation—the one dealing with American foreign policy—would strip America of the last remaining vestige of her once great strength and unlock the door for the Kremlin's commissars. Just glance at the following proposals urged on us by the Federation—in the face of Russia's frantic re-arming, in the face of the constantly mounting threat to peace and freedom on the part of Communism's advancing hordes:

"Cease manufacture and stockpiling of atom bombs and destroy existing stockpiles".

"Outlaw the atom bomb and other weapons of mass destruction."

"Oppose peacetime military conscription in the U. S. A."

"Substantially reduce national military budget".

"Oppose further militarization of the Marshall Plan".

"Engage in friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union. End the cold war. Solve problems through negotiation".

"Engage in friendly cooperation with the new regimes of Europe (both East and West) and Asia, treating them all as equals and refraining from self-righteousness or a 'double standard' of ethical judgment in our dealings with them or with the Soviet Union. Secure prompt recognition of the developing new people's government in China and large-scale peaceful cooperation and aid."

"End existing economic, political and military support of colonial regimes, of fascist regimes in Spain and Argentina and of reactionary and pro-fascist forces in Greece, China and elsewhere."

"Return to a progressive, democratic reform program in Japan".

"Promote a peaceful, unified, democratic Germany, free to develop its own peaceful economic system".

"End diplomatic representation with the Vatican in any guise, in keeping with the principle of separation of Church and state and with the need for a progressive peace policy".

Is this what you as an American want? And yet the Methodist Federation for Social Action, in presenting this program, poses as the representative of America's largest Protestant denomination. This is a matter that concerns every American directly, but since this is America, we must largely rely on Methodists to clean out their own house. And since those, who occupy the pulpits, do not seem disposed to do anything about it, it is up to those, who sit in the pews, to take the broom in hand. As one who was brought up and raised in the Methodist Church, as one who believes that the Christian Church—Protestant and Catholic—is our one best hope of combating the combined forces of Communism and atheism, this writer suggests the following 12-point program to every man, woman and child who believes in the theology of John Wesley:

1. Force the Federation to drop the word "Methodist" from its official title.
2. Evict the Federation from its present quarters in the Methodist Building at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
3. Deny the Federation the right to establish units in Methodist congregations.
4. Deny the Federation the right to solicit funds in Methodist conferences.
5. Deny spokesmen of the Federation the right to address Methodist gatherings.
6. Unfrock the Rev. Jack McMichael and send him back to the American Youth Congress.
7. Demand the resignation of all Methodist bishops and ministers from the Federation or bar them from Methodist pulpits.

8. Order all Methodist clergymen to disassociate themselves from all groups and organizations cited as subversive by the Attorney General or listed as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

9. Remove left-wing faculty members from all Methodist theological schools. Stop feeding divinity students Marxian propaganda and give them something that will stick to their spiritual ribs.

10. Re-embrace the spirit of religious tolerance, and realize that Christianity's No. 1 enemy is not the Vatican, but the Kremlin.

11. Reaffirm the Methodist Church's belief in the principle of the separation of Church and State.

12. Disavow all purportedly Methodist connections with atheistic Communism and re-dedicate the Church to Christian principles and the American heritage.

Only by adopting such a program can Methodism eventually save itself from complete disintegration. Only in this way can the Methodist Church regain its rightful place in the Nation and help a strong America to create the better, finer world about which we dream. As Hallett Abend has stated in his book, "Half Slave, Half Free" (Bobbs-Merrill):

"Unsought world leadership has devolved on the United States of America. The free world looks to us to be strong and wise enough to protect man's essential freedoms now under assault. The slave world has no other nation to turn to for mighty deliverance from thralldom".

These are trying times. Is the Methodist Church going to accept the challenge or is it going to surrender? Are Methodists going to follow their brave destiny, or are they going to listen to the misguided ravings of the Methodist Federation? The decision must be made now, and it is up to Methodism's nearly nine million members to speak up and act. As Senator Karl E. Mundt,

of South Dakota, recently expressed it, in today's world the church "must be on the march, not on the run".

The Washington Star of June 3, 1951, at page 3, reports that the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Church advocated by memorial, appointment of an official Commission on Social Action to represent the Methodist Church as a part of a memorial calling on the General Conference of the Methodist Church to take steps toward having the Methodist Federation for Social Action drop the word "Methodist" from its title.

#### COMMENTS ON THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION BY ITS VICE PRESIDENT

Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the Boston University School of Theology, and vice president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, came to the defense of the federation in the following article entitled, "What About the Methodist Federation?" It appeared in the April 7, 1948, issue of Zion's Herald, pages 315-318:

The Methodist Federation for Social Action is as indispensable to the Methodist Church as the prophetic movement in the seventh century B. C. was to the Deuteronomic Reform. Most readers know that in 1907 the Methodist Federation for Social Service originated in Worth M. Tibby's study at Epworth Memorial Church in Cleveland, Ohio. In the more than forty years of its prophetic activity the Federation has made outstanding contributions to the church. I shall list these in fifteen brief paragraphs.

The first contribution is the organization itself, a potent, though unofficial conscience of the church. The Federation's objectives have now been largely accepted as the church's own goal. Article II of the original constitution adopted Dec. 3, 1907, declared: "The objects of the Federation shall be to deepen within the church the sense of social obligation and opportunity, to study social problems from the Christian point of view, and to promote social service in the spirit of Jesus Christ." As the instrument of this social purpose the Federation has blazed the trail of social concern and action in the church, accepting the risks of radical adventure, and pointing the way to social justice and Christian responsibility. The widespread popularity of the Bishop's Crusade for a New World Order reveals the distance The Methodist Church has travelled since 1907.

At the time of its founding the Federation confronted a type of piety which was badly warped through its emphasis on individualism. The need was to save the whole person in all his relationships; the very principle of personality was at stake.

Leaders in the Federation have helped the church to recognize the whole range of divine judgment and redemption, developing a theology in which the salvation of the persons includes the whole interdependent social nexus in which he participates. Today, theologians throughout the world confess that the excessive individualism of Christianity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was itself the product of secularism. Social Christianity has given back to the church a whole gospel which had temporarily been obscured and even lost.

In restoring the entire range of Christian responsibility and salvation to the gospel message, the Federation overcame the alleged autonomy of the economic sphere. By bringing the economic, social and political orders under the judgment of Christ, the church saves civilization from the practical atheism of amoral social institutional life. There is no atheism more destructive than that which seeks to make either the state or the market place exempt from moral criticism and control. The notion that the economic sphere is autonomous means social godlessness; and the doctrine that the church should present a "simple" gospel which leaves the social system undisturbed only heightens the barriers to the kingdom of God.

From the above discussion we conclude that the MFSA has contributed to the cause of Christian responsibility. Religion is irresponsible when, as Richard Niebuhr says, it condones either worldliness or false prophecy. The church promotes worldliness when it substitutes human society itself for God-in-Christ. Instead of the question, "What doth the Lord require?" the worldly church asks

"What does the nation or civilization require?" The irresponsible church is "more concerned about social approval and disapproval than about the divine judgment." The church preaches false prophecy when it "seeks to supply the societies upon whose approval it depends with supernatural grace or with religious aid of one sort or another." It may endeavor to persuade men, as some opponents of the MFSA do, that the order which is in effect has divine sanction. Through forty years the Federation has proclaimed true responsibility and prophecy in the church against worldliness and false prophecy.

By facing the common problems of personal and social life with a responsible gospel, the churches have found their greatest practical basis for cooperation and ecumenicity. When the Assembly of the World Council of Churches meets in Amsterdam next summer, it will look back on the foundations of ecumenicity laid in the great series of Life and Work Conferences which culminated in Oxford in 1937. The official pronouncements of the Oxford Conference point in the same direction as those of any annual convention of the MFSA. It was the practical ecumenicity of social Christianity in America which brought the Federal Council into being. Great significance attaches to the fact that at its first meeting in 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America adopted with only minor changes the Social Creed which the Methodists had just formulated. Not creedal, but prophetic Christianity holds the promise for growing ecumenicity.

When the Protestant churches first awoke to the realities of the labor problem, they were shocked by the fact of the wide gulf which separated the masses of the working class in the cities from the churches. The bridge from misunderstanding and hostility to understanding and cooperation has been difficult to build, but the Federation has spanned the gulf. Today a significant percentage of gainfully employed Methodists are members of trade unions. Labor has recognized the work of many of our Federation leaders. On the other hand, as Bishop Oxnam said to the C. I. O. Convention in 1942, "The Church has long since seen that the ethical ideals of our faith must be translated into the realities of economic and social justice. The extraordinary service of the C. I. O. in bringing economic justice to the workers of this nation is one in which the church rejoices."

In 1940 the General Conference instructed that all future editions of the *Discipline* include the Social Creed. This action gives the whole church a magnificent social focus. Moreover, the church discovered that the historical focus of the "interest of The Methodist Church in social welfare springs from the labors of John Wesley, who ministered to the physical, intellectual, and social needs of the people. . . ." Applying the Social Creed and its spirit to the crises of the ever-changing social scene has been the constant vocation of the MFSA. In par. 2023 of the 1944 edition of the *Discipline* it says that the Federation "has a history of achievement in stimulating thought and action of which the church is proud." The fact that twenty-three pages of the *Discipline* were given over to social questions proves that the work has been fruitful.

Anyone who reads through the file of *The Social Service Bulletin* and its successor, *The Social Questions Bulletin* will be reminded afresh of the tremendous educational and forum service which the *Bulletin* has rendered the church. The standards have been amazingly high, the information accurate, the issues clearly stated, and consequences of social policy boldly indicated. The leadership of the church has been given guidance throughout a succession of national and world crises in a way which has made it possible to deal with secular forces in a competent way. The *Bulletin* has been a medium through which the best thought of the denomination and of ecumenical Christianity has come to the attention of thousands of preachers and laymen.

Although the names of Methodism's greatest leaders in social thought and action read like a Who's Who of the MFSA, it has not therefore escaped bitter and often malicious attack. Indeed, criticism has been its meat and drink through many turbulent years. The smear campaigns of the mid-thirties and of the present have been met by truth and equanimity. Leaders in the Federation have known how to lay bare the social causes of the abuse and they have been able to meet the onslaughts of falsification with clarifying facts. Methodists have learned to respect it for its high level of scientific truth, even when they disagree with particular recommendations for social action.

Opposition to the point of view and program of the MFSA has come not only from the "kept press," entrenched privilege, and super-patriots, it has also come from sincere colleagues who are devoted to building the City of God. Through decades of often fierce opposition courageous men have been sustained in their militant faith by the nation-wide fellowship of the Federation. The consciousness that others were carrying on the struggle in other conferences, cities, and country-

sides has overcome the temptation to isolation and defeatism. Though numerically the group has been relatively small, both the national leaders and the grass-roots members have maintained a wonderful morale. Since this quality could easily have been dissipated except for the prophetic comradeship, one of the greatest contributions of the society has been its sustaining fellowship.

