

Gauntlet for Truman

President Could Answer McCarthy
By Backing Inquiry into China Lobby

By Doris Fleeson

The Truman Administration has it within its power to build a backfire to Senator McCarthy's charges in the form of an investigation of the China lobby.

Owen Lattimore has all but invited them to do it. In his defense against the Senator's charges, the Johns Hopkins Far Eastern expert made very clear his opinion that Senator McCarthy's Edgar Bergen is the China lobby. What Washington understands that to mean is the large collection of old China hands and politically influential lawyers who join with Nationalist China's diplomats to keep Chiang Kai-shek's cause alive.



Doris Fleeson.

Two committees are instantly available for the job. The House has a lobby committee headed by Representative Frank Buchanan, Democrat, of Pennsylvania. The Senate empowered the Tydings subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee to examine Communist infiltration into the State Department. The subcommittee would not have to stretch its authority very far if it decided to go into the question of the origin of the charges against the department.

Symington Action Recalled.

In discussions among Democrats of what turn the McCarthy inquiry might take, bolder spirits are recalling the House investigation of charges against the Air Force's procurement of the B-36. These charges boomeranged because Secretary of the Air Force Symington courageously insisted upon full airing of the charges and then was able to insist also that their sources be similarly ventilated.

There can be no doubt that the harvest of an investigation of the China lobby would include

faces among the Democrats. They are the party in power and the Chinese have naturally looked to them for what is euphemistically called in Washington legal advice.

The American people, however, have a direct and personal interest in how China has employed the millions spent in her behalf. No one authentic source has ever told that story though it is one of the favorite topics of the whispering galleries.

Basically, misuse of United States materials and money is the case against Chiang's government; it is the reason assigned by the Administration for the failure in China.

Connally's Quip.

Chairman Connally of the Foreign Relations Committee put that case in his own inimitable language on the Senate floor during debate on China policy. "The trouble with old Chiang," he said, "is that he doesn't Generalissimo enough." The State Department not only admits the truth of that; it has some very sound information about Chiang's weaknesses.

Because it would serve the Communist cause, such information has been soft-pedaled. It may still be that the Administration will not care to defend itself by an offensive against Chiang and his associates.

President Truman's problem is two-fold. Senator McCarthy's charges are hurting him and his party with an election coming up this fall. More important, they hamper him in his ability to make decisions about Far Eastern policy by forcing him to cater to the pro-Chiang sentiment.

There will be no China lobby inquiry unless and until the President gives the word. Too much is involved. But the possibility will be put to him promptly

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THESE DAYS

By George Sokolsky

MY DEAR SEN. TYDINGS:
I recall that when Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to purge you, you stood up and fought and lifted him. That was a grand fight and you showed yourself to be an independent man.
I have culled your record and find nothing in it that would ever have led me to believe that you would permit yourself to be used for any reason whatsoever, to protect a gang of mug-shots who have brought our beloved country close to disaster.
Some say that you are, in a manner, protecting your father-in-law, "Mission to Moscow" Joe Davies. I do not believe it.
THE pseudo-intellectualism of Joe Davies, the playing at being a liberal, the ostentatious yacht, the entertainment of Red and Pinks, and much else that we need not discuss here, must be offensive to you as a man of good taste.
The fact is, however, that the committee which you head and which bears your name is not doing its work in accordance with the resolution of the Senate or even in accordance with propriety. You are not getting down to bed rock. What your committee seems to be attempting to do is that Sen. Joe McCarthy is a crazy bum.
You were not, in the first place, appointed to do that. You were appointed to investigate the infiltration of Communists in the State department. See only even if you succeeded in ridiculing Sen. McCarthy, it would not change the situation.
THE WILLIAM A. WIRT, back in 1919, was made to appear ridiculous but the Hiss case in 1950 proved him to have been right.

The Dies committee was made to appear ridiculous, but its files and indices are today the most valuable record the country has in a tough period.
Rep. George A. Dondero was made to look ridiculous when he fought to keep the "Amerasia" case alive, but we now know, five years later, that he was right.
SEN. BRIDGES was attacked for his criticisms of the State department China policy, but what he said has been proved by the course of events.
Rep. Nixon was called a headline hunter, but he did produce the pumpkin which sent Alger Hiss to his destiny.
I tell you that what Sen. McCarthy is shouting about has substance. You might silence McCarthy, but you cannot destroy the substance of his argument.
WHY should you, of all people, even try to do such a thing?
May I make a suggestion to you?
1. All this trouble starts with the organization of the Harold Ware Communist cell in Washington in 1934. I have written much on it, but I have not scratched the surface. If you really want to know what has happened in the State department, go about it systematically. Start with the Harold Ware Communist cell.
2. Then go to the "Amerasia" case. Call General William Donovan, Archbold van Beuren, Frank B. Bielaski, J. Edgar Hoover, Myron Guerne, Frederick Lyon, Robert M. Hitchcock, Donald Anderson, and Philip J. Jaffe, Kate Mitchell, John S. Service, Emmanuel S. Jansen, Andrew Roth and Mark Gwyn.

YOU cannot convict those guilty of espionage because of double jeopardy and the statute of limitations. But if your committee does an honest job, they will fall by perjury and contempt.
I know much about the case, but I assure you that what I know is a pittance compared to what you will discover by a proper and systematic investigation.
May I suggest to you that you can have the assistance of the OSS and FBI men, who are outraged that their difficult and risky work, in a major espionage case, has gone by the board.
Make a thorough investigation of our China policy, noting the change of personnel from experts to amateurs in the State department, beginning about 1937 and running to this day. Also move into the Treasury to discover how we wrecked China's economy before we ditched the Nationalists politically.
Investigate the work of Charles Kramer and Harold Glasser and see where you arrive.
This is a major operation that I am suggesting and one that will serve America. It will also serve you, for Americans will then know you for what you are—an American first, of all.
Respectfully yours,
George E. Sokolsky.
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INDEXED - 43

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Page

Times-Herald ✓
Wash. Post _____
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Date: APR 1 1951

Senators' Protection

By Marquis Childs

Immunity And Discipline

THE DAMAGE suffered by individuals who fall victim to reckless and irresponsible behavior done under the cloak of congressional immunity is immediately apparent. The damage to our institutions is not so apparent.

But it is nonetheless real and it raises some disturbing questions about what has been happening during recent weeks as a result of Senator McCarthy's indiscriminate charges. Several of the injured individuals have challenged the Senator to say without the protection of his congressional immunity what he has said under that privilege. While seeming to meet this challenge, he has in fact evaded it.

They would sue him for libel or slander if he made the same charge without immunity. It is fairly clear that such a suit could be sustained if witnesses could be found who would swear that Senator McCarthy repeated privately off the floor what he had said under privilege.

I had an experience which throws some light on this. Former Senator Joseph Guffey of Pennsylvania charged on the floor of the Senate that I had been paid by a large oil company for writing a story about oil deals in Mexico involving Guffey and John L. Lewis. I learned he had said the same thing to reporters off the floor and I brought suit for slander. After a number of depositions had been taken, Guffey officially apologized on the Senate floor. There was no claim of immunity.

No one can question the right of a legislator to say what he pleases with immunity from prosecution for his remarks. This goes back to the moths of parliamentary history, and it has been repeatedly sustained by the courts.



Childs

In his *Commentaries on the Constitution* the distinguished American jurist, Joseph Story, held that while the legislator was privileged to make the speech, publication of it would subject him to a charge of libel. Story wrote:

"No man ought to have the right to defame others under the color of a performance of the duties of his office. And if he does so in the actual discharge of his duties in the Congress, that furnishes no reason why he should be able, through the medium of the press, to destroy the reputation and invade the repose of other citizens. It is neither within the scope of his duty nor in the furtherance of public rights or public policy. Every citizen has as good a right to be protected by the law from malignant scandal and false charges and defamatory imputations as

a member of Congress has to utter them in his seat. If it were otherwise, a man's character might be taken away without the possibility of redress, either by the malice or indiscretion or overweening self-conceit of a member of Congress."

Later decisions of the courts altered this construction. Bona fide publication was held to be immune from the charge of libel or slander. But, plainly, the responsibility of the legislator was to be assumed as the following from the decision of a Federal court in Washington expresses it:

"Presumably legislators will be restrained in the exercise of such a privilege by the responsibilities of their office. Moreover, in the event of their failure in that regard, they will be subject to discipline by their colleagues."

THERE ARE many, including some Senators themselves, who believe the Senate has suffered damage from the McCarthy affair. This includes Republicans who have disassociated themselves from the McCarthy attacks.

Under the Constitution the Senate and the House have the authority to make their own rules. This includes the right to expel a member for improper behavior by a two thirds vote.

Improper behavior has been taken to mean a crime of the first magnitude, such as treason or some act of moral turpitude. In recent years two members of the Senate were expelled, but they were expelled for acts of fraud committed in their election campaigns. Although they had been allowed to take their seats in the Senate, they had not participated in the Senate's business because of the suspected fraud.

As has been often said, the Senate has many of the attributes of a very exclusive club. The members jealously guard their rights and privileges. Some years ago the charge of homosexuality was imputed against one Senator and the ranks of his fellow members quickly closed round him in defense.

But the public in this instance is entitled at the very least to know the circumstances behind the outbreak. In particular, the influence of the Nationalist China lobby and its paid representatives should be brought to light. If reports of the lobby's role are even partly true, here is an extraordinary instance of the representatives, paid agents and advocates of a foreign power creating something close to chaos in the conduct of American foreign policy. And in the process harm has been done to the institutions of free government.

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Joseph McCarthy

Page

Times-Herald _____
Wash. Post _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N.Y. Mirror _____

INDEXED - 5

JUL 1 1950

Date: 4/12/50

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INVESTIGATION by senate foreign relations committee in state department brings to witness J. Edgar Hoover (left) and Attorney General J. Howard W. Edwards (right). Nichols, assistant FBI director, and Peyton Ford,...

Sunday
CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
Picture Section Edition

Date APR 16 1950

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More Witnesses Listed by McCarthy To Support Charges

Senator Won't Reveal Names of Pair, Says Both Worked for FBI

By Cecil Holland

Senator McCarthy announced today he has lined up two more witnesses he said will support his charges that the State Department harbors Communists and fellow travelers.

He made the announcement shortly after returning from New York where he said he conferred with the witnesses.

The Wisconsin Republican refused to reveal their names. He said one is a former undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation who joined the Communist Party to carry on his work.

The other, Senator McCarthy said, is a former FBI agent who was engaged in counter-espionage work.

Will Give Names to Counsel.

Senator McCarthy said he would give their names this afternoon to Edward P. Morgan, general counsel of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating his charges.

He added that he would ask that subpoenas be issued for them. He also said he plans to give the committee the names of one or two more witnesses "in the next few days."

Senator McCarthy said the two witnesses would "corroborate and supplement the Budenz testimony."

This was in reference to Louis F. Budenz, 59, former Communist Party member who has been subpoenaed to testify before the Senate group Thursday.

Called in Lattimore Case.

Mr. Budenz, now a Fordham University professor, was called at Senator McCarthy's request. The Wisconsin Republican said that Mr. Budenz would support his charges that Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert, is or was a member of the Communist Party.

Senator McCarthy also charged that Mr. Lattimore was Russia's top spy in this country and has exerted an important influence in the shaping of American policy in the Far East. He has said he would let his charges against the State Department "stand or fall" on the Lattimore case.

turning from Afghanistan. In a letter to yesterday, Mr. S. McCarthy said he has never been "a Communist, advocate of communism, a saboteur of American policy, an espionage agent, or any of the other things of which I have been accused."

The State Department official, called back from the Orient to appear before the department's loyalty board and to answer the McCarthy charges, offered in his letter to assist the Senate investigation as soon as the review of his record has been completed.

A group of Maryland Republicans declared that Senator Tydings has acted "in an extremely unjudicious manner" in handling the investigation and asked for his withdrawal as chairman of the inquiry group.

Communists

(Continued From First Page.)

day on his return from New York, "is progressing in a satisfactory way."

Notes Tydings Statement.