Anyone who reads the social action record of The Methodist Church must be impressed by the annual productivity of the conferences. The Federation has served as a clearing house of resolutions and pronouncements. Here again the *Bulletin* has brought into editorial focus the conscience of the church as it expresses itself across the land. Nuclei of Federation members at dinners, luncheons, and committee meetings have assured the entering of important resolutions on the agenda of the conferences. Conferences which have led out on the great issues have frequently been marked by the presence of Federation influences. Occasionally a bishop has stated his conviction that every member of the annual conference should support and join the Federation. More chapters in annual conferences are needed if the ideal of the Episcopal Address (1944) is to be realized: "The people of God must develop a militant faith which will keep them alive in every fiber of their being and imbue them with an impulse to action that will make them implacable foes of injustice and iniquity and enthusiastic champions of whatever promises to hasten the coming of the kingdom of God on earth.

The Federation has not only defended the rights of women workers and promoted their social security, but it has influenced and advanced concern for social justice among the women's societies of the church. The *Bulletin* has carried news and editorial comment of women's organizations for years. In March, 1942, it carried a dynamic article by Miss Thelma Stevens on "Methodist Women in Action" and showed how constructive activities were being promoted on many fronts. Again in Dec. 1944 Miss Stevens, who is active both in the Federation and as executive secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, offered a significant program of action which is in line with the best Federation thinking. In March 1945, Mrs. J. D. Bragg reported on a decade of progress not only in the field of study but in the field of action.

From its inception the MFSA has seen social issues in the perspective of the total world order. History is all too tragically vindicating the continuing analyses of imperialism, fascism, autocracy [sic], and militarism which have marked the Federation's work especially since World War I. Those who wish to renew their perspectives on the present international crisis will be well instructed by the criticisms which were made of Pope Pius's *Quadragesimo Anno* in the early thirties as well as his participation in the Spanish Civil War. During the World War II the Federation challenged policies which have had dire consequences. Read again the December 1943 article, "Are We Winning the Peace?" On the other hand, those bishops most respected for their international statesmanship have been leaders also in MFSA.

Some persons have the erroneous impression that the Federation has given simple support to the labor movement and socialism. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In May, 1943, John L. Lewis was sharply rebuked for his methods. Repeatedly the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have been scored for their short-sighted and expedient philosophies. Frequently, radical political parties have been taken to task. From a Christian perspective all isms fall short of the right to command complete allegiance. Such loyalty belongs to God alone.

The social crisis has so completely threatened the whole structure of modern civilization that patch-work reforms and one-cause panaceas must be set aside for a social program which is all-inclusive. One of the greatest contributions of the Federation to Methodism has been its demand that this be done. On its economic side this calls for democratic socialism. America's failure to distinguish the tactics of the Politbureau from social democracy and her apparent incapacity, in time, to develop economic democracy at home or to cooperate with it abroad may drive us into World War III. Some day, I believe, the church will be grateful that its unofficial gadfly had taught her to reject the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and had pointed the way to the union of freedom and planning.

### SUMMARY

Information in the files of this committee is not too clear as to when the Methodist Federation for Social Service became the Methodist Federation for Social Action. However, a letterhead for the year 1946 identified the organization as the Methodist Federation for Social

Service and the 1947 annual conference, held in Kansas City, refers to the organization as the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

The record of these two organizations as presented herein may be of some aid to those who are interested in determining whether the Federation has been favorable to, or supported Communist objectives.

The Federation advocates a social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges. William Z. Foster, in testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities said: "Socialism is the first stage of Communism."

The Federation advocates the confiscation, without compensation, of private property from the present owners. Marx and Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, said:

... The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

The following was taken from the October 1940 issue of the Social Questions Bulletin, a publication of the Methodist Federation for Social Service:

The Methodist Federation for Social Service (is) an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

The Communist Manifesto was written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848, and in 1888 Engels wrote "By then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter." And so it remains today, the same as written more than 100 years ago.

The following was taken from the Communist Manifesto:

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing the others. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In the place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

## APPENDIX

The content of the appendix is presented only as information as to who were officers and committee members of the Federation over a period of years. The record is far from complete, but represents what is known to this committee at this time.

1. Letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, dated October 24, 1928. (Reproduced on p. 2.)
2. Letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, dated January 7, 1935. (Reproduced on p. 71.)
3. Social Questions Bulletin of November 1939, page 4. (Reproduced on p. 72.)
4. Un-dated letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (probably in 1938 or 1939). (Reproduced on p. 41.)
5. Social Questions Bulletin for October 1940, page 4. (Reproduced on p. 73.)
6. Letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Action dated April 12, 1946. (Reproduced on p. 42.)
7. The following is taken from the report of the Executive Secretary to the annual meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, held in Oskaloosa, Iowa, December 28-30, 1948:

Officers of the Methodist Federation are:

President, Bishop Robert N. Brooks, bishop of the New Orleans area of the Methodist church.

Vice Presidents:

Bishop James C. Baker, bishop of the Los Angeles area of the Methodist Church, former chairman of the International Missionary Council, President of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church.

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, Boston.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, bishop of the Syracuse area of the Methodist Church, President of the New York State Council of Churches.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Ohio, former President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Dean Walter G. Muelder, dean of the Boston University School of Theology.

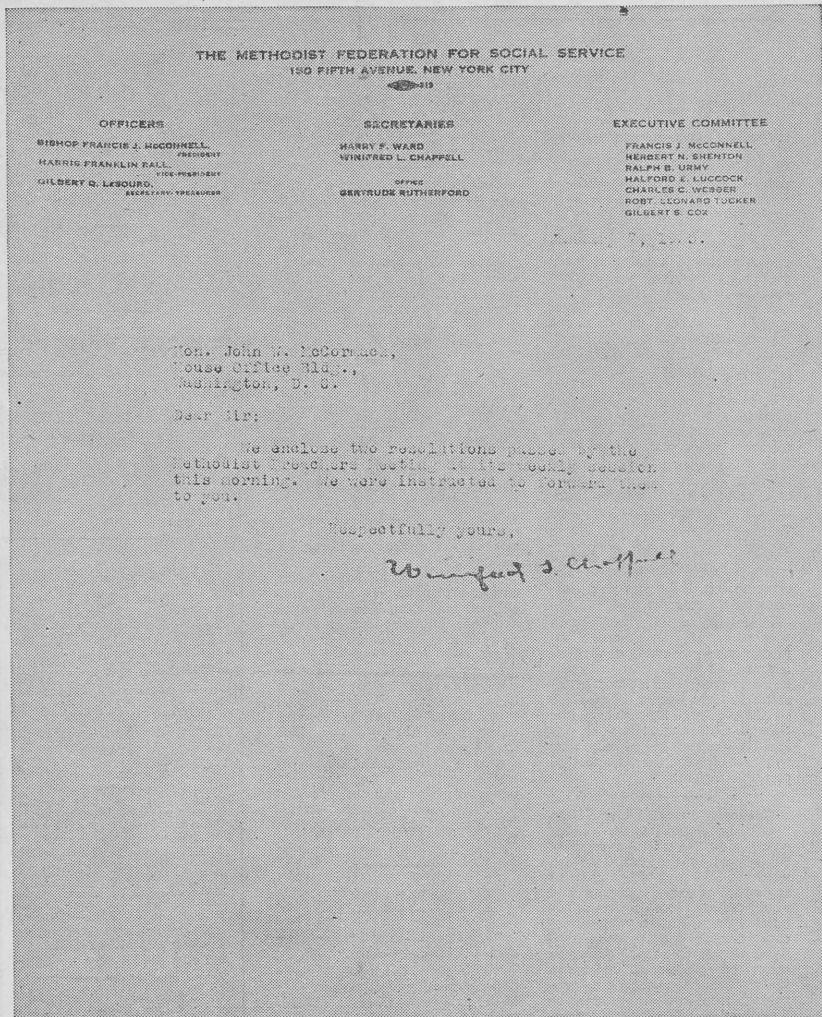
Recording Secretary: Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

Treasurer: Dr. Gilbert Q. LeSourd, Associate Secretary of the Missionary Education Movement.

Associate Treasurer: Mr. William W. Reid, Methodist layman and editor of the Pastor's Journal, an official Methodist publication.

8. Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1945 ballot, (eight pages), pp. 74-81.
9. Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1947 ballot (four pages), pp. 82-85.
10. Social Questions Bulletin, June, 1950, pages 27 and 28. (Reproduced on pp. 86 and 87.)

## EXHIBIT 2



Methodist Federation for Social Service, letter, dated January 7, 1935.

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## EXHIBIT 3

## Social Questions Bulletin

November, 1939

## News from the Field

*Social Planning and the Social Creed.* The Social Ideals of the Churches, as adopted at the Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, December 8, 1932 (before the New Deal came into being), contained this statement: "The churches should stand for social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good." The Social Creed of the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as found in the 1938 Discipline, has the same statement on social planning as given above, yet the Social Creed of the Methodist Church, adopted at Kansas City, Mo., on May 9, 1939, makes no reference to this vital subject.

In order to rectify this situation the New York East Annual Conference, at its Special Session on October 27, 1939, memorialized the General Conference of 1940 to add to the Social Creed of the Church the following: "The Methodist Church stands for social planning and democratic control of the economic processes for the common good."

Federation members, will you do your part? If your Annual Conference meets before General Conference, will you endeavor to get it to adopt this memorial, and to instruct its delegates to ask for the adoption of the memorial by the General Conference? If your Annual Conference has already met, will you ask your delegates to support this memorial?

*Conscription and Silver Shirts.* "We stand opposed to the various conscription bills such as the May bill offered in the last Congress, which would clamp down upon us any sort of military dictatorship, and would destroy those democratic liberties upon which our national security rests; and we oppose all national defense bills which deny men the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Against all hate provoking, race insulting groups, be they Bund or Silver Shirt, Method-

ism hurls the titanic forces of its witness of the spirit. We have neither part nor parcel in any Christian Front that turns its back on the Christian faith in brotherhood and democracy!"—*Ohio Conference, September, 1939.*

*Freedom.* "We want freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of the pulpit and academic freedom. Without these Democracy itself goes. We are alarmed by violations of these freedoms even when committed by our own representatives in our communities and at our own institutions."—*Iowa-Des Moines Conference, September, 1939.*

*Profits and Living Standards.* "We believe that profit as the dominant motive and driving force of industry is incompatible with our Christian ideal of sacrificial service. We are opposed to the putting of profit above personality. We believe in the abundant life for all people. Moreover, we think that no one is entitled to the luxuries of life while many are deprived of the very necessities. We are our brother's keepers."

"All workers should have a living annual wage. The principles of conciliation and arbitration should be applied in industrial disputes. Peaceful picketing should be permitted. We believe that the worker has a property right in his job and a responsibility to the industry by which he makes a living. We are opposed to the use of violence by either the employee or the employer. The church must champion the cause of the underprivileged and the dispossessed, and insist that the good things of life must be provided for all of God's children."—*Iowa-Des Moines Conference, September, 1939.*

## The Mail Bag

"The Federation was never more needed than now."—C. S. (Ohio).

"We are glad to have the Federation representing us at the forefront of the struggle."—C. H. P. (Michigan).

"I want to commend you on your work and on your little paper. I enjoy it very much and give it to another Methodist living nearby—also a believer in what you stand for!"—D. H. M. (Washington).

"I sincerely hope the (financial) campaign will be a success, for there will be greater need than ever for the Federation in the new Church."—R. B. T. (New York).

"Every progressive Methodist should be a member of the Federation. I certainly want to be a member and so enclosed is my application blank."—G. M. H. (New York).

## Federation Finances

*Our deficit is still around \$1,000! How can we meet it?*

C. R. M. (New York) writes: "I don't know how the deficit of \$1,000 can be met, but here is my check for \$50 to help."

R. F. W. (Iowa), who sent \$20, writes: "If you had 49 people who would give \$20 apiece you would have your \$1,000." Will you be one of the 49?

## Social Questions

## BULLETIN

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The selection of topics and material is committed to the Secretaries, who are responsible for the selection and to the public for its accuracy.

*Membership \$1.00 per year  
Special rate to student groups.*

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FOR SOCIAL SERVICE*

150 Fifth Avenue, New York City  
Entered as second-class matter January 21, 1919, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under Act of August 24, 1912.

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## EXHIBIT 5

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## Social Questions Bulletin

October, 1940

## Ward Book Offer

Harry F. Ward's latest book "Democracy and Social Change" (Just off the press. Modern Age, Price \$2.50) can be secured through the Federation office by sending \$1.50 plus at least a \$1.00 membership fee in our organization.

Included in the book are chapters entitled: "What Kind of Change?"; "Democracy—What Kind?"; "Capitalism and Democracy"; "The Fascist Threat"; "The Task of the Intellectuals"; "The Role of Religion" and "The Shadow of War."

Place your order now!

## Pamphlet

## Recommendations

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE. *Woman's Press*, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 7c.

COMPULSORY MILITARY CONSCRIPTION. *National Council of Jewish Women*, 1819 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 5c.

THE PACIFIST HANDBOOK. *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10c.

WHAT ABOUT THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR? *American Friends Service Committee*, 20 South Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 15c.

## News from the Field

Charles C. Webber conducted the Fifth Annual Traveling Economic Seminar of the Religion and Labor Foundation through the South during July.

Twenty-five educators, physicians and religious leaders under his direction studied the operation of the National Labor Relations Board and other national agencies in Washington, D. C.; the Resettlement Administration projects of our government in West Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas; the class struggle in the Harlan, Ky. coal fields; the development of the TVA throughout the Tennessee Valley and King Cotton and his sharecropper slaves in the delta lands of the Mississippi.

In Arkansas he found Winifred Chappell, former Secretary of the Federation, and Claude Williams directing the *People's Institute of Applied Religion*—an organization that is conducting a program of education and action for work-a-day

preachers and leaders among the sharecroppers and rural workers of the South. (For further information write Miss Chappell in care of the Federation.)

During August he participated, in Mexico City, in the "Mexican Horizons Seminar," which made an analysis of Mexican political, social, economic and agrarian conditions.

He also addressed Mexican Methodists on the work of the Federation.

WISCONSIN CONFERENCE. Excerpts from the report of the Social Service Commission to the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Church, August 27, 1940.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM. The committee recommends active opposition to segregation and other forms of discrimination against negroes. We should actively work to secure for them equal opportunities to live where they please, to work in all industries, to enjoy all the privileges and opportunities offered to any group in any community...

THE CHURCH AND PEACE. We stand unalterably opposed to military conscription in peace times. We believe that conscription is a denial of the civil and religious rights guaranteed by the Constitution; that it disrupts our social and economic life; that it places vast power in the hands of a few men; that it is a method of escape from facing the crucial problems of unemployment, poor housing conditions, low pay for workers and other ills which affect our economic and social life, and which need to be frankly faced and solved; that it is a step in the direction of dictatorship; and that it ought therefore to be condemned in democratic America.

We reiterate the position of our church in regard to those who are conscientious objectors to military service as approved by the General Conference of our church in May, 1940: "We ask and claim exemption from all forms of military preparation or service for all conscientious objectors who may be members of the Methodist Church. In this they have the authority and support of their church."

NEW M.F.S.S. UNIT. At the recent session of the West Wisconsin

Conference held in LaCrosse, men and women interested in world peace and social service formed a Conference Federation for Social Service to function as an auxiliary to the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and to cooperate with similar groups in neighboring conferences.

Officers elected were: Chairman, J. Pierce Newell, Superior, Wis.; Secretary, Arthur Maynard, Chetek, Wis.

## Appreciation

FEDERATION MEMBERS: As Chairman of the National Finance Committee I wish to express my appreciation of your sacrificial giving which made possible the reduction of the deficit on October first to \$461.

I know that I can count on you to support our 1940-41 program!

How about having your Conference Federation members elect a finance chairman to conduct an every-member canvass? The New York East Conference Federation members have just elected Rev. Louis H. Davis of Seymour, Conn., to do this for them.

—AMOS B. HORLACHER.

## Social Questions

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EDITORIAL  
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Charles C. Webber  
Charles C. Weber

OFFICERS  
Bishop Franklin J. McConnell, President  
Harris Franklin, Vice-President  
Gilbert G. LeSourd, Secretary-Treasurer

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## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 1)

## BALLOT

## METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

## NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Vote for 30 only, including officers)

## Officers:

President (vote for 1)

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, Pres., MFSS; Bishop, the Boston Area, the Methodist Church; Chairman, American Committee for Spanish Freedom; President, Massachusetts Council of Churches; Former Editor, *Zion's Herald*.

 .....

Vice President (vote for 2)

Bishop James C. Baker, Vice Pres., MFSS; Bishop, the Los Angeles Area, the Methodist Church; Chairman, International Missionary Council; Member, American Section, World Council of Churches.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Vice Pres., MFSS; Bishop, the New York Area, the Methodist Church; President, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Chairman, National Council, Service Men's Christian League.

 ..... .....

Recording Secretary (vote for 1)

Miss Thelma Stevens, Recording Secretary, MFSS; Executive Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division for Christian Service.

 .....

Treasurer (vote for 1)

Dr. Gilbert Q. LeSourd, Treasurer, MFSS; Secretary, Business Division, Missionary Education Movement.

 .....

Members-at-Large (vote for 25):

Dr. Wade Crawford Barclay, Chairman, Administrative Committee, MFSS; currently editing *SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN*; long-time Executive Secretary, Joint Committee on Religious Education in Foreign Fields, the Methodist Church.

Rev. Samuel J. Beers, President, Wisconsin Conference Chapter, MFSS; pastor, Wesley Church, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

Mrs. Theodore Berry, Secretary of Literature and Publications, Women's Division of Christian Service, Central Jurisdiction, the Methodist Church.

Bishop Charles W. Brashares, the Des Moines Area, the Methodist Church.

Rev. J. George Butler, Pastor, South Park Methodist Church, Hartford, Conn.

Dr. Harold C. Case, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Pasadena, California; Member, Commission on Home and Family, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. Alva I. Cox, Executive Secretary, the Board of Education, Northeast Ohio Conference, the Methodist Church.

Dr. Gilbert S. Cox, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Waterloo, Iowa.

Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Pastor, Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan.

Rev. Karl Downs, President, Samuel Huston College, Austin, Texas.

Miss Ann Fitzpatrick, student, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois; Chairman, Student Section, National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship.

Rev. Owen M. Gear, Pastor, Mt. Olivet Methodist Church, Dearborn, Michigan; Chairman, Executive Committee, Detroit Conference MFSS.

Dr. Corliss P. Hargraves, Executive Secretary, the Interboard Committee on Missionary Education, the Methodist Church.

Dr. John W. Haywood, President, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. Robert C. Howe, Pastor, Simpson-Grace Methodist Church, Jersey City, N. J.; member, Administrative Committee, MFSS.

Dr. David D. Jones, President, Bennett College, Greensboro, No. Carolina.

Rev. Franklin H. Littell, Director, the Student Religious Association, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; former president, National Council for Methodist Youth.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, the Syracuse Area, the Methodist Church; President, New York State Council of Churches.

Dr. Edgar A. Love, Superintendent, Dept. of Negro Work, Board of Missions and Church Extension, the Methodist Church; member, Administrative Committee, MFSS.

Chaplain James W. May, former Executive Secretary, YMCA, Georgia School of Technology.

Dr. C. C. McCown, President, Social Action Fellowship (Conf. MFSS), California Conference; Professor, Pacific School of Religion.

Dr. Walter Muelder, Dean, School of Theology, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. Floyd Mulkey, Chicago, Illinois Chmn., Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Rock River Conference; active in League of Women Voters.

Rev. George L. Poor, President, Pacific Northwest MFSS; Pastor, the Methodist Church, Camas, Washington.

Rev. Robert R. Powell, Professor, Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio, under Crusade for Christ program; former Executive Secretary, Board of Education, New Jersey Conference, the Methodist Church.

Rev. H. M. Ratliff, Executive Secretary, Board of Education, the Southwest Texas Conference, the Methodist Church, Austin, Texas.

Dr. Charles E. Schofield, Editor, Adult Publications, Board of Education, the Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary, Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, Southeastern Jurisdiction, Woman's Division of Christian Service, the Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia.

## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 2)

Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed, Pastor, Dexter Ave., Methodist Church, Montgomery, Alabama; President, Alabama Conference MFSS.

Bishop William T. Watkins, the Louisville Area, the Methodist Church.

Rev. C. C. Webber, Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; former Executive Secretary, MFSS.

Mr. Charles E. Wegner, Secretary-Treasurer, Minnesota Conference MFSS; Executive Secretary, St. Paul Goodwill Industries, St. Paul, Minn.

Rev. Wayne White, Pastor, Westchester Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.; member, Administrative Committee, MFSS.