He also noted that Chairman Tydings, of the Senate group, had announced yesterday that a secret investigation will be made into all phases of the charges against the State Department.

"I won't believe it until I see it," Senator McCarthy said. "But it is a good sign. It is the first sign we've had that Tydings and McMahon aren't completely dedicated to the proposition that the truth about Communists and perverts must not come out."

Senator McMahon of Connecticut is one of the three Democratic members of the investigating subcommittee. He and Senator McCarthy have clashed heatedly at times.

In his announcement yesterday Senator Tydings said the "new avenues of investigation" will include the Amerasia Magazine case of 1945. This involved the alleged theft of secret State Department documents and other papers.

Senator Tydings refused to say what prompted the investigators to turn to the Amerasia case or to comment on the secret phases of the investigation.

"For obvious reasons," he said, "the facts will be more easily developed without their being publicized."

Senator McCarthy had brought up the Amerasia case in charging before the committee that John S. Service, veteran State Department career officer, had Communist leanings. Mr. Service was involved with five other persons in the Amerasia case. A Federal Grand Jury exonerated him and he was restored to duty in the State Department. Two of the six were fined on charges of conspiring to remove Government documents.

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The demand was made by the Republican Activities Committee in a letter to Vice President Barkley. It referred to Senator Tydings' statement that FBI records had cleared Mr. Lattimore of the McCarthy charges and said that the Maryland Senator had "abrogated the power of his fellow committeemen."

The letter, signed by Executive Secretary David A. Halley, said Senator Tydings announced the clearance "before the case against Prof. Lattimore has been presented." Two Republican members of the investigating committee took issue with Senator Tydings after his announcement that the files had cleared Mr. Lattimore.

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Wash. Post _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star 1 & A
N.Y. Mirror _____
Date: 4-18-50

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Day's News... J. E. Hoover Finds Regrets

...in the House... When an... House appropri... committee gives... all the addition... it asks and recom... salary raise for... aides, there must be a... is the story today of... Hoover, chief of the... now in his twenty-sixth... the G-men. With... doubt Hoover today... the greatest prestige... life-time career as a pub... servant and can just about... anything he wants from... His few congressional... who in peace time... the FBI had too much... are now singing the... praises and are in the... to give the FBI anything... wants.

The House committee is ready... four million dollars in... funds with which to... seven hundred more FBI... They would help reduce... backlog of almost 14 thou... pending security investiga... Hoover's 16-thousand-dol... salary would be increased to... thousand dollars.

Hoover is far from a hap... satisfied official. The furor... caused by Senator Joseph R... McCarthy's charges that the... State Department is infested... with Communists is embarrass... ing to the FBI director. He has... conferred at length behind... closed doors with members of... the Senate committee named to... hear McCarthy's charges. He... has been under fire for his rec... commendation that the secret... of the FBI not be laid open... to the public despite McCarthy's... insistence.

Hoover never holds press con... ferences and seldom appears in... public. It can be revealed how... ever, that he regrets the Mc...

Carthy spy hunt and would... rather talk about the Govern... ment's success in prosecuting... Harry Bridges, Alger Hiss and... Judith Coplon, or the capture... of Dr. Klaus Fuchs.

In discussing the current Mc... Carthy situation, Hoover enjoys... reminding friends that every... case to date in which the FBI... has found a case for prosecu... tion of a Communist, the person... has been convicted.

One gets the impression from... talking informally with Hoover... that there is nothing in the FBI... files to indicate any question of... the loyalty of Owen Lattimore, John Hopkins University profes... sor and long-time expert on... China and the Far East.

Hoover returned from a quick... inspection trip to Midwest FBI... agencies. He admitted he found... persons with whom he talked... considerably agitated over the... McCarthy charges. He declines... to state his own opinion but... said that the rank and file away... from Washington are inclined... to criticize the State Depart... ment.

The FBI director has never... voted, nor did his parents ahead... of him. He says he doesn't... know whether he is a Democrat... or a Republican. His record... shows he gets along equally well... with both parties. However, he... shows considerable irritation... that the McCarthy investigation... has sunk to the low level of... "partisan politics." Because of... this, he indicates his belief that... the inquiry will end in confusion... He feels it is no wonder that the... public is puzzled over the go... ings-on here.

When in a relaxed mood Hoo... ver is one of the most charm... ing men in public life. He thinks... and talks with trip-hammer pre... cision and speed, so well is he... able to express his thoughts... He makes a point of difference...

between some one who is ac... cused of being a foreign agent... and of one of doubtful security... risk and one who is accused only... of disloyalty.

Hoover places considerable... emphasis on what he terms "ap... praisal by association." He ex... plains that if a man is known... as a "bad character," any one... seen with him runs the risk of... getting a "bad reputation. He... alluded to his early youth when... his parents told him "one is... judged by the company he keeps."

Hoover says undoubtedly many... persons who associate with... persons of questionable loyalty... to the United States or with... persons who are "bad security... risks" actually are not Commu... nists or Communist sympathiz... ers, yet the mere fact of this... association lays them open to... suspicion.

The term "doubtful security"... to the FBI means persons of... weak character, inclined to ex... cesses in their personal habits... and subject to blackmail.

The FBI director feels the... general public does not under... stand his reluctance to surren... der FBI files on security cases... Two types of danger are in... volved, he explains. One is that... injustice may be done to indi... viduals. FBI files contain un... sifted allegations. They also... contain names of persons other... than those who are subjects of... investigation—persons who may... well be completely innocent of... wrongdoing.

More important than anything... to the security of the United... States, Hoover explains, is that... the secrets and method of op... eration of the FBI are not made... known to the Russians. Nothing... would please them more, he... contends, than to know the man... ner in which the FBI has caught... Russian agents operating in this... country and how today the... agency has under day-and-night... surveillance many others.

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Character of J. Edgar Hoover

Is J. Edgar Hoover A Spy?

SEN. McCARTHY charges that the FBI and state department loyalty files contain proof of Communist spies working in the government.

J. Edgar Hoover and the good Republican Seth Richardson, head of the loyalty review board, say they do not. When asked whether he is inferring that these two men are sitting by watching a spy ring undermine the American government, Sen. McCarthy had one of his brilliant explanations.

The FBI, he said, only gathers information and turns it over to the attorney general. If the attorney general does nothing, the FBI is powerless to act. In other words, he is asking us to believe that J. Edgar Hoover is the type of citizen who would watch his government being subverted by a foreign foe and say nothing about it because the duties of his office require him only to gather information.

WHILE the senator was developing this interesting thesis on the floor of the senate he was interrupted by Sen. Humphrey of Minnesota who posed this question:

"Am I to assume that the senator from Wisconsin is the only man in the government who has the courage to speak in behalf of the Republic?"

To this, McCarthy made this brilliant reply:

"The senator knows full well that the director of the FBI has no authority whatsoever to call the attention of the

public to things which are in his files." In other words this man Hoover cares more for his job than he does for his country.

Replying to another question from Sen. Humphrey, McCarthy said that if Hoover started making the "facts" about the "top Communist agent" available to the public, "he would not continue in his job for more than a moment."

Obviously, the country should get rid of Hoover right away. Or would it be better just to get rid of McCarthy?

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Tele. Room
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47 SEP 1 1950

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Capital Times
Madison, Wisconsin

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McCARTHY'S 'NEW LOOK'

IT has seemed to some of us that Sen. McCarthy was supporting his charges of Communist influences in the State Department with more noise than evidence. But it also has been apparent that a surprisingly strong segment of public opinion was rallying to his support.

Was the Wisconsin Republican beating the Communists at their own game, simply by outshouting them? Or was he the coincidental beneficiary of a ground swell of public resentment against official indifference to a very real menace to national security?

Whatever the explanation, we are convinced that Sen. McCarthy himself is a factor to be reckoned with since hearing him present his case before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

His speech was loaded with tough, pertinent questions which could not be laughed off. He was equally adept at answering questions directed at him. Asked why he hadn't named the Communists in the State Department, he said he would name names when the department's files were opened to him, adding: "If those files proved that McCarthy was a liar, they would damn well be opened tomorrow."

That challenge may have to be answered the next time President Truman takes the clump. It's whistle-stop language.

The Senator cited the case of a man who allegedly was investigated 11 times by the State Department loyalty board before finally quitting and taking up active Communist Party work.

"Eleven times the President's loyalty review board lacked the guts to order the man fired," he charged.

That, too, is whistle-stop stuff.

There was the case of George Wheeler, now attacking American foreign policy from behind the Iron Curtain. Why was this man cleared for highly important State Department work in Europe? Why, indeed?

Dr. Philip C. Jessup has just been appointed head of the State Department's high policy board, which will map our cold war strategy.

"Why does he always join Communist fronts? Why not anti-Communist organizations?" Sen. McCarthy asked, submitting photostatic evidence Dr. Jessup had been a member of five "fronts." Joe McCarthy will not be alone in questioning this appointment, particularly when it is recalled that Dr. Jessup gave a character testimonial for Alger Hiss as lately as last year.

Whatever he may have lacked to support his charges at the outset, Sen. McCarthy is picking up new ammunition and finding new targets as he goes along. It isn't all just old stuff, either, but material reflecting upon persons now in Government service, which will question the integrity of the Government itself unless it is rebutted to the public's satisfaction.

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 Wash. News 10
 Wash. Star _____
 N.Y. Mirror _____

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Regaining the Offensive

Acheson Seen as Winning His Audience
In Reply to McCarthy Before Editors

By Doris Fleenor

The insistent demand of America's editors has removed Secretary of State Acheson's personal reply to Senator McCarthy from the off-the-record limbo and given it to the public where it always belonged. The printed word cannot quite convey the drama of the scene—the Senator was in the audience listening—but it will serve.



Doris Fleenor.

Yet almost up to the last, the Secretary's advisers were differing about whether he should reply at all. In hand was the dignified "total diplomacy" speech, all true, all important, but wholly lacking in the adrenalin appeal.

Friendly editors had sent over a warning: In his appearance before the editors, so fortuitously occurring after the Budenz testimony created new confusions, Senator McCarthy had seized the offensive. Unless Mr. Acheson regained it Saturday night, the Budenz-McCarthy team's impression would remain.

Politicians and editors know that when matters of this kind reach a certain point, the only answer that will serve is the fight of the person under attack. It is often good politics to duck and weave while time gets in some ticks but when the controversy persists, it must be dealt with by the injured party.

Wins His Audience.

It was difficult for Secretary Acheson to raise Senator McCarthy to the level of his public contempt. The Secretary has repeatedly demonstrated his courage; he is a skilled advocate who can command huge fees. But he is also an intellectual who genuinely loathes the spectacle staged by the Senator from Wisconsin and hates to play a part in it.

He had not spoken long before he knew he had his audience. He knew to his own astonishment.

the dignified Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, heard himself crying out: "Pour it on, Mr. Secretary!"

The Secretary did. And he cordially acceded to demands for its publication. But he remains the intellectual. Having brought his listeners to their feet with a final moving challenge and warning that the bell "tolls for thee," Mr. Acheson still had some important unemotional things to say off the record about the cold war. So he said them for another 15 minutes.

Foreign Service Hurt.

Conversations within the State Department support the Secretary's statement that morale there is excellent. The reorganization suggested by the Hoover Commission, of which Mr. Acheson was a member, has been carried out and experienced people are in command. There has never been a time when fewer top jobs were held by the fat cats of politics, the heavy campaign contributors. The truth is that the State Department's work is now so difficult and time consuming, only people who will work hard care to be there.

The Secretary dealt with the place where the goings-on at home do hurt—the Foreign Service. The room was very quiet as he described the present lives of what actually are our cold-war troops, the men, women and children in difficult and dangerous parts of the world. Explain these attacks to them, he challenged.

The department is presently engaged in a widespread meet-the-press operation to show principal correspondents what has been done and acquaint them with the people doing it. It admits, no doubt, that the final verdict will be complete and utter vindication.