Dr. Ruth F. Wolcott, Spirit Lake, Iowa, President, Northwest Iowa MFSS.

Dr. Lloyd F. Worley, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Stamford, Conn.; President, New York East Conference MFSS.

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According to action taken by the Executive Committee on July 3, 1945, as follows: "Conference Chapters which have qualified by meeting Conference Chapter Standards may elect a member to the Executive Committee immediately," elections as listed below are hereby announced:

*Alabama Conference*  
Rev. J. B. Nichols  
Georgiana, Alabama

## NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL COMMITTEE

According to action taken by the Executive Committee on July 3, 1945, as follows: "Annual Conference Chapter presidents shall be members of the National Committee. Conference Chapters which have qualified by meeting Conference Chapter Standards may elect up to five members to the National Committee immediately. Local Chapters which have qualified by meeting Local Chapter Standards may elect up to two members to the National Committee immediately," elections as listed below are hereby announced:

*Election by Standard Chapters:*

*Alabama Conference*  
Rev. D. C. Whitsett  
Marianna, Florida  
Rev. Welton Gregory  
Montgomery, Alabama  
Miss Frances Grant  
Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama  
Rev. L. P. McLeod  
Grove Hill, Alabama  
Rev. Joel McDavid  
Grand Bay, Alabama

*Georgia State College for Women Local Chapter—Milledgeville, Georgia*  
Miss Betty Berenthien  
Miss Ann Hutcheson

*Election as Conference Chapter President:*

*West Wisconsin Conference*  
Rev. Oscar M. Adam  
Madison, Wisconsin  
*Oregon Conference*  
Rev. Mark Chamberlin  
Gresham, Oregon  
*New York Conference*  
Rev. George M. Corder  
Dover Plains, New York  
*Central Kansas Conference*  
Rev. F. W. Dieterich  
Mt. Hope, Kansas  
*So. California-Arizona Conference*  
Dr. James E. Dunning  
Los Angeles, California

## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 3)

*West Oklahoma Conference*  
Rev. Forrest Fields  
Lawton, Oklahoma

*New Jersey Conference*  
Rev. Paul Friedrich  
New Brunswick, N. J.

*Minnesota Conference*  
Rev. Wilbur D. Grose  
St. Paul, Minnesota

*Dakota Conference*  
Rev. Edwin O. Hessel  
Webster, South Dakota

*Wyoming State Conference*  
Rev. J. Clyde Keegan  
Sheridan, Wyoming

*Northwest Indiana Conference*  
Dr. Blaine E. Kirkpatrick  
Indianapolis, Indiana

*Illinois Conference*  
Rev. Donald R. Lemkau  
Henry, Illinois

*Erie Conference*  
Rev. M. E. Lindstrom  
New Wilmington, Pennsylvania

*Central New York Conference*  
Dr. C. C. Noble  
Syracuse, New York

*Northern New York Conference*  
Rev. A. Leslie Potter  
Massena, New York

*Colorado Conference*  
Rev. Kenneth M. Smith  
Denver, Colorado

*Michigan Conference*  
Rev. Jack Steele  
Kalamazoo, Michigan

*Southwest Texas Conference*  
Rev. Ewart Watts  
Cuero, Texas

*South Georgia Conference*  
Rev. J. R. Webb, Jr.  
St. Simons, Georgia

*Montana State Conference*  
Rev. M. J. Wilcox  
Laurel, Montana

*Genesee Conference*  
Rev. Earl Winters  
Rochester, New York

and any other such Presidents who are nominees for the Executive Committee, but fail to be elected on this ballot.

Members-at-Large (vote for up to 150 from those listed or others you write in)

1. Rev. Merrill R. Abbey, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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2. Rev. Gross Alexander, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Tucumcari, New Mexico.

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3. Rev. Albert Allinger, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Cranford, New Jersey; Corresponding Secretary, Newark Conference MFSS.

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- 4. Judge W. A. Anderson, District Court, Minneapolis, Minnesota; former mayor of Minneapolis.
- .....
- 5. Rev. Robert M. Atkins, Methodist Pastor, Madison, Wisconsin.
- .....
- 6. Rev. Lester Ward Atman, Pastor, Jackson Heights Church, Long Island, New York; member, ad interim committee of MFSS during reorganization.
- .....
- 7. Rev. DeWitt C. Baldwin, Director, The Lisle Fellowship, New York, New York.
- .....
- 8. Rev. Archey D. Ball, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Leonia, New Jersey.
- .....
- 9. Rev. Lee H. Ball, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Lake Mahopac, New York; member, Executive Committee, New York Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 10. Dr. Albert E. Barnett, Professor, Garrett Biblical Institute; Vice President, Alabama Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 11. Rev. Hayes Beall, Methodist Pastor, Salem, Oregon.
- .....
- 12. Rev. Robert E. L. Bearden, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Walnut Ridge, Arkansas.
- .....
- 13. Professor Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Penn.; Chairman, Executive Committee, Erie Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 14. Rev. John F. Bender, Professor, University of Oklahoma; Vice President, West Oklahoma Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 15. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, President, National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D. C.
- .....
- 16. Dr. Henry L. Bibby, physician, Kingston, New York.
- .....
- 17. Mrs. C. A. Bloomquist, Chicago, Illinois; Dist. Pres., Woman's Society for Christian Service.
- .....
- 18. Dr. Hiel D. Bollinger, Secretary, Dept. of Student Work, The Board of Education, The Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee.
- .....
- 19. Rev. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Executive Secretary, Commission on World Peace, The Methodist Church, Chicago, Illinois.
- .....

## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 4)

- 20. Mr. E. R. Bowen, General Secretary, Cooperative League of the U. S. A., Chicago, Illinois.
- .....
- 21. President James P. Brawley, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.
- .....
- 22. Dr. Edgar S. Brightman, Professor of Philosophy, Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Mass.
- .....
- 23. Dr. Edwin A. Brown, Methodist Pastor, Urbana, Ohio.
- .....
- 24. Rev. Jesse Bunch, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Corvallis, Oregon.
- .....
- 25. Rev. George A. Burcham, Associated Cooperatives, Inc., Oakland, California.
- .....
- 26. Mr. Harold Burns, Editor and Publisher, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania.
- .....
- 27. Rev. Wendell R. Carter, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Beaver Falls, New York; Secretary-Treasurer, Northern New York Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 28. Miss Winifred Chappell, Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion, Baltimore, Maryland.
- .....
- 29. Rev. Don Chase, Methodist Pastor, Redding, California; Editor, *Social Informant*, organ of California Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 30. Rev. James Chubb, Asst. Secretary, General Board of Evangelism, The Methodist Church, Baldwin City, Kansas.
- .....
- 31. Rev. George Clary, Sr., Chmn., Georgia Interracial Commission; Pastor, Trinity Methodist Church, Savannah, Georgia.
- .....
- 32. Dr. George A. Coe, Professor Emeritus of Religious Education, Union Theological Seminary, living in Claremont, California.
- .....
- 33. Captain Elbert Cole, Norman, Oklahoma. (Member St. Louis Conference.)
- .....
- 34. Dr. Wilson G. Cole, Methodist Pastor, Syracuse, New York.
- .....
- 35. Rev. Elbert M. Canover, Director, Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, New York, N. Y.
- .....
- 36. Professor Russell M. Cooper, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- .....
- 37. Rev. Albert J. Copeland, Pastor, First Methodist Church, E. Moline, Illinois.
- .....
- 38. Dr. Clarence T. Craig, Professor of New Testament, Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
- .....
- 39. Rev. Harold Cramer, Methodist Pastor, Needham Heights, Mass.
- .....
- 40. Mr. Closter B. Current, Sec'y, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit, Michigan.
- .....
- 41. Rev. Albert Curry, Pastor, Friendship Park Methodist Church, Pittsburgh, Penn.; Social Service Director, Pittsburgh Goodwill Industries.
- .....
- 42. Rev. Mark A. Dawber, Executive Secretary, Home Missions Council of North America, New York, N. Y.
- .....
- 43. Rev. Mark Depp, Pastor, Centenary Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- .....
- 44. Rev. James Dombrowski, Executive Secretary, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Nashville, Tennessee.
- .....
- 45. Rev. M. E. Dorr, Pastor, Grace Methodist Church, Dayton, Iowa; Chmn., Social Action Committee, Northwest Iowa Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 46. Rev. Paul DuBois, Methodist Pastor, Bristol, Connecticut.
- .....
- 47. Rev. L. L. Dunnington, Methodist Pastor, Iowa City, Iowa.
- .....
- 48. Rev. Harold Ehrensparger, Editor, *Motive*, Magazine of the Methodist Student Movement, Nashville, Tennessee.
- .....
- 49. Mr. R. B. Ellis, Naval Officer, Miami, Florida.
- .....
- 50. Mrs. Merle L. English, Director of Religious Education, First Methodist Church, Decatur, Illinois.
- .....
- 51. Dr. Guy Fox, Administrator, Denver Public Schools, Denver, Colorado; Chmn., Social Action Commission, Denver Council of Churches.
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## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 5)