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Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

INDEXED - 53

NOTED - 53
82 APR 6 1950

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

APR 24 1950

Date: _____

Truman Answer To McCarthy Due In Talk Tonight

Acheson Denounces
Charges as 'Mad,
Vicious and Filthy'

By Robert K. Walsh

Charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin of communism in the State Department—charges denounced by Secretary of State Acheson as "mad, vicious and filthy"—are expected to be answered by President Truman tonight.

The President, in a scheduled 10 p.m. address before the Federal Bar Association at the Hotel Statler, will discuss the Government loyalty program. Administration sources indicated he might go far to back up the attack made on Senator McCarthy Saturday night by Secretary Acheson.

In the presence of Senator McCarthy at the closing dinner of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Mr. Acheson compared the Wisconsin Senator's drive against the department to the 1949 Camden, N. J., tragedy in which a "madman came out on the street with a revolver and without purpose, without sense and without direction just shot people."

He used such expressions as "filthy business" and "vicious madness" in his off-the-record talk that was released for publication late yesterday by the State Department. He did not mention Senator McCarthy's name, but the several hundred editors and their guests knew who he meant.

McCarthy Promises Reply.

Leaving soon after Secretary Acheson finished the hour-long talk, Senator McCarthy told reporters that "in my own time I will reply." He commented later that Mr. Acheson's criticism "indicates he goes along 100 per cent with the Truman-Tydings-McMahon line that the real criminals are those who try to expose and get rid of Communists and perverts in the State Department."

This was regarded in some quarters as including a blast against President Truman's remark some time ago that Senator McCarthy was one of the Kremlin's greatest assets.

Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, heads the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges that the State Department harbors Communists and fellow travelers. Senator McMahon, Democrat, of Connecticut, is a subcommittee member.

Committee to Meet Today.

The committee was to meet in closed session at 10:30 a.m. today to discuss the inquiry. Chairman Tydings said all evidence dug up by the committee will go to the FBI.

"If they come up with a spy or Communist," he declared, "they will notify the proper prosecuting authorities of the Government. The result will be the same as if the FBI had tackled it at the start."

"Looking back on it, it might have been better if the Senate, instead of conducting this investigation itself, had turned it all over to the FBI with orders to investigate all charges thoroughly and then make a report to this committee. They would have done a much better job, in my opinion, than we can do with our limited time and small staff, to run down a lot of clues that have very far-reaching possibilities."

The Maryland Senator added, however, that such a course has "gone by the boards now." The

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RECEIVED - 53

82 JUL 6

Times-Herald
Wash. Post
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N.Y. Mirror

APR 24 1951
Date:

foreign office and in their Government in one of the most critical hours of the Nation's history."

He likened such a method to wholesale ringing of false fire alarms.

"It is as though you said to yourself that the best way to find a fire is to ring every fire alarm in the city," he remarked. "Not that you know of any fire, but if you get all the apparatus out and have it wheeling around through the city you might find one."

Browning Poem Recalled.

He compared the attack on the State Department to the Camden, N. J., incident and also recalled Robert Browning's poem, "Caliban Upon Setebos."

"Caliban is talking about this horrible amoral god of his," Mr. Acheson explained. "He says that his god operates in the way that Caliban himself does on the beach. Along comes, says Caliban, a procession of crabs going down to the sea across the sand, and he says something like this:

"I stand there and I let 20 go by. The 21st I pick up and tear off a clipper. I let three more go by. The next one I crush in order to watch it wiggle in agony on the sand."

"It is that degree of vicious madness which has been going on here."

Denies Plea for Sympathy.

Secretary Acheson told the editors he did not ask for sympathy. He and his associates, he said, are "only the intended victims of this mad and vicious operation."

"But you—unhappily you, by reason of your calling, are participants, you are unwilling participants, disgusted participants, but nevertheless participants and your position is far more serious than mine," he said.

In closing he described the situation as "a filthy business." He said he hoped he would never have to speak of it again. He concluded that part of his talk by quoting John Donne's lines:

"Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind."

"And therefore do not send to know for whom the bell tolls."

"It tolls for thee."

Secretary Acheson devoted much

of his talk to giving evidence in support of his claim that "never in its long and honorable history has the State Department been in better shape." He also described in detail the functioning of the loyalty program and the screening processes.

The department personnel consists of "honorable, efficient, representative and clean-living men and women," loyal to the department, the President and the United States, he insisted.

"There is no back-biting, no under-cutting, no jealousy," he said.

He paid special tribute to Gen. George C. Marshall. In a talk before the newspaper editors last Thursday night, Senator McCarthy asserted that Gen. Marshall had been "unfitted" to be Secretary of State. Secretary Acheson said he never knew a man with a "surer judgment of people" than Gen. Marshall.

Mr. Acheson listed all his assistants and key officials in the department, giving their backgrounds and explaining their work.

"Here in this top command," he said, "we have men as distinguished, as able, as powerful and as vigorous as any of my predecessors from John Marshall to George Marshall ever had in the State Department."

committee will push the inquiry to a conclusion as fairly and fully and completely as we can," he promised.

The Committee tomorrow will question former Communist Louis Budenz in closed session. It also has subpoenaed three others. Mr. Budenz testified in open session last week that high Communist officials told him Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern affairs expert, belonged to a Communist cell. Mr. Lattimore is expected to appear before the committee again in public session later this week in reply to Mr. Budenz.

Secretary Acheson's attack Saturday night on Senator McCarthy began with a remark that he wanted to "clear away some trash." He announced that he would "go on the offensive and not the defensive" in dealing with charges and insinuations affecting the State Department.

Acheson Backs Loyalty Program.

In biting, increasingly angry tones he described the "right way and the wrong way" of handling any attempted or existing subversive infiltration in the State Department. The right way he explained, is through the loyalty program.

"The wrong way," he continued, "is to smear everybody's reputation to make charges on the basis that if one is not right you try to find another one you hope will stick; to try to destroy the confidence of the people in their

APR 24 1950

Mundt Hits 'Gestapo' In State Dept.; Truman Blasts McCarthy Data

Pervert Quiz to Link More, Wherry Says

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Resignations of high officials will follow an investigation of moral degeneracy in the State department, Sen. Wherry (R) of Nebraska, predicted on the Senate floor yesterday.

Raging debate was started by the disclosure of Sen. Brewster (R) of Maine concerning an apparent attempt to intimidate a magazine editor whose attitude in the current communism inquiry had affronted the State department. This revelation prompted Sen. Mundt (R) of South Dakota to declare that there appears to be a State department "gestapo" in operation.

Lodge Promises Probe

A prompt investigation of this incident was promised by Sen. Lodge (R) of Massachusetts, member of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee looking into charges by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, that Communists infest the State department.

Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland, chairman of the investigating group, was under attack from a number of G.O.P. senators despite his protests that he was going to "lay it on the line, whether the truth be good or bad."

Wherry climaxed the torrid exchanges by revealing that he and Sen. Hill (D) of Alabama, members of a special appropriations subcommittee, would release this week a report on homosexuals and sex perverts in government employment. It has been reported that approximately 3,500 such individuals are now on the federal payroll.

Predicts More Resignations

Announcing the subcommittee had been unable to discover whether 91 homosexuals, permitted to resign by the State department, had acquired other government jobs, Wherry told Tydings:

"Those 91 should be brought in before your committee and questioned. You'll get leads from them which will require the resignations of other people in high places in the government."

Brewster told senators that the State department's counterattack against McCarthy's charges had been organized by assistant Secretary of State Edward Barrett.

"An Alabama New Dealer who was formerly a minor editor for Newsweek magazine, Barrett joined the office of war information when war broke out, became head of its overseas division and was Owen Lattimore's boss during the crucial China years toward the end of the war," said Brews-

(Turn to Page 4, Col. 1)

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INDEXED
157-23
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82 JUN 28

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Page.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD 1

WASHINGTON POST

WASHINGTON NEWS

WASHINGTON STAR

Date: 4-25-50

ter. "He returned to Newsweek as a top editor and was appointed assistant state secretary last December, taking office in February.

Budenz to Be Heard

Lattimore, a State department adviser on Far East policy, was named by McCarthy as a top Communist agent. Louis F. Budenz, former Communist editor, testified last week that Lattimore was known in high Communist circles as a valued agent. The Tydings subcommittee again hears Budenz in a closed session tomorrow.

When McCarthy's charges against Lattimore were made public, Brewster said, Barrett began sending memoranda to Kenneth G. Crawford, Newsweek's national affairs editor, accusing the magazine of not giving the State department a fair break.

In the March 20 issue of Newsweek, an item appeared concerning the "leak" of a secret State department document to a Washington columnist. The story said "investigation later disclosed that the leak had been contrived to serve the publicity purposes of one side in a bitter department feud over policy toward Russia."

Crawford Offered Names

The State department denounced the story as untrue. Crawford, said Brewster, offered to supply names and affidavits to prove the story but Barrett told Crawford the whole thing had been a mistake and to let the matter drop.

On March 12, Brewster continued, the Crawfords were visited in their New York City apartment by Edwin D. Lennerts, division of security, State department. Lennerts said the State department understood that early in 1942, Crawford, then a correspondent for the left-wing New York tabloid, PM, had written a series of articles "unfriendly" to Sen. Tydings. Lennerts asked if the Crawfords could supply him with files containing the articles.

Reminded that such files could be found in the congressional library, the New York City library or New York newspaper files, Lennerts said he had been unable to find them.

Suspect's Intimidation

"I can reach only one conclusion from this incident," said Brewster. "Either Lennerts is one of the stupidest investigators that ever worked for the government or this call was made for the bold and deliberate purpose of intimidating an editor of our free press."

Barrett later assured Crawford that a "terrible mistake" had been made. But on March 30, another man called at the home of Max Berner, another former PM worker, and asked for the files which might contain Crawford's articles on Tydings. This man, it was said, gave the impression that he was an FBI agent.

The FBI assured Crawford that the man was not one of their agents and they were still investigating to determine if there was false impersonation.

"This appears to be the method of a Gestapo," remarked Sen. Mundt. "The State department seems to be setting up a Russian-Nazi local police force."

Lodge to Investigate

"I will take it on myself to secure a full and prompt explanation of this incident," declared Lodge, member of the Tydings subcommittee. "We were instructed today to conduct a full inquiry into the State department's investigative setup."

Mundt recalled that when he was a member of the House committee on un-American activities investigating the Alger Hiss case, "the same chorus of calamity-howling" arose from the President and Administration followers that now greets the charges against Lattimore. He expressed the hope the Tydings committee would not be "frightened off the trail."

"We are following up every bit of evidence," asserted Tydings. "If we find any Communists in the State department, I make a solemn pledge we will say so. I am not going to shield or prosecute the State department. Whatever the truth is, good or bad, I will lay it on the line with as little bias as is humanly possible."

Questioned by Wherry whether homosexuals were not as great security risks as Communists, Tydings said he thought they were but the subcommittee was

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Page

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD 4

WASHINGTON POST _____

WASHINGTON NEWS _____

WASHINGTON STAR _____

Date: 4-25-50

Ladd _____
 Clegg _____
 Glavin _____
 Nichols _____
 Rosen _____
 Tracy _____
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 Gandy _____

only supposed to investigate "dis-loyalty."

"That's the first time I ever heard anyone raising a question as to the desirability of eliminating sex degenerates from the State department," remarked Brewster.

Tydings roared that he had not raised such a question. Such individuals should be removed, he said, but the problem was "collateral" to the investigation primarily assigned.

Tydings was asked by Sen. Morse (R) of Oregon, if there still remained a chance that President Truman might open up the government's loyalty files to the Senate investigators.

"I'm going to reveal for the first time what I have done in attempting to get the files," said Tydings. "I went to see Mr. Truman three times about it. The first time he told me he was more interested than anyone in America in making the files available and said they would be made available."

Cites FBI Objections

"But then FBI Director Hoover said the work of the FBI would be seriously injured if the files were made public and sources of information disclosed. So Mr. Truman said he couldn't do it. He told me, 'I'd give anything if I could do it.'"

Sen. Ferguson (R) of Michigan told Tydings the public impression left by Mr. Truman's refusal to unlock the files was that there was evidence involving government officials which was being covered up. He remarked that it was curious that the files had never been barred to congress until charges of communism against officials had been made.