- 52. Rev. Everett H. Gardner, Methodist Pastor, North Bend, Oregon.
- .....
- 53. Rev. Edwin Garrison, Methodist Pastor, Wabash, Indiana.
- .....
- 54. Mrs. P. M. Gibbes, President, WSCS, South Carolina (Central) Conference, South Carolina.
- .....
- 55. Rev. Victor V. Goff, Director, Wesley Foundation, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
- .....
- 56. Rev. M. J. Gordanier, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Markesan, Wisconsin; Vice President, Wisconsin Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 57. Rev. Albert Green, Director of Youth Work, Board of Education, South Carolina Conference, The Methodist Church, Florence, South Carolina.
- .....
- 58. Rev. Armand Guerrero, Methodist Pastor, Chicago, Illinois; Member, Exec. Comin., Rock River Conference MFSS.
- .....
- 59. Mr. Carey Haigler, Regional Director, CIO, Birmingham, Alabama.
- .....
- 60. Rev. William Hairston, Methodist Pastor, Reidsville, North Carolina.
- .....
- 61. Dr. Royal Hall, Professor of History and Chairman, Division of Social Sciences, Albion College, Albion, Michigan.
- .....
- 62. Rev. Paul G. Hayes, Pastor, McCabe Methodist Church, Bismarck, North Dakota.
- .....
- 63. Rev. L. B. Hazard, Prof. of Religious Education, Illinois Wesleyan Univ., Bloomington, Illinois.
- .....
- 64. Rev. A. A. Heist, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles, California.
- .....
- 65. Rev. Chester E. Hodgson, Methodist Pastor, Newark, New Jersey; on editorial staff, *The Protestant*.
- .....
- 66. Dr. Mary Alice Hoover, osteopathic physician, Tacoma, Washington.
- .....
- 67. Chaplain Amos B. Horlacher, San Diego, California (member New York East Conference).
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- 68. Mr. George A. Horne, consulting engineer, New York, N. Y.
- .....
- 69. Mr. I. H. Hull, Secretary, Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Assn., Indianapolis, Indiana.
- .....
- 70. Professor Harold Hutson, Dept. of Religion, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama.
- .....
- 71. Mrs. Mary C. Hyde, President, League of Women Voters, Omaha, Nebraska.
- .....
- 72. Miss R. Elizabeth Johns, Secretary, Student Christian Movement, New England Region, Boston, Mass.
- .....
- 73. Professor Emmett S. Johnson, Candler School of Theology, Atlanta, Georgia.
- .....
- 74. Mrs. J. D. Kilgore, Tracyton, Washington.
- .....
- 75. Rev. Harry F. King, Pastor, Thomson Methodist Church, Wheeling, West Virginia.
- .....
- 76. Rev. George S. Lackland, Pastor, Indianola Methodist Church, Columbus, Ohio.
- .....
- 77. Dr. Harold Lancaster, Pastor, Euclid Avenue Methodist Church, Cleveland, Ohio; Member, United Christian Council for Democracy National Committee for MFSS.
- .....
- 78. Professor John C. Lazenby, Wisconsin State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- .....
- 79. Rev. Nat G. Long, Pastor, Peachtree Road Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia.
- .....
- 80. Mrs. Ford H. Longsdorf, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
- .....
- 81. Dr. Halford E. Luccock, Professor, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
- .....
- 82. Mr. Jesse Mall, locomotive engineer, Hoisington, Kansas.
- .....
- 83. Dr. Samuel W. Marble, Pastor, Trinity Methodist Church, Denver, Colorado.
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## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 6)

84. Mr. William P. Mason, shoe manufacturer, St. Louis, Missouri; District Lay Leader, The Methodist Church.

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85. Bishop Francis J. McConnell, retired, New York, N. Y.; former President, MFSS.

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86. Rev. Stanley S. McKee, Methodist Pastor, Riverside, California.

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87. Rev. Henry A. Meyer, Methodist Pastor, Indianapolis, Indiana.

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88. Miss Ethel K. Miller, Librarian, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.

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89. Professor Clyde Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

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90. Dr. John C. Millian, Pastor, Petworth Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.; served as temporary chmn., Washington MFSS Chapter during organization.

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91. Mr. William Mitch, United Mine Workers of America, Birmingham, Alabama.

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92. Miss Helen G. Murray, former Secretary, MFSS, Titonesta, Pennsylvania.

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93. Rev. John V. Murray, Jr., Pastor, The Methodist Church, Bethune, South Carolina.

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94. Rev. Jesse Murrell, Methodist Pastor, Covington, Kentucky.

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95. Miss Eleanor Neff, Associate Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.

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96. Miss Candis Nelson, Dean Emeritus, Seattle Pacific College, Seattle, Washington.

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97. Rev. G. Sam Nichols, Methodist Pastor, Ames, Iowa.

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98. Miss Marian L. Norris, New York, N. Y.; Secretary, Wesleyan Service Guild, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church.

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99. Rev. Spencer B. Owens, District Superintendent, The Methodist Church, Albion, Michigan.

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100. Rev. Elbert M. Parkhurst, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Chazy, New York.

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101. Mrs. G. W. Pomeroy, La. Conf. Secy. of Christian Social Relations, WSCS, Minden, Louisiana.

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102. Rev. Fred G. Poole, Executive Secretary, Board of Education, Detroit Conference, The Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan.

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103. Mrs. Fred G. Poole, social worker, Division Chairman, Christian Social Relations for Wesleyan Service Guild, Detroit, Michigan.

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104. Dr. Harris F. Rall, Professor, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois; former Vice President, MFSS.

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105. Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Mississippi. Prominent in State Public Welfare Circles.

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106. Rev. W. Neal Raver, Chmn., Social Action Comm., New Jersey Conference, The Methodist Church.

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107. Rev. Ensworth Reisman, Pastor, Richmond Avenue Methodist Church, Buffalo, New York; Secretary, Genesee Conference MFSS.

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108. Dr. Lloyd H. Rising, Pastor, University Methodist Church, Lincoln, Nebraska.

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109. Miss Miriam V. Ristine, Executive Secretary, Bureau of Social Welfare, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church.

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110. Dr. Lester Rumble, Pastor, St. Mark's Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia.

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111. Dr. John W. Rustin, Pastor, Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.; Chairman, Legislative Subcommittee MFSS.

.....

112. Rev. Don Schoeler, Pastor, Epworth Methodist Church, Chickasha, Oklahoma.

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113. Rev. E. Kendall Scouten, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Minetto, New York; Vice President, Northern New York Conference MFSS.

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114. Dr. Harvey Seifert, Professor, Graduate School of Religion, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California; Chairman, Labor Subcommittee, MFSS.

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## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 7)

115. Rev. James W. Sells, Executive Secretary, South-eastern Jurisdictional Council, The Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia; co-Chairman, Rural Subcommittee, MFSS.

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116. Rev. Claude Singleton, Director, Wesley Foundation, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

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117. Dr. W. A. Smart, Professor, Candler School of Theology, Atlanta, Georgia.

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118. Rev. Alson J. Smith, Pastor, St. Paul's Methodist Church, Brooklyn, New York.

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119. Mr. Chester A. Smith, member, Executive Committee, New York Conference, MFSS, Peekskill, New York.

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120. Rev. Eugene L. Smith, member, National Committee, United Christian Council for Democracy, Jersey City, New Jersey.

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121. Rev. Vaughn Smith, Director, Wesley Foundation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; Secretary-Treasurer, West Oklahoma Conference MFSS.

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122. Rev. Everett M. Stowe, Faculty member, Fukien University, China; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, New York, N. Y.

.....

123. Rev. Samuel H. Sweeney, Pastor, St. Mark's Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.

.....

124. Rev. Daniel E. Taylor, Methodist Pastor, Vancouver, Washington; Secretary-Treasurer, Pacific Northwest Conference MFSS.

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125. Miss Mildred Thomson, social worker; Secretary, Minnesota Conference Wesleyan Service Guild, St. Paul, Minnesota.

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126. Dr. Joseph W. Thompson, Methodist Pastor, St. Joseph, Missouri.

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127. Dr. Donald E. Tippett, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Los Angeles, California.

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128. Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois; member, Executive Committee, Rock River Conference MFSS.

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129. Rev. Frank Toothaker, Methodist Pastor, Oakland, California.

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130. Rev. Willard Uphaus, Director, Religion and Labor Foundation, New Haven, Connecticut.

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131. Dr. Ralph B. Urmy, retired, St. Petersburg, Florida; member, ad interim Committee, MFSS, during reorganization.

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132. Dr. Edgar M. Wahlberg, associated with UNRRA in China.

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133. Rev. W. B. Waltmire, member, Nebraska Conference, The Methodist Church, on sabbatical leave in Seattle, Washington.

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134. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor Emeritus of Social Ethics, Union Theological Seminary; longtime Secretary, MFSS; Palisade, New Jersey.

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135. Rev. Bradford G. Webster, Pastor, The Methodist Church, Gowanda, New York.

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136. Mr. Paul Wenger, farmer, Idaho Falls, Idaho.

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137. Dr. John Clark Williams, Chairman, Social Service Commission, Ohio Conference, The Methodist Church; Pastor, The Methodist Church, Sabina, Ohio.

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138. Rev. Morgan Williams, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Kankakee, Illinois; Vice President, Illinois Conference MFSS.

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139. Mrs. William H. Willson, Jr., temporary membership chairman in initiation of Southwest Texas Conference MFSS, San Antonio, Texas.

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140. Rev. Elwin L. Wilson, District Superintendent, The Methodist Church, Portland, Maine.

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141. Mr. R. S. Wimberley, attorney-at-law, Lumpkin, Georgia; member, Commission on World Peace, The Methodist Church; Treasurer, South Georgia Conference MFSS.

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The following are youth and young adults:

142. Mr. David Ash, Des Moines, Iowa.

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## EXHIBIT 8 (PART 8)

- 143. Mr. Robert Bobilin, Adrian College, Adrian, Michigan; former Chairman, Youth Section, MFSS.  
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- 144. Miss Emily Britton, Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia; Secretary, South Georgia Conference MFSS.  
.....
- 145. Miss Helen Crotwell, member, Executive Committee, South Georgia Conference MFSS; Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Georgia.  
.....
- 146. Mr. John Paul Jones, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; President, local MFSS unit; Chairman, United Student Christian Council of Oklahoma.  
.....
- 147. Mr. Harry Jurey, employed with Los Angeles Co. Probation Office, Los Angeles, California; former chairman, Young Adult Fellowship, East Oklahoma Conference.  
.....
- 148. Mr. Richard V. Kendall, Senior at Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York; So. Calif.-Ariz. Conference.  
.....
- 149. Mr. Don Marietta, Jr., Acting Secretary, Youth Unit MFSS, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama; Member, Conference MFSS Exec. Comm.  
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- 150. Mr. George Morel, Emory University, Georgia; Corresponding Secretary, local MFSS unit.  
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The minimum annual contribution for voting membership is \$5.00 for adults and \$2.00 for youths  
(25 years of age or under)

*(Signature)*

Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1945 Ballot, page 8.

## EXHIBIT 9 (PART 1)

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION  
BALLOT

## NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

These officers were elected by the National Membership Meeting in Kansas City, December 27-29, 1947. Your confirmation is requested.

PRESIDENT (Vote for 1) Check one.

Bishop Robert N. Brooks, New Orleans Area; former editor, Central Christian Advocate.

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VICE PRESIDENTS (Vote for 6) Check six.

Bishop James C. Baker, Vice President, MFSA; Bishop, Los Angeles Area.

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman; former President, MFSA; Bishop, Boston Area.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, President, New York State Council of Churches; Bishop, Syracuse Area.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Bishop, Portland Area; former MFSA President.

Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston University School of Theology.

Bishop William T. Watkins, Bishop, Louisville Area.

RECORDING SECRETARY (Vote for 1) Check one.

Miss Thelma Stevens, Recording Secy. MFSA; Exec. Secy. Department of Christian Social Relations, Women's Division of Christian Service.

TREASURER (Vote for 1) Check one.

Dr. Gilbert G. LeSourd, Assoc. Secy. Missionary Educ. Movement.

ASSISTANT TREASURER (Vote for 1) Check one.

William W. Reid, editor The Pastor magazine.

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(Officers are automatically members of the Executive Committee.)  
These were nominated by the National Membership Meeting. If you wish to make a substitution, please cross out the names you wish deleted and add the substitutes.