"If Mr. Truman wants to satisfy the public and congress that he really wants the facts brought out, he should tell the FBI to assist the subcommittee which has only five investigators," Ferguson said. "That would make it a real investigation."

Brewster said it was "unfortunate" that Mr. Truman had disparaged the Hiss case when it first broke, thus giving the impression that he was against all charges against his followers, no matter what the evidence.

Page

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD 4

WASHINGTON POST _____

WASHINGTON NEWS _____

WASHINGTON STAR _____

Date: 4-25-54

State Dept. Accused Of 'Gestapo' Tactics

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

Charges of a "Gestapo" tactics
by State Department investigators flared on the Senate floor yesterday, and were promptly denied by the department.

The accusation was made by Senator Mundt (R., S. Dak.), who said he thought the department's intelligence service was to be used abroad but instead of that, "What appears to be a State Department Gestapo is operating as a corollary to the FBI."

His comment came after a speech by Senator Brewster (R., Me.) in which he described how a State Department investigator had allegedly tried to intimidate Kenneth G. Crawford, national affairs editor of Newsweek magazine.

The visit of the investigator to Crawford's New York apartment was a follow-up, Brewster implied, to efforts by Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State and former Newsweek executive, to intimidate Crawford.

"Misinformed," He Says

Barrett, in a statement, said that Brewster had been "grossly misinformed by someone."

And in New York, Crawford himself said he was investigated, but all the investigator did "was to invite me to Washington to look into the (State Department security) setup, which I did."

Barrett, it turned out, had invited him to make such a survey, feeling that Newsweek coverage of the Communist-infiltration charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) had been less than objective.

In his speech, Brewster said that Barrett had been the boss, in the Office of War Information, of Owen Lattimore, prime case in McCarthy's accusations. Brewster added that Barrett had been "particularly active in organizing the State Department's counterattack," after Lattimore was accused.

Meantime, the special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee created to look into McCarthy's charges will press its inquiry, particularly into the Lattimore case, in three days of hearings this week.

Closed Session Today

The first will be a closed session this morning, at which former Communist Editor Louis F. Budenz will be heard. Both McCarthy and Lattimore and his lawyers will attend as "observers." Budenz has already testified in open hearings.

He said he was told by high Communist officials that Lattimore was a Communist and was undertaking assignments at Communist Party instructions. Lattimore has sworn that he was never a Communist or Red sympathizer.

This evening, at 7 p. m. in the Senate Caucus Room, the subcommittee will hold open hearings. Witnesses will be two former FBI agents, summoned at McCarthy's request, and Dr. Bella V. Dodd, a former high Communist official expelled from the party last year.

She has already made public an affidavit stating that during her membership and during four years on the national committee of the party she never heard Lattimore mentioned as a Communist or sympathizer.

Wednesday morning, Lattimore will appear again, in open session, to answer the allegations Budenz made about him.

Said Leader to Appear

On Thursday, again in executive session, the subcommittee will hear Frank Bielaski, the man who led raids by the wartime Office of Strategic Services on the offices of the magazine Amerasia. Government documents, there without authorization, were discovered.

The subcommittee had indicated it planned to look into the Amerasia case, which flared into the news in 1945 and was dropped after two of the people involved were convicted for unlawful possession of Government papers.

Subcommittee Chairman Tydings (D., Md.) said his group will also look into the question of homosexuals in the Federal Government. He made the promise to inquire into this subject in re-

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INDEXED
NOV 1950
82

Times-Herald
Wash. Post
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N.Y. Mirror

sponse to demands by Senators Ferguson (R., Mich.), Wherry (R., Nebr.), and Brewster.

In speeches on the Senate floor, the Republicans said it was important to find out if 91 people, discharged by the State Department as security risks by reason of homosexuality, had obtained jobs elsewhere in the Government.

Finally, it appeared that the Tydings subcommittee will also look into the Barrett-Crawford case.

Before Brewster made his accusation about the alleged intimidation, Tydings had announced that two members of his subcommittee, Senators Green (D., R. I.) and Lodge (R., Mass.) would study the whole State Department security investigation procedure. Later in the day, a State Department press officer said the full facts of the Barrett-Crawford incident would be placed before them.

Brewster's Description

According to Brewster's description, here is what happened:

"When Senator McCarthy's charges against Owen Lattimore were made public, Mr. Barrett was particularly active in organizing the State Department's counter-attack.

"Using his former relations with Newsweek as a fulcrum, he began sending memoranda to Kenneth G. Crawford, Newsweek's national affairs editor, accusing Newsweek of not giving the State Department a fair break."

Brewster said the department took exception to an item in the March 20 issue of Newsweek that spoke of "leaks" in the State Department.

After hearing the objection, Brewster said, Crawford offered to supply affidavits and names of the "leaks." He said Barrett first told Crawford he didn't think Crawford wanted to proceed in that fashion.

But later, Brewster said, Lincoln White, a State Department press officer, said the department wanted the names.

New Caller Cited

Next, said Brewster, a man who identified himself as Edwin D. Lennerts of the State Department division of security, called at the Crawford home in New York.

Lennerts wanted to know, Brewster said, if Crawford had any back copies of the former New York newspaper "PM," for which Crawford had written a series of articles "unfriendly" to Senator Tydings.

The Crawfords said they did not have the files and suggested that Lennerts go to a public library.

"I can only reach one conclusion from this incident," Brewster told the Senate. "Either Mr. Lennerts is one of the stupidest investigators that ever worked for the Government and is totally unqualified for his job, or this call was made for the deliberate purpose of intimidating an editor of our free press."

Later, Brewster said, "Crawford was told the whole thing was a mistake."

In a statement, Barrett replied: "Senator Brewster has been grossly misinformed by someone."

"I never put any pressure of any sort on Kenneth Crawford, an old friend and the very capable national affairs editor of Newsweek. I did absolutely nothing beyond writing him two personal letters indicating that I thought the tone of a few Newsweek articles was unfair and urging him to come to Washington and take a good look at the department's loyalty set-up, which had impressed me as excellent. . . .

"Confident" of Confirmation

"I am confident Mr. Crawford himself will confirm all of this and will be glad to make it clear that I did not and would not attempt to 'intimidate' him in any way, even if I were capable of doing so."

Barrett made public the two letters, both cordial in tone. The one inviting Crawford's inspection said that the department's loyalty procedure was "a matter of vital concern to all of us" and that it would be worth while for Crawford to study it.

This Crawford did.

The question of the McCarthy

charges and their investigation was raised later yesterday in a press conference of special State Department Adviser John Foster Dulles.

Dulles, appointed to strengthen bipartisan foreign policy determination, commented that the procedures followed by the Tydings subcommittee "were not the best to arrive at the truth or to avoid unnecessary disunity."

Did he put all the blame on the subcommittee procedure and none on McCarthy's methods, reporters asked.

Dulles replied he did not see "wholly eye to eye" with McCarthy, and conceded that the problem he raised was not best resolved either by "public charges" or public hearings.

Those Loyalty Files

"You may fool all the people some of the time," said Lincoln; "you can even fool some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

Before the McCarthy crusade against the alleged Communists in the state department ends, the spotlight will be bright upon who has been fooling whom all or part of the time.

The loyalty files in the state department are an example. McCarthy says if the president would release these files and the senate investigating committee could see them, the information therein would convict a small army of state department employees of being Communists.

Just what are these files and what do they contain?

In Washington at the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, one recent evening, the subject was communism in government. The principal speaker was Senator McCarthy. To listen to the Wisconsin senator's florid and impassioned eloquence was to be impressed that he does not believe in the loyalty of many persons in the state department.

But along toward the close of the evening came an unscheduled speaker, Brig. Gen. Conrad Snow. Gen. Snow is chairman of the loyalty review board in the state department. He stated categorically just what the supposedly suppressed files consist of.

His board, said Gen. Snow, has conducted about 240 formal inquiries into the loyalty records of state department employees. The inquiries have the nature and formality of court sessions. The person who is the subject of inquiry has a right to defense and an attorney.

Full stenographic records are kept of the proceedings together with all pertinent data drawn from FBI and other sources. The evidence so far has shown two who had Communist affiliation. Five more resigned under fire.

It was Gen. Snow's formal declaration that, had others been found guilty of consorting with the Communists, they would be out of the state department now. In other words, to produce for public scrutiny the records involving those who were found loyal and who have been cleared would only smear them unjustly.

A parallel is being furnished at this point by Senator McCarthy himself. Having undertaken to expose communism in the American government, he complains that he has himself been put on trial, and that just isn't fair.

Senator McCarthy has no more claim to consideration than those against whom he aims his shotgun charges.

The simple point is that he doesn't support his accusations with facts. In his speech before the newspaper editors he answered a question by saying bluntly that he does not intend to stand outside the umbrella of congressional immunity and expose himself to libel action.

If there is communism in the state department or in any other department of the government, the increasing tension between the United States and Russia makes it vitally important to root out the disloyal. No one can be a Communist and be a good American.

But McCarthy, instead of building up a solid foundation of facts, blows up a balloon of unsupported accusation, which is very likely to explode in his face.

LOYALTY FILES

OREGON JOURNAL
PORTLAND, OREGON
APR 25 1950

FBI - PORTLAND
APR 25 1950

Bureau

Exploited by Extremists

Battle for Soul of G. O. P. in Making
With Growing Influence of McCarthy

By Doris Fleson

A real battle for the soul of the Republican party is in the making.

In the face of statements by Senator McCarthy that "Wait six months and you'll see the results of what I'm doing," thoughtful Republicans are saying that the showdown between the differing GOP factions cannot be long delayed. This group includes Governors and private citizens as well as ringside observers of the gravitational pull which Senator McCarthy is exerting upon the GOP.



Doris Fleson.

What Senator McCarthy is talking about is no fiddle. He thinks that his charges are going to be the great Republican campaign issue this fall. He is cocksure that they will elect Republicans and return control of Congress to them. Then the party will be grateful to him and he will have that national stature, that leadership for which he so ardently longs.

Boundless Ambition.

Wisconsin editors broke the news last week to their fellows that Senator McCarthy's boundless ambition includes the presidency. He has often said at home, they related, that he will be the Nation's first Catholic President.

Republicans who believe that the means used by Senator McCarthy are in direct conflict with the party's basic Americanism foresee a bitter struggle for control, perhaps a deep and permanent schism. Some are still hoping that time will diminish the pressures; others think the pressures are already mounting to the point of inevitable conflict.

One of the party's major figures paid a little noticed visit to the Capital recently. He strongly condemned Senator McCarthy's tactics which he feels gravely injure the country but admitted that not

all his associates took that view. Republicans, he went on, had never had the fight they must have to determine where they stand. He said that so far they had always at the last moment glossed over their difficulties but they could not get away with it again and should not, even if they could.

This Republican can command national attention when he chooses to speak out. He also has a pretty fair idea now, he thinks, of who will be on his side.

Lineup After Primaries.

The Republican lineup will begin to be more evident to the public after the primaries are over. If Senator McCarthy can keep his charges alive—as he clearly intends to do and probably can—the Democrats expect to make it impossible for a Republican candidate to evade taking a stand.

The irony of this is that it is hardest on those Republicans whom Democrats most admire. The GOP extremists, having nothing to lose, can exploit the McCarthy charges to the utmost. Others must risk alienating any McCarthy admirers while gaining a me-too label. Meanwhile, they point out, independent voters are likely to play safe and run off to the Democrats.

This problem of the progressive Republican is capsuled here by one wit in the query: Are Republicans really necessary? Many liberals feel that the anti-McCarthy kind are and desire to help them.

Actually the usual iron law applies—they must help themselves. It is theirs to decide when to rebel against the growing McCarthy influence. The Senator from Wisconsin clearly will not help them by subsiding quietly.

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Times-Herald —
Wash. Post —
Wash. News —
Wash. Star —
N.Y. Mirror —

NOT RECORDED
76 APR 29 1950

APR 26 1950
Date:

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 Glavin _____
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 Rosen _____
 Tracy _____
 Harbo _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Nease _____
 Gandy _____

Impostor Witnesses

The two former "FBI agents" summoned before the Tydings Subcommittee at Senator McCarthy's request fell flat on their faces—the one figuratively, the other, it would seem, literally. They left their sponsor looking, if possible, even more shabby and forlorn than before he called them. Their performance deserves scrutiny not only because of their part in the current inquiry but also because of the relationship they claim to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Lawrence E. Kerley, the member of the pair who appeared Tuesday evening in response to the subcommittee's subpoena, was actually, as he claimed, at one time a special agent of the FBI. It is a point of pride and a part of the *esprit de corps* of the FBI that very few of the men who have left its employ—and the number now runs into thousands—have traded on their former status. But Mr. Kerley seems to have made a business out of being a former FBI man. He had nothing whatever to contribute to the subcommittee Tuesday night save the information that while serving as a clerk in the bureau he recorded the engagement as an undercover informer of John J. Huber, the man who was to be Senator McCarthy's second witness but who "blacked out" instead of appearing. Of course, Mr. Kerley's information about Mr. Huber was confidential and his disclosure of it violated the spirit of the oath he took when he joined the FBI. It was also a violation of the President's order respecting the confidential character of FBI files.

Mr. Huber is a man who appears to have graduated from stool pigeon to impostor. He is no more entitled to call himself (or to be called by Senator McCarthy) a former "FBI agent" than any other person who may at one time have given confidential information to the agency. Regular investigative employees of the FBI are designated "special agents," a proud title that should not be debased by confusing it with tipsters, finger-men and common informers.

INDEXED - 53

32 JUL 6 1950

Page

Times-Herald _____
 Wash. Post 10
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N.Y. Mirror _____

2 AUG 10 1950

Date: 4-17-50

Mr. Ludd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Loyalty Board Lets State Dept. Use Security Risks on Some Jobs

Minutes of Secret Session, Mentioned by McCarthy, Say 'Chances' Are Taken With 'Qualified' Men

By Bert Andrews

WASHINGTON, April 26.—The State Department, according to another government agency, still reserves the right to hire the "best qualified" individual for a "particular job" even though it knows it is taking a chance that he may be a security risk or may be questionable on general suitability.

This fact—which takes on more than ordinary interest because of the fight between Senator Joseph P. McCarthy and the State Department—was learned from a reading of the minutes of a meeting of the Loyalty Review Board of the United States Civil Service Commission.

These minutes fell into the hands of this reporter—and not from the hands of Senator McCarthy or from any member of the commission—twenty-four hours after the Senator had made such charges as the following on the floor of the Senate:

1. That the Loyalty Review Board decided at a secret meeting on April 3 to limit its investiga-

tion of the individuals named by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin.

2. That the board decided to put a literal interpretation on President Truman's order instructing it to examine the McCarthy charges; that is, it decided to confine its study to persons accused of disloyalty.

3. That the board thus ruled out any real investigation of "security risks," as distinguished from loyalty suspects, and of homosexuals.

Senator McCarthy's remarks were virtually lost among the scores of other developments that came yesterday, and it took considerable research today to bring out the full meaning of what he was saying.

The Loyalty Review Board meeting he spoke of was held with chairman Seth W. Richardson and fifteen other members present. Eleven members were absent. Many matters, ranging from the case of John Stewart Service, now

INDEXED - 40

EX - 78

JUL 5 1950

New York Herald Tribune
Thursday, April 27, 1950
Page 1

awaiting a new loyalty hearing, to technical details, were discussed.

The top matter concerned just what cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy should be taken up by the board.

A board member pointed out that President Truman, in his letter to Mr. Richardson from Key West, Fla., on March 28, said he wanted the board to review all cases of past or present employees of the State Department "against whom charges of disloyalty have been made."

Then the board talked about whether it should make a report "on both loyalty and security, or only in the matter of loyalty."

Part of the minutes say:

"The President definitely confined his request to a report only on loyalty and since the letter was written his office has advised the chairman verbally that it was only loyalty that the board was requested to consider."

The minutes went on to say that some members argued that the board would be going out of its province if it considered security and suitability.

Past testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee has made it clear that "security" and "suitability" could embrace everything from whether a man drank so much as to be too talkative about his business to homosexuality, with its attendant danger of blackmail.

The board decided it didn't want to make any findings on matters of security because such things might leak out of its files.

Then came the paragraph that is sure to be seized up by critics of the State Department, which has repeatedly insisted it employs no known security risks.

"It was mentioned," the paragraph read, "that there are circumstances where the Department of State must choose a person for a particular job to be done, and that in such case, if the person is the best qualified on other grounds, the department feels it must take a chance on the fact that he may be a security risk or questionable on general suitability."

Somebody on the board pointed out that of 286 State Department employees subjected to full field investigations not one had been declared ineligible for Federal employment on grounds of disloyalty or on grounds of being a poor security risk. (It wasn't clear how many of the McCarthy cases were in the 286.)

There was unanimous agreement that the board would "flag" a case of homosexual or an habitual drunkard, to call it to the President's attention, without making any finding of its own as to whether the individual were secure or insecure.

"The President could then decide whether such an employee was a security risk," said the minutes.

Other points decided were:

1. The Loyalty Review Board will handle the cases without sending them to lower boards for primary study.

2. Where practicable, cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy and previously reviewed will be studied by the same panel members who originally approved them.

3. A preliminary inquiry indicated that full-fledged hearings would be required in twenty-five cases, out of the eighty-odd cases that seem to fall under the board's restrictions requiring a study of loyalty only.

4. The board decided not to study the cases of individuals who had never been employed by the Federal government. (This would seem to preclude any investigation by the board of Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert accused by Senator McCarthy. Secretary of State Dean Acheson has denied Mr. Lattimore was employed by the department at any time.) The board decided to take jurisdiction over past and present employees of, or applicants for employment with, the Federal government.

The board cleared itself of any guilt in connection with the "leak" of information that it had decided to ask the State Department to ask Mr. Service to return from the Far East to appear before a State Department loyalty board.

It put the blame for the leak right on the State Department.

The minutes on this point read:

"The chairman (Mr. Richardson) advised that he had made a personal investigation regarding same and found that in discussing cases with the State Department over the telephone, in answer to an inquiry the State Department was advised that the Service case was being returned to them for further processing. The State Department, in turn, apparently gave this information to Senator McCarthy."

FBI Best At Sifting Loyalty: Tydings

Senator Tydings declared last night that the FBI could have done a far better job of investigating disloyal persons in the State Department than is possible for the Senate subcommittee, of which he is chairman, can do.

Speaking at a Kiwanis-Rotary dinner meeting in the parish house

of Trinity Episcopal Church in Towson, the Senator said a six-member committee could not be expected to get at the facts as fully and as expeditiously as the FBI, which has all the records and thousands of investigators.

Sees Harm Done Abroad

He regretted that the investigation was not turned over to the FBI, to be handled in secret and without the attendant unfavorable publicity.

Current hearings before the Senate committee, Senator Tydings declared, have harmed the United States in European countries where

the Marshall plan is doing so much to prevent the spread of communism.

Senator Tydings was apprehensive that the march next month of 100,000 Russian-trained German youths on Berlin might lead to dire consequences.

He said the Allied military forces in the Western zone were prepared for most any kind of demonstration. There are many reasons to fear that the march of the German youth may prove a serious threat to peace, he said.

Warns Of Bomb Doubts

Senator Tydings warned his

audience that it was foolish to think that Russia did not have an atomic bomb and is not working hard on the hydrogen bomb. He is chairman of the Armed Services Committee and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. He said it was his belief that a navy plane lost over the R was landed in the water by its member crew to prevent the Germans from salvaging the plane and study its secret equipment.

The Towson meeting, also attended by wives of the members of the two civic groups, was presided over by C. Walter Cole.

INDEXED - 46

EX-43

JUL 5

The Evening Sun
April 27, 1950
Page 18, Cols. 2, 3, 4, & 5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
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SUBJECT Joseph McCarthy
FILE NUMBER 121-23278 Sub A
SECTION NUMBER _____

Tydings Group May Report Next Week 13

Senator Tydings (D., Md.) has called for a meeting of his special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee for Friday to work out a report on its investigation of communism in the Government.

It was indicated that Tydings, joined by the other Democratic members of the subcommittee, McMahon (Conn.) and Green (R. I.), may have a voluminous report ready to present to the Senate by next week.

That they would be joined in it, however, by the Republican members, Hickenlooper (Iowa) and Lodge (Mass.), seemed almost impossible.

Lodge has taken the position that from the subcommittee's investigation it is not possible to make a finding of guilt or innocence of many of the State Department employees who have been accused of Communist leaning. Hickenlooper, meanwhile, has functioned throughout the subcommittee's four-month history more or less as the advocate of the point of view of Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.), initiator of the charges.

Thus, it would be more than unlikely if they joined with the majority, who feel that none of McCarthy's charges have been proved, and that all of the individuals accused by name are loyal Americans.

At present, the report under preparation is thought of as an "interim" document. It may, however, end as the final report.

Either way, it is known that the report will be an enormous one, of many hundred pages, discussing in detail the charges and answers relating to the dozen or more persons McCarthy discussed by name, and almost a hundred more listed by "case number."

Transcripts of subcommittee's hearings, possibly including all those taken in executive session, may be released along with the report.

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Times-Herald

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Wash. Star

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

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Brannan Assails McCarthy in Home State

Milwaukee, Wisc., July 8 (AP).—Secretary of Agriculture Brannan tonight accused Senator McCarthy of un-American methods in his campaign against the State Department—of distorting information to create "fear, confusion, disunity and discord."

"All the shouting from the housetops has exposed no Communists, brought no traitors to justice," the Secretary told a Democratic Party rally in a prepared talk.

Speaking in the home State of the Republican Senator who has blasted the State Department as a Red-infested agency which follows the Communist line, Brannan said that American processes had imprisoned traitors and removed security risks from the Government through the FBI and the loyalty program.

"It's about time some of those crying loudest against communism took time to join the team that is really fighting communism in a realistic way," the Secretary observed, "instead of actually tearing down the very bulwarks we are building up against it."

Brannan never once mentioned McCarthy by name on this subject, but he called him a "certain

high-priced author on housing." This was a reference to McCarthy's sale of an article to the Government-aided Lustron house-building firm for \$10,000.

"He'd probably be better off if he quit speaking and d'd more writing," Brannan added. "If he could find a market for his fiction as profitable as for his article on housing, he'd likely be able to pay State income taxes next year."

This was a dig at McCarthy's income tax reports, public under Wisconsin law, which showed no tax payments for four years due to

deductions for stock market losses and interest payments.

Brannan charged that Republican leaders "seek to grasp rule of the country by fear."

"Fear is the line that Taft (Ohio Senator), Wherry (Nebraska Senator), McCarthy, Wiley (Wisconsin Senator) and the rest of the Republican Party spokesmen offer the American people," the speaker said.

He termed socialism "the most overworked scare word in the Republican vocabulary."

He spoke before the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner.

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post 6M

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

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Date: JUL 9 1947

McCarthy Is Assailed By Brannan in Talk to Party in Milwaukee

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"All the shouting from the housetops has exposed no Communists, brought no traitors to justice," the Secretary told a Democratic Party rally.

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Doesn't Mention McCarthy.

"It's about time some of those crying loudest against communism took time to join the team that is really fighting communism in a realistic way," the secretary observed, "instead of actually tearing down the very bulwarks we are building up against it."

Mr. Brannan never once mentioned Senator McCarthy by name

Mr. Brannan said there is a carryover of a half billion bushels of wheat although prospects are for a 980 million bushel crop, compared with 1,250,000,000 last year. There are a billion bushels of corn in storage and 7.5 million bales of cotton, he said.

on this subject, but he called him a "certain high-priced author on housing." This was a reference to Senator McCarthy's sale on an article to the Government-aided Luston house-building firm for \$10,000.

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Republicans Scooped.

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"Fear is the line that Taft (Ohio Senator), Wherry (Nebraska Senator), McCarthy, Wiley (Wisconsin Senator) and the rest of the Republican Party spokesmen offer the American people," the speaker said.