Members-at-Large (Vote for 40) Check forty.

1. Dr. Wade C. Barclay, member MFSA Administrative Committee; past editor Social Questions Bulletin.
2. Rev. Lee Ball, member, MFSA Administrative Committee; Lake Mehopac, N. Y.
3. Dr. Albert Barnett, Professor Garrett Biblical Institute; vice president Alabama MFSA.
4. Rev. Samuel G. Beers, Waterloo, Wisconsin.
5. Mrs. Theodore Berry, Comm. on Economic Relations, Central Jurisdiction, Dept. Christian Social Relations, WDCS.
6. Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Executive Secretary, Commission on World Peace, Chicago.
7. Bishop Charles W. Brashears, Des Moines Area.
8. Dr. James P. Brawley, President, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.
9. Mr. Harold Burns, Editor and Publisher, New Wilmington, Pa.
10. Dr. Gilbert S. Cox, President, Upper Iowa MFSA; Waterloo.
11. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Central Methodist Church, Detroit.
12. Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, Executive Secretary, Dept. of Foreign Missions, Board of Missions.
- \*13. Dr. Karl Downs, President, Samuel Huston College, Austin.
14. Rev. Paul DuBois, President, New York East Conference MFSA.
15. Mr. E. J. Fricke, President, Indiana State Conference, MFSA.
16. Rev. Paul Friedrich, member MFSA Administrative Comm.; New Brunswick, New Jersey.
17. Rev. Owen Geer, Vermont Square Methodist Church, Los Angeles, California.
18. Dr. Corliss P. Hargraves, Executive Secretary, Inter-board Committee on Missionary Education.
19. Rev. Robert Howe, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.
20. Dr. David Jones, President, Bennett College, N. C.
21. Mrs. J. D. Kilgore, Tracyton, Washington.
22. Mr. Chester Kingsbury, President, Pacific Northwest Conference MFSA; printer, Seattle, Washington.
23. Rev. Franklin H. Littell, Director, Student Religious Association, University of Michigan.
24. Dr. Edgar Love, member MFSA Administrative Committee; Sup't. Dept. of Negro Work, Board of Missions & Church Extension.
25. Rev. James May, former Exec. Secy., YMCA, Georgia Tech., Ga.
26. Dr. Clyde Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University; Co-President, New York City MFSA.
27. Mrs. Floyd Mulkey, President, Chicago MFSA.
28. Dr. C. C. McCown, Prof. Emer., Pacific School of Religion.
29. Rev. G. S. Nichols, President, Iowa-Des Moines Conf. MFSA.
30. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Bishop, New York Area.
31. Rev. Edward Peet, officer, Greater Hartford, MFSA.
32. Dr. Arthur Reiper, economic analyst, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture.
33. Rev. H. M. Ratliff, Mission, Texas.
- \*4. Miss Matilda Saxton, Secretary, Central Jurisdiction, Dept. Christian Social Relations, WDCS, Trenton, N. J.

Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1947 Ballot, page 1.

## EXHIBIT 9 (PART 2)

35. Dr. Charles Schofield, Editor, Adult Publications, Board of Education, Nashville.  
 36. Miss Mildred Thomson, social worker; President St. Paul MFSA.  
 37. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, member President's Committee on Civil Rights; Secy., Dept. Christian Social Relations, WDCS, Southeastern.  
 38. Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed, President, Alabama Conference MFSA.  
 39. Dr. Willard Uphaus, Director, Religion and Labor Foundation.  
 40. Rev. Charles Webber, Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.  
 41. Rev. Wayne White, New York City; member MFSA Administrative Committee.  
 42. Dr. Elwin Wilson, District Superintendent, Portland, Maine  
 43. Dr. Ruth Wolcott, Spirit Lake, Iowa.  
**Youth Members**  
 44. Mr. George Harper, Director, Natl. Conference Methodist Youth.  
 45. Mrs. Ann Fitzpatrick Klein, Garrett Biblical Institute, Ill.  
 46. Miss Shippy Sharpnack, Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.  
 (Every Standard Conference Chapter elects one member to the Executive Committee.)  
 \* We are sorry to announce the death of our friend, Dr. Downs.

NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(Annual Conference Chapter presidents are automatically members of the National Committee. Standard Conference Chapters elect five members to the National Committee. Standard Local Chapters elect two members to the National Committee.)

## Members-at-Large (Vote for 150)

These were nominated by the National Membership Meeting. If you wish to make a substitution, please cross out the names you wish deleted and add the substitutes

1. Rev. Merrill R. Abbey, First Methodist Church, Madison, Wisc.  
 2. Rev. Albert Allinger, Methodist Church, Cranford, New Jersey.  
 3. Rev. Lester Ward Auman, Jackson Heights Methodist Church, N.Y.; member Ad-interim Committee of the MFSA.  
 4. Rev. DeWitt C. Baldwin, Director, Lisle Fellowship, N. Y. C.  
 5. Rev. Archey D. Bell, Pastor, Paterson, New Jersey.  
 6. Professor Irwin R. Beller, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.  
 7. Professor John F. Bender, Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.  
 8. Mr. J. E. Perry, Clothing Manufacturer, Columbus, Kansas.  
 9. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, President, National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D. C.  
 10. Dr. Henry L. Fibby, physician, Kingston, New York.  
 ✓ 11. Dr. Hiel D. Hollinger, Secretary, Dept. of Student Work, Board of Education, Nashville.  
 ✓ 12. Dr. Harold Postley, Deen, Duke University School of Theology.  
 ✓ 13. Mr. E. P. Bowen, General Secretary, Cooperative League of U.S.A.  
 14. Dr. Edgar S. Brightman, Professor of Philosophy, Boston University School of Theology.  
 15. Dr. Edwin A. Brown, Methodist Church, Urbana, Ohio.  
 16. Dr. Emory Bucke, Editor, Zion's Herald, Boston, Massachusetts.  
 17. Rev. George A. Purcham, Methodist Church, Modesto, California.  
 18. Mr. A. M. Butler, attorney-at-law, Dows, Iowa.  
 19. Rev. J. George Butler, South Park Methodist Church, Hartford.  
 20. Rev. Wendell R. Carter, Methodist Church, Beaver Falls, N. Y.  
 ✓ 21. Miss Winifred Chappell, Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion.  
 22. Rev. Don Chase, Methodist Church, Redding, California.  
 ✓ 23. Rev. James Chuit, Asst. Secy., General Board of Evangelism, Baldwin City, Kansas.  
 24. Rev. George Clary, Sr., Trinity Methodist Church, Savannah, Ga.  
 25. Dr. George A. Coe, Professor Emeritus of Religious Education, Union Theological Seminary; now residing in California.  
 26. Rev. Elbert Cole, Director Religious Education, Univ. Chicago.  
 27. Rev. Elbert M. Conover, Director, Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, New York City.  
 28. Dr. Russell M. Cooper, Professor, University of Minnesota.  
 29. Rev. Alva I. Cox, Exec. Secy., Board of Education, Northeast Ohio Conference.  
 30. Dr. Clarence T. Craig, Professor of New Testament, Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, Ohio.  
 31. Rev. Albert Curry, Friendship Park Methodist Church, Pittsburgh.  
 32. Mr. Glaston B. Current, Secy., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit, Michigan.  
 ✓ 33. Mrs. J. W. Curry, Christian Social Relations Secretary, South Carolina Conference.  
 34. Rev. Marie A. Dawber, Exec. Secy., Home Missions Council.  
 ✓ 35. Rev. Harry Denman, Board of Evangelism, Nashville, Tenn.  
 ✓ 36. Miss Doris P. Denison, Dept. of Christian Education of Adults, General Board of Education, Nashville, Tennessee.  
 ✓ 37. Rev. Werk Depp, Centenary Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, N.C.  
 38. Rev. James Dobrowski, Exec. Secy., Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, Louisiana.  
 ✓ 39. Rev. Caxton Doggett, Director of Student Work, Board of Missions.  
 40. Rev. W. E. Dorr, Grace Methodist Church, Dayton, Iowa.  
 41. Rev. James E. Dunning, First Methodist Church, Los Angeles.  
 42. Rev. L. L. Dunnington, Methodist Church, Iowa City, Iowa.

Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1947 Ballot, page 2.