He spoke at a Jefferson-Jackson dinner. The dinner, at \$25 a plate for most persons and \$100 for "sponsors," was held by the Democratic Party to raise money for the fall election campaign in Wisconsin. About 1,300 persons attended.

National Larder Prepared for War, Brannan Declares

By the Associated Press

MILWAUKEE, July 8.—Secretary of Agriculture Brannan said today the Nation is better prepared to meet a National emergency in food supplies now than it was in 1941.

"There is no call for hoarding," Mr. Brannan said in an interview.

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121-23278-A-
NOT RECORDED
75 JUL 18 1950

Page

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

Date: Jul 18 1950

173

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Tydings Favors 12-Man Red Probe

By Drew Pearson

SHORTLY before the Korean outbreak a secret night meeting was held in the White House regarding the now somewhat forgotten McCarthy investigation. Subject of discussion was how to wind up the Senate probe of McCarthy's communism charges.

Attending the meeting were Senators Tydings of Maryland, McMahon of Connecticut and Green of Rhode Island, all members of the Senate Committee, together with Vice President Barkley and Attorney General McGrath.

Tydings told the President he planned to wind up the McCarthy hearings almost immediately and predicted that this would cause a storm of G. O. P. criticism. Therefore, he proposed that the White House immediately follow up the Senate's final report by proposing a 12-man commission—four appointed by the White House, four by the Speaker, and four by the Vice President—to investigate communism any place in the Government.

Senator Green of Rhode Island and Attorney General McGrath, who comes from the same State, were opposed to the idea. They said that the Senate was merely passing the buck. Having started to do a job, the Senate should not drop it like a hot potato, they argued.

Vice President Barkley and Truman were non-committal, but, as the meeting adjourned, it looked as if the President might follow Tydings' advice.

In view of the intervening Korean crisis, however, advisers indicate the President believes the Nation should now be thoroughly convinced that the State Department is anti-Communist.

Taft in Reverse

LIKABLE, impulsive Bob Taft should be careful how he chalks up the mistakes of others, for sometimes the tables get turned on him.

Taft made quite a speech recently, arguing that Dean Acheson had been "reversed by his superiors" as the result of American intervention in Korea, and demanded that he resign. What Taft neglected to mention, however, is how he reversed his own policy on Korea—overnight.

As late as the day after the Communist invasion of Korea, Taft pleaded behind the closed doors of the Republican Senate caucus that he didn't want to be "stampeded into another war."

Yet, two days later, following President Truman's order sending American forces into Korea, Taft proclaimed to the Senate: "I approve of the changes now made in our foreign policy . . . I feel that we must back up our troops, where they have been sent by the President, with unstinted support!"

In exactly the same speech, however, Taft called for Acheson's resignation because his Korean policy had been reversed.

Earlier Invasion

AN invasion of Southern Korea was attempted and turned back in March. This is revealed in a translation of Korean newspapers for June 12.

On that date, Capt. Kim Yung Chol, deputy chief of the Korean navy, reported that an attempt was made to land Communist troops and guerrillas in the South in March, and that it was turned back by the navy.

Captain Kim also announced, "of late, an increasing number of unidentified submarines and naval vessels are infesting our waters near Woolneung Island and Pohang, apparently with the aim of spying on our naval facilities and measuring the depth of our waters."

Also, on May 26, a Russian vessel was sunk three miles off Wonsan.

For the past two months, scattered fighting of advanced patrols involving as many as 3000 troops around the thirty-eighth parallel has been reported. Korean officers have claimed they saw Russian military observers with the Communist units from the North.

Another Joe in Limelight

SIGNS OF THE TIMES: Gen. Joseph Lawton Collins, Army Chief of Staff, plodding down a long corridor of the Pentagon lugging a detailed map of Korea . . . silent throngs on Pennsylvania Avenue outside the White House . . . Senators clustered around a huge map of Eastern Asia in the rear of the chamber . . . members of the Foreign Relations Committee grouped around a television set watching the U. N. Security Council . . .

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Page

Times-Herald
Wash. Post 5-
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N.Y. Mirror

121-23278 -A
NOT RECORDED
76 AUG 19 1950

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Continued in the State Department

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ADD 8 MCCARTHY (249P)

THE STATE DEPARTMENT DENIED THE CHARGES. IT SAID THE "STRIPPING PROCESS WHICH SENATOR MCCARTHY ATTRIBUTES TO EVIL AND TREACHEROUS MOTIVES WAS ACTUALLY A THOROUGH-GOING REORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT'S PERSONNEL FILES, NOT ITS SECURITY AND LOYALTY FILES WHICH WERE SEPARATELY MAINTAINED IN A SECURITY DIVISION WHOLLY REMOVED FROM THE PERSONNEL OPERATIONS."

IT SAID MCCARTHY' "PROOF" THEREFORE WAS "CLEARLY BASED ON MIS-UNDERSTANDING OR LACK OF KNOWLEDGE." IT INSISTED NO DEROGATORY MATERIAL WAS REMOVED, ALTHOUGH ADMITTING SOME DUPLICATE RECORDS WERE DESTROYED.

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38

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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COMMUNIST IN THE
 STATE DEPARTMENT

ADD 2 MCCARTHY

THE LETTERS RELEASED BY MCCARTHY WERE FORWARDED BY THE SENATOR TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AS EVIDENCE THAT DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAD "SABOTAGED" AMERICAN CHINA POLICY AND THAT TYDINGS WAS GUILTY OF A "STUDIOUSLY FALSE ASSERTION."

THE LETTERS WERE FROM A PRESENT STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE WHOSE NAME WAS NOT DIVULGED; FRANCIS EUGEN O'BRIEN, NOW AN EMPLOYEE OF THE SEARS-ROEBUCK CO.; BURNEY THREADGILL, JR., ACCORDING TO MCCARTHY A PRESENT FBI AGENT, AND PAUL E. SULLIVAN, DESCRIBED AS A PRESENT STUDENT AT THE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOOL.

AT THE SAME TIME MCCARTHY RELEASED A LETTER BY FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER WHICH IN REPLY TO A MCCARTHY INQUIRY SAID THAT THE FBI MADE NO EXAMINATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL FILES HANDED THE TYDINGS GROUP FOR STUDY AND THAT THE AGENCY HENCE WAS "NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT" CONCERNING THE COMPLETENESS OF THE FILES.

AT THE REQUEST OF REPORTERS MCCARTHY MADE PUBLIC A LETTER WHICH HOOVER ENCLOSED WRITTEN BY PEYTON FORD, ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, TO TYDINGS ON JUNE 16, AND UPON WHICH TYDINGS BASED HIS REPORT THAT THE FILES WERE COMPLETE.

FORD'S LETTER TO TYDINGS SAID THAT "THE FBI HAD FURNISHED HIM WITH A RECORD OF ALL LOYALTY MATERIAL PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN THE ALLEGED CASES OF DISLOYALTY MADE BY MCCARTHY ON THE SENATE FLOOR. "THE STATE DEPARTMENT FILES HAVE BEEN CHECKED AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT ALL OF THE REPORTS AND MEMORANDA WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN FURNISHED THE STATE DEPARTMENT ARE IN THE FILES," FORD WROTE TYDINGS.

THE LETTERS FROM THE FOUR PERSONS EMPLOYED ON A STATE DEPARTMENT CLERICAL JOB SHOWED THAT THE ALLEGED FILE STRIPPING OCCURRED BETWEEN AUG. 1946 AND DEC. 1946, A FEW MONTHS BEFORE THE PRESENT PRESIDENTIAL LOYALTY CHECKUP SYSTEM WAS INSTITUTED. IT WAS DURING THE TENURE OF OFFICE OF FORMER SECRETARY JAMES F. BYRNES AND AT A TIME WHEN PRESENT SECRETARY DEAN ACHESON WAS UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE.

7/12--TS/T1145A

INDEXED - 92

NOT RECORDED
 135 AUG 11 1950

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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ADD 3 MCCARTHY

THE LETTER FROM THE UNIDENTIFIED PRESENT DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE REPORTED THAT "WE WERE ALL INSTRUCTED TO REMOVE ALL DEROGATORY MATERIAL FROM THE PERSONNEL FILES AND WE WERE INSTRUCTED TO DISPOSE OF THIS MATERIAL. THE DEROGATORY MATERIAL CONSISTED OF LETTERS, MEMORANDUM WHICH REFLECTED ON THE EMPLOYEE."

MCCARTHY SAID HE WOULD MAKE THE INFORMANT'S NAME PUBLIC IF HE WAS ASSURED BY MR. TRUMAN THAT HE WOULD NOT BE FIRED FROM HIS JOB.

O'BRIEN, DESCRIBED BY MCCARTHY AS A FORMER FBI AND STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE NOW WORKING FOR SEARS-ROEBUCK AND GOING TO SCHOOL "ON THE SIDE," REPORTED THAT THE CLERKS RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS "ORALLY" TO "REMOVE ALL PAPERS, LETTERS, MEMORANDUM AND REPORTS EXCEPT ADMINISTRATIVE FORMS," FROM THE PERSONNEL JACKETS. MATERIAL REMOVED, HE SAID, WAS DUMPED INTO BASKETS AND BOXES.

O'BRIEN SAID THAT GEORGE CAPP WAS SUPERVISOR OF THE PROJECT, AND MCCARTHY SAID CAPP STILL WAS EMPLOYED BY THE DEPARTMENT.

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ADD 4 MCCARTHY

THREADGILL, NOW AN FBI AGENT ACCORDING TO MCCARTHY, SAID THAT HE WAS EMPLOYED AS A STATE DEPARTMENT CLERK IN AN OFFICE ADJOINING THAT IN WHICH THE ALLEGED FILE STRIPPING OCCURRED. HIS DUTIES, THREADGILL SAID, WERE TO TYPE OUT REMAINING INFORMATION ON FILES. HE SAID "SOME VERY FEW," OF THE ALLEGEDLY "EDITED" FILES CARRIED "INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS," AND DECLARED THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT SOME STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES "HAD COME TO THE FILES AND REMOVED DEROGATORY MATERIAL WHICH WAS IN THE FILE ON THEMSELVES."

MCCARTHY TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THAT FORD'S LETTER TO TYDINGS INDICATED THAT ONLY 70 PERSONNEL FILES ON THE SO-CALLED "81 CASES" HE LAYED BEFORE THE SENATE WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE COMMITTEE, PLUS TWO FILES COVERING PEOPLE HE DID NOT NAME.

THOSE NOT SUBMITTED THE COMMITTEE FOR STUDY, MCCARTHY SAID, WERE FILES ON "SOME OF THE WORST ACTORS" IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. HE SAID THE FILES ON AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE PHILIP C. JESSUP AND WILLIAM W. REMINGTON, RECENTLY INDICTED FOR PERJURY, WERE NOT INCLUDED. REMINGTON WAS A COMMERCE, NOT A STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE, BUT MCCARTHY SAID HE WAS "ASSOCIATED" WITH STATE.

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE INDICATION WHETHER THE FILES TO WHICH MCCARTHY'S INFORMANTS REFERRED INCLUDED THE PERSONNEL JACKETS OF THOSE HE HAS CHARGED WITH BEING COMMUNISTS, PRO-COMMUNISTS AND BAD SECURITY RISKS.

TYDINGS TOLD NEWSMEN ON JUNE 21 THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT THAT A JUSTICE-FBI CHECKUP HAD INDICATED NOTHING MISSING FROM THE FILES.

HOOVER TOLD MCCARTHY THAT THE FBI HAD MADE NO EXAMINATION OF THE FILES, BUT HAD FURNISHED FORD A "RECORD OF ALL LOYALTY MATERIAL FURNISHED THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN THE 81 CASES" REFERRED TO BY MCCARTHY. IT APPARENTLY WAS ON THIS "RECORD" THAT FORD CONDUCTED HIS OWN INVESTIGATION AND REPORTED TO TYDINGS.

FORD'S LETTER TO TYDINGS MADE NO CLAIMS OF AN FBI CHECKUP, BUT MERELY SAID ONE HAD BEEN MADE, PRESUMABLY BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, AND THAT NOTHING HAD BEEN FOUND MISSING.

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ADD 5 MCCARTHY

MCCARTHY WROTE THE PRESIDENT THAT "AMERICAN BOYS LIE DEAD IN THE MUD OF KOREAN VALLEYS" BECAUSE THE STATE DEPARTMENT "SABOTAGED" AID TO KOREA VOTED BY CONGRESS IN THE PAST.

ONLY \$52,000 WORTH OF WIRE HAD BEEN SENT KOREA FOR DEFENSE PURPOSES, HE SAID, AT THE TIME OF THE COMMUNIST ATTACK ALTHOUGH CONGRESS HAD VOTED MORE THAN \$100,000,000 TO "FORTIFY" KOREA.

"WHILE THE RUSSIANS WERE SENDING TO NORTH KOREA TANKS, ARTILLERY AND PLANES, OUR STATE DEPARTMENT 'EXPERTS' ON THE FAR EAST WERE SABOTAGING OUR PROGRAM TO MILITARILY AID THE KOREAN REPUBLIC," HE SAID.

HE CHARGED AGAIN THAT ACHESON "EXPEDITED" A \$60,000,000 ORDER FOR MUNITIONS FOR COMMUNIST FORCES IN POLAND. ACHESON, TESTIFYING BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS IN COMMITTEE IN CONNECTION WITH HIS CONFIRMATION AS SECRETARY OF STATE, CATEGORICALLY DENIED THIS. HIS LAW FIRM, ACHESON SAID, AT ONE TIME REPRESENTED THE POLISH GOVERNMENT BUT THAT HE TOOK NO PART IN EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A LOAN FOR POLAND BECAUSE HE WAS IN THE DEPARTMENT AND NOT ASSOCIATED WITH THE FIRM AT THAT TIME. THE FIRM STOPPED ITS REPRESENTATION, HE SAID, WHEN POLAND WENT COMMUNIST.

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ADD 6 MCCARTHY

TYDINGS HAD NO COMMENT IMMEDIATELY OTHER THAN "I DON'T THINK I'LL BOTHER WITH THAT." HE NOTED THAT FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER HAD SENT FORD A RECORD OF THE FBI LOYALTY MATERIAL PREVIOUSLY GIVEN TO STATE AND THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAD CONDUCTED A CHECK.

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McCarthy Charges State Department Files Were Purged of Data Derogatory to Personnel

By The Associated Press

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) yesterday produced papers which showed, he said, that Government files were stripped in 1946 of all material derogatory to State Department employees.

The State Department issued a denial, terming McCarthy's blast a "characteristic distortion of facts."

The Department said personnel information was culled from its files in 1946 but that the data removed did not deal with loyalty or security matters.

In fact, the agency stated, records of employe loyalty and security "were and are separately maintained in a security division wholly removed from the personnel operation."

McCarthy made the charge of file-stripping in a six-page letter to President Truman.

With the letter he sent four statements he said had been signed

by men hired to throw away all discrediting documents.

The letter to Mr. Truman—and photographic copies of the statements—were made public at a news conference.

McCarthy told reporters the alleged file-stripping was done shortly before President Truman's loyalty program started in 1947.

"Why would the State Department find it necessary to strip the files unless the information, when placed before loyalty boards, would have caused the removal of those individuals?" he asked Mr. Truman.

"The stripping was successful to the extent that this Nation was and is being betrayed."

Hits Tydings "Falschhood"

Then McCarthy said:

"Someone in the State Department ordered the files stripped. Who was he? He must be found, Mr. President."

McCarthy also teed off on Senator Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.), who heads the committee investigating McCarthy's charges that Communists are in the State Department.

Last week, McCarthy said, Tydings made a "studiously false assertion" when he said the FBI had examined State Department files and found them complete and intact.

McCarthy included a copy of a letter, dated July 10, from J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI. In this letter Hoover said in part:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made no such examination and therefore is not in a position to make any statement concerning the completeness or incompleteness of the State Department files."

When newsmen asked Tydings if he had any comment, he first said: "I don't think I'll bother with that."

Then he turned to the Hoover letter and said:

"Well, the FBI sent the stuff over and the Justice Department studied it."

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post 12

Wash. News _____

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through all the State Department personnel (sic) files and remove all papers, letters, memorandum and reports except administrative forms."

One is New FBI Agent

3. Paul E. Sullivan, now a student at Georgetown University.

"All the clerks on this project were to pull out of the files all matters considered derogatory either morally or politically."

The fourth statement, McCarthy said, was signed by Burney Threadgill, jr., now an FBI agent. Threadgill didn't work on the files himself, but did typing in an office down the hall.

"This project was very confused, hurried and very little supervision of the clerks," Threadgill said. "I recall talking to one of the other clerks (I can't recall his name at this time) when he told me that he knew some of the employees of the State Department had come to the files and removed derogatory material which was in the file on themselves."

The statements were all in the handwriting of one of McCarthy's investigators. They were signed, but not sworn. McCarthy said the investigator had no authority to take sworn statements.

There was no comment from either the State Department or the White House on McCarthy's letter.

Statements Read to Senate

Later, McCarthy read the four signed statements to the Senate, and put part of his letter to Mr. Truman in the Congressional Record.

He said he wasn't going to put it all in because he had referred to Tydings "in a way that might be a violation of the Senate rules." This obviously was an allusion to his statement that Tydings had made a "studiously false assertion."

According to McCarthy, the following three men were hired to take out and throw away derogatory information in State Department files:

1. A man who still is in the State Department, and whose name McCarthy therefore withheld. In the statement, this man said:

"All the derogatory material in the files was destroyed or thrown away."

2. Francis Eugene Brien, 25, who now works in a Sears Roebuck store. He said:

"I and the other clerks received instructions orally and by a form paper that we were to go

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: _____

McCarthy Charges State Department Files Were Purged of Data Derogatory to Personnel

By The Associated Press

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) yesterday produced papers which showed, he said, that Government files were stripped in 1946 of all material derogatory to State Department employees.

The State Department issued a denial, terming McCarthy's blast a "characteristic distortion of facts."

The Department said personnel information was culled from its files in 1946 but that the data removed did not deal with loyalty or security matters.

In fact, the agency stated, records of employee loyalty and security "were and are separately maintained in a security division wholly removed from the personnel operation."

McCarthy made the charge of file-stripping in a six-page letter to President Truman.

With the letter he sent four statements he said had been signed by men hired to throw away all discrediting documents.

The letter to Mr. Truman—and photographic copies of the statements—were made public at a news conference.

McCarthy told reporters the alleged file-stripping was done shortly before President Truman's loyalty program started in 1947.

"Why would the State Department find it necessary to strip the files unless the information, when placed before loyalty boards, would have caused the removal of those individuals?" he asked Mr. Truman.

"The stripping was successful to the extent that this Nation was and is being betrayed."

Hits Tydings "Falsehood"

Then McCarthy said:

"Someone in the State Department ordered the files stripped. Who was he? He must be found. . . . President."

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Page

Times Herald

Wash. Post 12

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

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Memorandum to the State Department

W. J. Harrison

(COMMUNISTS)

SEN. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, R., IA., DEMANDED TODAY THAT SENATE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATORS LOOK INTO CHARGES THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS STRIPPED ITS FILES OF "DEROGATORY MATERIAL."

THE ACCUSATION WAS MADE BY SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R., WIS., WHOSE CHARGES OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE DEPARTMENT HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED BY A SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

HICKENLOOPER, A COMMITTEE MEMBER, SAID THE GROUP SHOULD POSTPONE ITS PENDING REPORT UNTIL IT HAS CHECKED MCCARTHY'S LATEST CLAIM OF FILE-TAMPERING.

"THE COMMITTEE HAD HINTS OF THIS SITUATION BEFORE MCCARTHY SAID ANYTHING ABOUT IT," HE SAID. "THE STAFF NEVER FOLLOWED THEM UP."

"IF MCCARTHY CAN DEVELOP THIS SORT OF EVIDENCE, THERE IS NO REASON THE COMMITTEE CAN'T."

HICKENLOOPER HAS BEEN AT ODDS WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY OVER ISSUANCE OF A REPORT AT THIS TIME ON MCCARTHY'S ORIGINAL CHARGES. THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAS ORDERED THE REPORT PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION WITHIN A FEW DAYS.

HICKENLOOPER, WHO IS EXPECTED TO FILE MINORITY VIEWS, SAID HE HAD "HEARD REPORTS" THAT THE STAFF WAS REVISING THE REPORT IN LIGHT OF MCCARTHY'S REVELATIONS. BUT THIS WAS PROMPTLY DENIED BY SUBCOMMITTEE COUNSEL EDWARD P. MORGAN.

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Highlights of Probe Report

Some of the highlights of the report of the three Democratic members of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee which investigated Senator McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration in the State Department:

"At a time when American blood is again being shed to preserve our dream of freedom, we are constrained fearlessly and frankly to call the charges, and the methods employed to give them ostensible validity, what they truly are: A fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people.

"They represent perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruth in the history of this Republic.

"For the first time in our history, we have seen the totalitarian technique of the 'big lie' employed on a sustained basis . . ."

"It is, of course, clearly apparent that the charges of Communist infiltration of and influence upon the State Department are false. This knowledge is reassuring to all Americans whose faith has been temporarily shaken in the security of their Government . . ."

"We have seen the character of private citizens and of Government employes virtually destroyed by public condemnation on the basis of gossip, distortion, hearsay, and deliberate untruths . . . This has been done without the slightest vestige of respect for even the most elementary rules of evidence or fair play, or, indeed, common decency.

"Indeed, we have seen an effort not merely to establish guilt by association but guilt by accusation alone. The spectacle is one we would expect in a totalitarian nation . . . It has no place in America . . ."

"The false charges made in this case have succeeded in accomplishing to a great degree what the Communists themselves have been unable to do. These charges have created distrust and suspicion at home and raised serious doubts abroad."

"From the very outset of our inquiry, Senator McCarthy has sought to leave the impression that the subcommittee has been investigating him and not 'disloyalty in the State Department'. The reason for the Senator's concern is now apparent. He had no facts to support his wild and baseless charges, and lived in mortal fear that this situation would be exposed . . ."

"Starting with nothing, Senator McCarthy plunged headlong forward, desperately seeking to develop some information, which colored with distortion and fanned by a blaze of bias, would forestall a day of reckoning."

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Wash. Post 6

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

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121-23278-A
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Communist in the State Department

Tydings Group Declares 3 Out Of Probe's Scope

Six of nine individuals publicly named as Communists or security risks by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin were cleared of disloyalty charges in the Democratic majority report of a Senate foreign relations subcommittee made public yesterday.

The remaining three, Gustavo Duran, a member of the secretariat of the United Nations; Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, professor at Williams college, and Dr. Harold Shapely, professor of astrophysics at Harvard university, were dismissed with the remark they did not come within "the proper purview" of the inquiry.

Shapely Not Employee

Duran left the State department in 1946. Shapely was a member of a United Nations commission by appointment of the State department but not a State department employe in "any real and proper sense," the report said.

Schuman's only connection with the State department, according to the report, was to make a lecture to the personnel in 1946.

In exonerating the remaining six of any tinge of pro-communism or Soviet sympathy, the report mildly criticized only two individuals, John S. Service, State department foreign service officer, and Dorothy Kenyon, New York City attorney, another United Nations commission member by State department appointment.

FBI Recording Revealed

The report, for the first time, made public the entire FBI wire recording of a private conversation here in the Statler hotel between Service and Philip J. Jaffe, central figure in the Amerasia espionage case.

Excerpts from this recording: "Jaffe: I'll tell you what I think happened, Jack. I think that Roosevelt recognized after he appointed Hurley (Ambassador to China Patrick J. Hurley) that it was a mistake to appoint him.

"But once Hurley did his dirty work—and I think Hurley did—Roosevelt and the whole country on the spot and Roosevelt was trying to find some way of getting out—he would have been delighted if he could have found some excuse for firing the guy but of course Hurley put us on the spot where we can't move any longer without openly defying Chungking (capital of the Nationalist government)."