## EXHIBIT 9 (PART 3)

43. Miss Clara Dutrow, Secretary-Treasurer, West Oklahoma MFSAs.  
 ✓ 44. Rev. Harold Ehrensparger, Editor, Motive Magazine, Nashville.  
 45. Dr. Guy Fox, Administrator, Denver Public Schools, Colorado.  
 46. Rev. Edwin Garrison, Methodist Church, Wabash, Indiana.  
 47. Rev. Victor V. Goff, Director, Wesley Foundation, University of California, Berkeley.  
 ✓ 48. Rev. Albert Green, Methodist Church, Lamar, S. C.  
 49. Mr. John M. Grove, Frederick, Maryland.  
 50. Rev. Armand Guerrero, Methodist Pastor, Chicago, Illinois.  
 51. Mr. Carey Haigler, Regional Director, CIO, Birmingham, Alabama.  
 52. Rev. William Hairston, Methodist Church, Reidsville, N. C.  
 53. Mr. Martin Hall, author and lecturer, Los Angeles, California.  
 54. Dr. Royal Hall, Chrmn, Division of Social Sciences, Albion College.  
 55. Rev. Paul G. Hayes, McCabe Methodist Church, Bismarck, N. D.  
 56. Dr. John Haywood, President, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta.  
 57. Rev. L. E. Hazard, Professor of Religious Education, Illinois Wesleyan University.  
 58. Rev. R. K. Heacock, Pastor, Methodist Church, Llano, Texas.  
 59. Rev. A. A. Heintz, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles, California.  
 60. Rev. Myron Herrell, Methodist Church, Hayward, California.  
 61. Rev. Chester Hodgson, Methodist Pastor, Newark, New Jersey.  
 62. Dr. Mary Alice Hoover, physician, Tacoma, Washington.  
 63. Mr. George A. Horne, consulting engineer, New York City.  
 64. Miss Elizabeth Howe, Bellevue, Pennsylvania.  
 ✓ 65. Mr. I. H. Hull, Secretary, Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Assn., Indianapolis, Indiana.  
 66. Dr. Harold Hutson, Professor, Ohio Wesleyan University.  
 67. Dr. Charles Wesley Igelhart, Professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York.  
 ✓ 68. Mrs. Grace Jenkins, President, Portland District MFSAs, Oregon.  
 69. Miss R. Elizabeth Johnn, Secretary, Student Christian Movement, New England Region, Boston.  
 ✓ 70. Professor Emmett S. Johnson, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.  
 71. Rev. Andrew Juvinall, Methodist Church, Stockton, Calif.  
 ✓ 72. Bishop Paul J. Kern, Nashville Area.  
 ✓ 73. Rev. Elaine Kirkpatrick, Methodist Church, Indianapolis.  
 74. Rev. John Kirby, Methodist Church, Fairhaven, New Jersey.  
 75. Rev. George S. Lackland, Pastor, Indianaola Methodist Church, Columbus, Ohio.  
 76. Professor John C. Lazebny, Wisconsin State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.  
 77. Professor C. F. Littleell, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.  
 78. Rev. Nat G. Long, Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga.  
 79. Mrs. Ford H. Longsorff, officer, Louisiana Conference MFSAs.  
 80. Dr. Harold Luccock, Professor, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.  
 81. Mr. Jesse Mall, locomotive engineer, Hoisington, Kansas.  
 82. Rev. Ray F. Magnuson, Pastor, Waverly, Nebraska.  
 83. Mr. William P. Mason, shoe manufacturer, St. Louis, Mo.; District Ley Leader.  
 84. Miss Ethel K. Millar, Librarian, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.  
 85. Dr. John C. Millian, Petworth Meth. Ch., Washington, D.C.  
 86. Rev. Theodore Miner, Methodist Church, Fishkill, N. Y.  
 87. Mr. William Mitch, United Mine Workers, Birmingham, Ala.  
 88. Rev. Dr. Alfred Moore, Exec. Secy. Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, Foreign Missions Conf.  
 ✓ 89. Rev. John V. Murray, Jr., Pastor, Bethune, South Carolina.  
 90. Miss Eleanor Neff, Assoc. Secy., Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Women's Division of Christian Service, N. Y.  
 91. Miss Candis Nelson, Dean Emeritus, Seattle Pacific College.  
 92. Rev. J. Pierce Newell, District Superintendent, Madison, Wisconsin.  
 93. Dr. Charles Noble, Dean, Syracuse University, New York.  
 94. Miss Marian L. Morris, Secy., Wesleyan Service Guild, Women's Division of Christian Service, N. Y.  
 95. Rev. Spencer E. Owens, District Superintendent, Albion, Michigan.  
 ✓ 96. Rev. James Pless, Methodist Church, Chattanooga, Tenn.  
 97. Mrs. G. W. Pomeroy, Louisiana Conf., Secy. of Christian Social Relations, Women's Division of Christian Service.  
 98. Rev. Fred G. Poole, Exec. Secy., Board of Education, Detroit Conference.  
 99. Mrs. Fred G. Poole, social worker, Division Chrmn, Christian Social Relations for Wesleyan Service Guild, Detroit.  
 100. Rev. George Poor, Methodist Pastor, Seattle, Washington.  
 101. Rev. Robert Powell, Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.  
 102. Dr. Karl Quimby, Ridgewood, N. J.  
 ✓ 103. Dr. Harris F. Rail, Prof. Emer. Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.  
 ✓ 104. Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Mississippi; President, Southeastern Jurisdiction, Women's Division.  
 105. Rev. W. Neal Raver, Chrmn, Social Action Comm., N. J. Conf.  
 106. Rev. Ensworth Reisner, Pastor, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.  
 107. Dr. Lloyd H. Rising, University Meth. Ch., Lincoln, Neb.  
 108. Miss Miriam V. Ristine, Exec. Secy., Bureau of Social Welfare, Women's Division of Christian Service; N. Y.

EXHIBIT 9 (PART 4)

✓ 106. Dr. John Rustin, Mt. Vernon Pl. Meth. Ch., Washington, D.C.  
 110. Rev. Don Schooler, Epworth Meth. Ch., Chickasha, Okla.  
 111. Dr. Harvey Seifert, Professor, Graduate School of Religion, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.  
 ✓ 112. Rev. Claude Singleton, Director, Wesley Foundation, Univ. of Georgia, Athens.  
 ✓ 113. Dr. W. A. Smart, Professor, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Georgia.  
 114. Prof. Huston Smith, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.  
 115. Mr. Chester A. Smith, Exec. Comm. member, N. Y. Conf. MFSA.  
 116. Rev. Eugene L. Smith, St. Mark's Meth. Ch., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 117. Rev. Kenneth Smith, Colorado Springs; Exec. Comm. member, Colorado Conference MFSA.  
 118. Rev. Vaughn Smith, Director, Wesley Foundation, University of Oklahoma, Norman.  
 119. Dr. Ralph Sockman, Christ Methodist Church, New York City.  
 120. Rev. Elgar Soper, New Windsor, Maryland; President, Baltimore and Washington, D.C. MFSA Chapters.  
 ✓ 121. Rev. Carl Soule, World Peace Commission, Chicago, Ill.  
 122. Miss Martha Stewart, Secy-Treas. Texas Conference MFSA.  
 123. Miss Elizabeth Stinson, Atlanta, Georgia.  
 ✓ 124. Rev. Everett M. Stow, Comm. on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, New York City.  
 125. Dr. Samuel H. Sweeney, St. Mark's Meth. Ch., N. Y. C.  
 126. Rev. Daniel Taylor, Methodist Pastor, Vancouver, Wash.  
 127. Dr. Joseph W. Thompson, St. Joseph, Missouri.  
 128. Rev. D. W. Throckmorton, Pastor, Modesto, California.  
 129. Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, First Meth. Ch., Evanston, Ill.  
 130. Rev. Frank Tootherer, Pastor, Oakland, California.  
 ✓ 131. Dr. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Pastor, Dearborn, Michigan; Chairman, MFSA Labor Commission.  
 ✓ 132. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor Emeritus of Social Ethics, Union Theological Seminary; Former Secretary, MFSA.  
 133. Rev. Bradford G. Webster, Pastor, Gowanda, New York.  
 134. Mr. Charles E. Wegner, Exec. Secy., Goodwill Industries, St. Paul, Minnesota.  
 ✓ 135. Rev. Wilson Weldon, Methodist Pastor, High Point, N. C.  
 ✓ 136. Rev. Bruce Wendt, Methodist Pastor, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 ✓ 137. Mr. Paul Wengert, farmer, Idaho Falls, Idaho.  
 ✓ 138. Dr. John Clark Williams, Pastor, Sabina, Ohio.  
 ✓ 139. Rev. Morgan Williams, First Meth. Ch., Kankakee, Ill.  
 ✓ 140. Dr. R. S. Wimberley, attorney-at-law, Lumpkin, Ga., officer, South Georgia Conference MFSA.  
 ✓ 141. Dr. Loyd Worley, First Methodist Church, Stamford, Conn.  
 ✓ 142. Rev. Nelson Wurgler, Methodist Pastor, Marfa, Texas.  
 ✓ *Youth Members*  
 ✓ 143. Mr. Robert F. Barker, Vice Pres., Wesley Foundation, Ohio University.  
 ✓ 144. Mr. Robert Bobilin, Adrian College, Michigan, former Chairman, Youth Section, MFSA.  
 ✓ 145. Mrs. Dorothy Burnham, Southern Negro Congress, Birmingham.  
 ✓ 146. Mr. George Crawford, Founder, Austin local chapter, Texas.  
 ✓ 147. Miss Helen Crotwell, teacher, Fort Valley, Georgia.  
 ✓ 148. Mr. Robert Eddy, President, Troy Conference MFSA; N. Y.  
 ✓ 149. Mr. Harry Jurey, former chrm, Young Adult Fellowship, East Oklahoma Conference; now in California.  
 ✓ 150. Mr. Richard Stein, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The minimum annual contribution for voting membership is \$5.00 for adults and \$2.00 for youths (25 years of age or under).

I vote for all nominees except where otherwise indicated.

(Signature)

(address)

(City) (State)

## EXHIBIT 10, part 1

Methodist Federation for Social Action  
BALLOT

Only paid-up voting members may vote. If in arrears, please send dues in with the ballot.

## Nominations for Executive Committee

These officers and executive committee nominees were elected by the National Membership Meeting at Wilberforce. Your confirmation is requested; you may substitute names throughout the ballot if you wish. Officers are automatically on the Executive Committee.

## PRESIDENT (vote for 1)

Bishop Francis J. McConnell

## VICE PRESIDENTS (vote for 5)

Bishop James C. Baker  
 Bishop Lewis O. Hartman  
 Dean Walter Melder  
 Bishop Donald Tippett  
 Rev. Edgar Wahlberg

## RECORDING SECRETARY (vote for 1)

Dr. Edgar Love

## TREASURER (vote for 1)

Dr. Gilbert Q. Le Bourd

## ASSISTANT TREASURER (vote for 1)

Mr. William W. Reid

## Members-at-Large (Vote for 50)

1. Dr. Wade C. Barclay, past editor, Soc. QUES. BULL.  
 2. Rev. Lee Ball, New Paltz, N. Y.; MFSA Adminis. Comm.  
 3. Dr. Albert Barnett, Prof., Candler School of Theology.  
 4. Dr. Theo. Bobilin, Dist. Supt., New York East Conference.  
 5. Bishop J. W. E. Bowen, Atlanta Area.  
 6. Bishop Charles W. Brachare, Des Moines Area.  
 7. Dr. James P. Brawley, Pres., Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.  
 8. Rev. Burns Brodhead, Phila. Conf. Com. on World Peace.  
 9. Rev. William T. Brown, Commission on World Peace, N.Y.  
 10. Rev. Mark Chamberlin, Ex. Secy., Portland Area MFSA.  
 11. Dr. Gilbert S. Cox, North Iowa MFSA.  
 12. Dr. Henry H. Crane, Cent. Meth. Church, Detroit, Mich.  
 13. Miss Doris Dennison, Ed. of Educ., Nashville, Tenn.  
 13a. Prof. Harold du Wolf, B. U. School of Theol.  
 14. Rev. Paul DuBois, New York East MFSA.  
 15. Mr. E. J. Fricke, President, Indiana State MFSA.  
 16. Rev. Paul Friedrich, MFSA Ad. Com., Long Branch, N. J.  
 17. Rev. Armand Guerrero, Chicago MFSA.  
 18. Dr. Corliss P. Hargraves, MFSA (Admin. Committee).  
 19. Rev. George Harper, Editor, *Concern*. . . .  
 20. Rev. George Hodges, Pres., Newark Conference MFSA.  
 21. Dr. Russell Humbert, N. E. Ohio Conference MFSA.  
 22. Rev. Edgar Jackson, N.Y.E. Conf. Social Serv. Comm.  
 23. Mrs. J. D. Kilgore, Pac. N. W. MFSA; Tracyton, Wash.  
 24. Rev. Jack Klein, Wisconsin MFSA.  
 25. Rev. Fred MacKenzie, South Dakota.  
 26. Mr. Jesse Mall, locomotive engineer, Hoisington, Kan.  
 27. Rev. Edward S. Martin, St. Paul MFSA.  
 28. Dr. Clyde Miller, MFSA Com. on Propaganda Analysis.  
 29. Mrs. Floyd Mulkey, Member, Comm. on Citizenship, etc.  
 30. Rev. J. Pierce Newell, West Wisconsin MFSA.  
 31. Miss Dorothy Nyland, Board of Missions.  
 32. Rev. Spencer B. Owens, Dist. Supt., Michigan Conference.  
 33. Rev. Edward Peet, Mill Valley, Calif.  
 34. Rev. Warner Peters, Lebanon, Ill.  
 35. Rev. Roy Pfaff, Pres., Iowa, Des Moines MFSA.  
 36. Rev. George Poor, Pres., Pacific Northwest MFSA.  
 37. Bishop Glenn Phillips, Denver Area.  
 38. Mr. Darrell Randall, Board of Missions.  
 39. Rev. H. M. Ratliff, S. W. Texas MFSA.

## EXHIBIT 10, part 2

40. Mrs. W. H. Battliff, Pres., S.E. Jurisdiction, WSCB.  
 41. Miss Matilda Saxton, Dept. of Christian Social Relations.  
 42. Dr. Eugene Seubert, Pres., St. Louis MFSA.  
 43. Dr. Ralph Sockman, Pastor, Christ Church, N. Y. City.  
 44. Dr. Carl Soule, Methodist Commission on World Peace.  
 45. Miss Thelma Stevens, Woman's Div. of Christian Service.  
 46. Rev. James Rhinecum, MFSA Admin. Comm., Long Island.  
 47. Dr. Samuel Sweeney, St. Mark's Church, N. Y. City.  
 48. Dr. Dillon W. Throckmorton, Dist. Supt., Calif.-Nev. Conf.  
 49. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, S.E. Jurisdiction.  
 50. Rev. Frank Tothaker, Dist. Supt., So. Calif. Aris. Conf.  
 51. Dr. Willard Uphaus, Natl. Relig. & Labor Foundation.  
 52. Mr. James Wendell, Washington Sq. Meth. Church, NYC.  
 53. Rev. Bruce Wendorf, Oxford, Ohio.  
 54. Rev. Wayne White, Chairman, Admin. Com., MFSA.  
 55. Rev. Elwin Wilson, Orono, Maine.  
 56. Dr. Loyd Worley, First Meth. Church, Stamford, Conn.  
 57. Dr. Ruth Wolcott, physician, Spirit Lake, Iowa.

*Youth Members*

58. Mr. Chester Chambers, Pres., Garrett MFSA.  
 59. Mr. Jameson Jones, Pres., Natl. Conf. of Methodist Youth.  
 60. Mr. Howard Linnard, Austin, Texas MFSA.  
 61. Mr. Mark Rouch, Boston Univ. School of Theology MFSA.  
 62. Mr. James Cox, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio.  
 63. Shirley Reece, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.  
 64. Mr. James M. Lawson, Baldwin-Wallace Coll., Berea, Ohio.

## Nominations for National Committee

1. Rev. Leon Adkins, Troy Conference MFSA.  
 2. Rev. Charles Aldrich, Erie MFSA.  
 3. Rev. Albert Allinger, Cranford, N. J.  
 4. Rev. Lester Ward Auman, Dist. Supt., NYE Conference.  
 5. Rev. George C. Baker, Dallas, Texas.  
 6. Rev. Rufus C. Baker, Dist. Supt., Colorado Conference.  
 7. Rev. Archey Ball, Paterson, N. J.  
 8. Rev. Robert Bergmark, South West Texas MFSA.  
 9. Dr. Irwin I. Beiler, Miami University, Florida.  
 10. Mr. J. E. Berry, manufacturer, Columbus, Kan.  
 11. Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Comm. on World Peace, Chicago.  
 12. Mr. A. M. Bottorf, farmer, Nebraska.  
 13. Mr. Harold Burns, Editor and pub., New Wilmington, Pa.  
 14. Dr. Edwin A. Brown, pastor and labor rela. expert, Ohio.  
 15. Dr. Emory Buck, Editor, *Zion's Herald*.  
 16. Rev. Donald Campbell, Idaho Conference MFSA.  
 17. Mr. A. M. Carter, leading layman, Savannah Conference.  
 18. Rev. Eugene Carter, Iowa-Des Moines MFSA.  
 19. Miss Winnifred Chappell, former office secy., MFSA.  
 20. Rev. Don Chase, California-Nevada MFSA.  
 21. Rev. James Chubb, Board of Evangelism, Nebraska.  
 22. Rev. George Clary, Sr., Savannah, Ga.  
 23. Dr. George A. Coe, Prof. Emeritus, Union Theol. Seminary.  
 24. Dr. Russell Compton, Religion Prof., Hamline Univ., St. Paul.  
 25. Rev. Earl Champion, Delaware Conf. (*Philadelphia*).  
 26. Mr. Harry Denman, Bd. of Evangelism, Nashville.  
 27. Mr. Carl Davis, cooperative leader, Wisconsin.  
 28. Dr. James Dunning, First Methodist Church, Los Angeles.  
 29. Rev. L. L. Dunnington, Iowa City.  
 30. Rev. Forrest Fields, Oklahoma City.  
 31. Rev. Gaston Footh, Grace Methodist Church, Dayton, Ohio.  
 32. Rev. Hugh Fouke, Northeast Ohio MFSA.  
 33. Rev. Victor Goff, Wesley Foundation Dir., Univ. of Calif.  
 34. Prof. Eldredge Brewster, Salina, Kansas.  
 35. Rev. M. E. Dorr, North Iowa MFSA.  
 36. Rev. Clayton C. Adkins, Pres., Pittsburgh MFSA.  
 37. Mrs. Robert K. Gordon, WSCB leader, South Carolina.  
 38. Rev. A. Raymond Grant, California-Nevada MFSA.  
 39. Rev. Wilber Gross, St. Paul.  
 40. Mr. John M. Grove, Dir. of Bible Class Work, Baltimore.  
 41. Mr. Cary Higler, labor leader, Birmingham.  
 42. Rev. Frank A. Hamilton, Evansville, Ind.  
 43. Rev. Therman Harris, New Mexico MFSA.  
 44. Rev. Paul G. Hayes, Minnesota.  
 45. Dr. John Haywood, Comm. on World Peace, Washington.  
 46. Rev. R. K. Hazecock, Southwest Texas MFSA.  
 47. Rev. Neyland Hester, Dallas, Texas.  
 48. Miss Sadie Hill, Chicago MFSA.  
 49. Rev. Robert C. Howe, Pittsfield, Mass.  
 50. Mrs. Mary C. Hyde, League of Women Voters, Nebraska.  
 51. Rev. Herbert Jeckman, Nebraska MFSA.  
 52. Prof. Emmett S. Johnson, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.  
 53. Dr. David Jones, President, Bennett College, N. C.  
 54. Bishop Robert E. Jones, Gulfside, Miss.  
 55. Rev. Andrew Juvalin, Stockton, Calif.  
 56. Rev. J. Clyde Keegan, Dist. Supt., Wyoming State Conf.  
 57. Bishop Gerald Kennedy, Portland Area.  
 58. Mr. Chester Kingbury, printer, Seattle.  
 59. Rev. Herbert Lowe, Mount Vernon, N. Y.  
 60. Prof. C. F. Little, Cornell College, Iowa.  
 61. Rev. W. E. Longfret, Missouri Conf. MFSA.  
 62. Mr. William L. Mason, retired shoe manufacturer, St. Louis.  
 63. Rev. R. S. Moby, Dist. Supt., West Texas Conf., Ft. Worth.  
 64. Prof. Arthur Munk, Wesley College, N. Dak.  
 65. Rev. Jessie Murrell, Kentucky Conf. MFSA.  
 66. Rev. Clarence T. B. Nelson, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 67. Miss Marian Norris, Secy., Wesleyan Serv. Guild, N. Y. City.  
 68. Rev. Estel I. Ogle, North West Indians MFSA.  
 69. Rev. James Perry, Montpelier, Vt.  
 70. Dr. Lyndon Phifer, Ed. of Education, Nashville.  
 71. Dr. Harris F. Ball, Prof. Emeritus, Garrett Biblical Inst.  
 72. Rev. Robert Rankin, Dir. of Relig. Activ., Oberlin Coll., Ohio.  
 73. Bishop Marshall Reed, Detroit Area.  
 74. Dr. Arthur Raper, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.  
 75. Rev. Henry Lee Robison, Jr., Virginia.  
 76. Rev. John Rustin, Washington, D. C.  
 77. Rev. Rodney Shaw, United World Federalist leader, Wis.  
 78. Rev. Gilbert Sherman, Salem Methodist Church, N. Y. City.  
 79. Mr. Chester A. Smith, New York Conf. MFSA.  
 80. Rev. Kenneth Smith, Colorado MFSA.  
 81. Rev. Sumpter M. Riley, Jr., Lexington Conf. MFSA, Chicago.  
 82. Rev. Henry A. Simmons, Ohio Conf. MFSA.  
 83. Rev. Leland Spurrier, South West Area MFSA.  
 84. Rev. James Stovall, Louisiana Conf. MFSA.  
 85. Rev. Everett Stowe, World Council of Christian Edu., NYC.  
 86. Dr. Joseph Thompson, Missouri Conf. Board of Education.  
 87. Miss Mildred Thompson, Social Worker, St. Paul MFSA.  
 88. Rev. Albert E. Tuck, Litchfield, Minn.  
 89. Rev. Andrew Turnipseed, Alabama Conf. MFSA.  
 90. Mrs. A. L. Voigt, WSCB, San Antonio, Texas.  
 91. Rev. W. B. Walmire, Madison, Wis.  
 92. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Prof. Emer., Union Theological Sem.  
 93. Rev. William Campbell Waaser, Colorado MFSA.  
 94. Miss Dorothy Weber, Woman's Div. of Christian Service.  
 95. Rev. Bradford G. Webster, Genesee Conf. MFSA.  
 96. Rev. M. J. Wilcox, Montana MFSA.  
 97. Mr. James Wilson, Missionary Teacher, Nagasaki, Japan.  
 98. Mr. R. S. Wimberly, lawyer, Lumpkin, Ga.  
 99. Mrs. Frank L. Wright, active lay woman, St. Louis, Mo.  
 100. Rev. Nelson Wurgler, Marfa, Texas.

SIGNATURE

(Tear off pages 27-28 and mail in.)