"Service: Well, what I said about the military plans is, of course, very secret."

"Jaffe: Yes, well, that was talked around about—"

"Service: That plan was made up by Wedemeyer's staff in his absence, they got orders to make some recommendations as to what we should do if we landed in Communist territory."

"Jaffe: To co-operate with them?"

"Service: Well, yes, that's what we planned and they showed me the plans they had drawn up."

Service "Extremely Indiscreet"

The FBI followed this verbatim quotation with a summary of the continuing conversation. Jaffe and Service discussed whether Russia would declare war on Japan. Jaffe said Russia would declare war if the San Francisco United Nations conference broke down or if a coalition government in Chungking asked them to enter the war.

Service gave the subcommittee a lengthy "explanation," asserting the "plans" he discussed with Jaffe were really not "military" or "secret." The report remarked that Service had been "extremely indiscreet" but Service was "neither disloyal, a Communist nor a security risk."

The majority report on other individuals accused:

1. Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins university professor, has never been in any proper sense a State department employe. Far from being the "architect of our foreign policy" he has had no controlling influence on that policy. We find no evidence to support the charge that he is a "top Russian spy" or any sort of spy. Some of his friends, associates and con-

tacts have been identified before us as Communists. In no instance has it been shown that he knowingly associated with Communists.

Jessup Not a "Dupe"

2. Philip C. Jessup, ambassador at large. The facts fail completely to establish that he has "an unusual affinity for Communist causes" or is a "dupe" of anyone.

3. Miss Kenyon. Although her name has been associated in one manner or another with 20 different Communist fronts, she was found to be connected with only one organization after it was cited as subversive. The number of admitted affiliations suggests a high degree of naivete and perhaps gullibility but the evidence fails to establish that she is a Communist or otherwise disloyal.

4. John Carter Vincent, minister to Switzerland. The McCarthy charges that he is "a part of the espionage ring in the State department" are "absurd."

Mrs. Brunauer Exonerated

5. Esther C. Brunauer, a State department employe, named as a member of numerous Communist fronts. The conclusion is inescapable, on the basis of our inquiry, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

6. Haldore Hanson, State department official in charge of Mr. Truman's "Point Four" spending program. The only testimony against him is that of Louis Budenz which "leaves us in wonderment." We cannot accept Budenz' hearsay testimony as controlling.

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Page 9

Times-Herald
 Wash. Post
 Wash. News
 Wash. Star
 N.Y. Mirror
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JUL 18 1950
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Tydings Committee Majority Findings

Below is a summary of the findings of the Democratic majority—Senators Tydings (Md.), Green (R. I.) and McMahon (Conn.)—of the special investigating subcommittee on the persons Senator McCarthy, charged with having Communist leanings or a Communist record. In addition, there is a summary of Senator Lodge's (R., Mass.) findings on the two individual cases he chose to discuss.

Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer: "The evidence against Mrs. Brunauer, under impartial examination, reduces itself to the fact that she was a member of one organization five years before it was cited as a Communist front, and that in 1934 and 1936, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member . . .

"The conclusion is inescapable, on the basis of our inquiry, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk."

Gustavo Duran: "In view of the fact that his employment in the (State) Department ceased (in October, 1946) before the loyalty program was instituted, we do not feel that a discussion of him is merited."

Haldore Hanson: "We are constrained to point out that the information used by Senator McCarthy to uphold his allegations that Hanson is a man of 'pro-Communist proclivities' and has 'a mission to communize the world' falls in credibility, relevancy, and competency."

"The quotations from Hanson's book, unfairly presented and grossly misinterpreted in the first instance, when subjected to examination, fail miserably as proof of any pro-Communist leaning on his part."

"The only testimony before us indicating that Hanson may have had any Communist connections is that of Louis Budenz, which leaves us, to a degree, in wonderment."

"He testified that it is his strong 'impression' that Jack Stachel told him orally that Hanson was a Communist. He recalls no details. He first reported to the FBI his alleged conversation with Stachel relative to Hanson about a week before testifying before us and, therefore, several weeks after Hanson was publicized as a pro-Communist by Senator McCarthy's allegations."

"In the face of the results of the FBI investigation and the Loyalty Board's review of the . . . case, and in consideration of the evidence before us, we cannot accept Mr. Budenz' hearsay testimony as controlling."

"We do not find Hanson to be disloyal, or a man with pro-Communist proclivities or a mission to communize the world."

Philip Jessup: "The facts before us fail completely to establish that (he) has 'an unusual affinity for Communist causes' or is a 'dupe' of anyone . . .

"The record contains striking evidence of concrete facts which conclusively demonstrate that Dr. Jessup is actively opposing the aims of communism by deeds as well as words. He has the faith and trust of great Americans, such as Generals Marshall and Eisenhower, who know him by his actions during recent years when men's loyalty and integrity have been put to the test."

"This subcommittee feels that the accusations made against him are completely unfounded and unjustified and have done irreparable harm to the prestige of the United States."

Dorothy Kenyon: "While the number of admitted affiliations by Miss Dorothy Kenyon are sufficient to suggest at least a high degree of naivete and perhaps gullibility, American standards of justice and fair play have not deteriorated to the point that our citizens become disloyal on the basis alone of their affiliations with organizations found to be subversive several years after the affiliations, particularly in the case of Communist fronts which are deliberately designed to deceive and hoodwink the unsuspecting."

"In the case of Miss Kenyon, we have been especially impressed by the fact that, during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, she opposed the program which the Communist Party insisted be acquiesced in by its followers. We do not find that her employment in the past by the State Department is evidence of the fact that the department has employed disloyal persons."

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INDEXED - 108

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76 AUG 19 1950

File 121-3718
5-718

Page

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

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Owen Lattimore: The Majority: "We find that Owen Lattimore is not now and never has been in any proper sense an employee of our State Department . . .

"Far from being the 'architect of our Far Eastern policy,' we find that Mr. Lattimore has had no controlling or effective influence whatever on that policy . . .

"We find no evidence to support the charge that (he) is the 'top Russian spy' or, for that matter, any other sort of spy . . . We do not find that (his) writings follow the Communist or any other line, save as his very consistent position on the Far East may be called the Lattimore line . . .

"We should be remiss in not commenting on the manner in which the charges against (him) have been presented. As in the case of other phases of our inquiry, we have seen a distortion of the facts on such a magnitude as to be truly alarming."

Senator Lodge: "Whatever conclusions are to be announced in this case . . . must be based both on hearsay evidence and on incomplete investigation, and are inescapably tentative . . .

"In these circumstances, the only possible conclusion is that the investigation which the subcommittee conducted—and which was . . . definitely limited in its character—not only failed to prove the allegation that Mr. Lattimore was Communist; it also clearly failed to prove the charges that he was either 'the architect of our Far Eastern policy' or 'one of the top Communist agents in this country.'"

Frederick L. Schuman: "Our inquiry establishes that Dr. Schuman has never been an employee of the State Department. In fact, his one and only connection with the department in any way was to deliver a one-hour lecture without remuneration at the Foreign Service Institute on June 19, 1946."

John S. Service: The Majority:

"We have carefully considered the evidence and conclude that (he) is neither a disloyal person, a pro-Communist, nor a security risk . . .

"We must conclude that Service was extremely indiscreet in his dealings . . . a fact which he himself readily admits."

Senator Lodge: "I believe that Service in the Amerasia case was most indiscreet in his associations, which were entered into in an apparently rapid, thoughtless, and indiscriminating manner."

"There is no proof of disloyalty

and no runner against his character."

Harlow Shapley: "Our inquiry establishes that Dr. Shapley is not an employee of the Department of State in any real and proper sense."

John Carter Vincent: "We have carefully reviewed the loyalty file concerning Mr. Vincent, and the McCarthy charges [that he was a 'big Communist' and 'part of an espionage ring'] are absurd. The file does not show him to be disloyal or a security risk."

JUL 18 1950

"TEXTUAL EXCERPTS FROM MAJORITY REPORT
BLASTING MCCARTHY CHARGES"

456

552 AUG 18 1950

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121-23278-A

NOT RECORDED
76 AUG 19 1950

THE "STAR"
WASHINGTON, DC.
JULY 16, 1950
PAGE 47

The constitution of the foregoing terminology constituted a misrepresentation of the true facts to the Senate.

We find that in making his speech on February 20, 1950, which occasioned the passage of Senate Resolution 231, Senator McCarthy left the unmistakable inference that he had but recently obtained from unrevealed sources in the State Department the information which he was presenting to the Senate.

Our investigation establishes that the material presented in this speech was data developed in 1947 by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress; and that representations indicating it had recently come from "loyal State Department employees misled and deceived the Senate."

We find that the information presented to the Senate on February 20, 1950, by Senator McCarthy, concerning "81" individuals identified by him only by numbers, was a colored and distorted version of material developed by investigators of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 during the 80th Congress.

Senate Was Deceived.

To the extent that the information was colored and distorted and the source thereof concealed, the Senate was deceived.

We find that four separate committees of the 80th Congress, controlled by Senator McCarthy's own party, formally considered the same information relative to the "81" individuals, as that utilized in the Senator's speech, and did not regard such information as sufficiently significant to prepare a report relative to the matter or to cite a single employee of the State Department as disloyal. . . .

We find that Senator McCarthy failed to co-operate with the subcommittee or to supply further information concerning the "81" individuals mentioned in his speech of February 20, 1950, after having assured the Senate that he would "be willing, happy, and eager to go before any committee and give the names and all the information available."

Our investigation establishes that the only logical reason for the Senator's nonco-operation and failure to supply further information was the fact that he had no information to supply.

We find that Senator McCarthy asserted the proof to sustain his charges against the "81" individuals would be found in the loyalty files concerning them.

Files Reviewed.

Our review of these files reveals that they do not contain proof to

before us fall completely to establish that Dr. Jessup has "an affinity for Communist causes" or is a "dupe" of anyone. His connections with the Institute of Pacific Relations do not in any way reflect unfavorably upon him when the true character of the organization is revealed. Of the many thousands of dollars received by the institute as contributions, only a few thousand dollars are shown to have come from Communist contributors. Many prominent men of unquestioned loyalty and integrity have been instrumental in the management of the organization and in making financial contributions to it. It is noteworthy that only the California Committee on Un-American Activities has cited the American Council of the Institute as a Communist front, and that was done in its 1948 report, two years after Dr. Jessup had resigned.

Primarily Private Feud.

Senator McCarthy also charged that Dr. Jessup opposed an attempt to investigate the Institute of Pacific Relations to determine if it were Communist-controlled. It has been shown that this reference is to an attempt made by Alfred Kohlberg to wrest control of the institute. The dispute was primarily a private feud between the controlling group and the faction supporting Kohlberg which resulted in overwhelming defeat for Kohlberg and his faction. While we do not pass on the merits of the contest, it is apparent that this is a correct explanation of the incident in contradiction of the erroneous interpretation given it by Senator McCarthy.

We cannot also find any evidence to support the allegation that Dr. Jessup was in control of the publication Far Eastern Survey or that that magazine took part in a "smear campaign" against Chiang Kai-shek.

Only a casual review of the record is required to demonstrate the erroneous and misleading character of the charge that Dr. Jessup has been affiliated with five Communist-front organizations. . . . This subcommittee feels that the accusations made against Dr. Philip C. Jessup are completely unfounded and unjustified and have done irreparable harm to the prestige of the United States.

(e) Dorothy Kenyon—The evidence before this subcommittee fails to establish that Dorothy Kenyon is a Communist or an otherwise disloyal person. It is apparent that she was less than judicious in joining certain organizations during the late 1930's

not find that any of the writings follow the Communist or



Haldore Hanson Dr. Esther Brunauer John C. Vincent

any other line, save as his very consistent position on the Far East may be called the Lattimore line.

... Perhaps, in many of his contacts, Mr. Lattimore has not exercised the discretion which our knowledge of communism in 1950 indicates would have been wise, but we are impelled to comment that in no instance has Mr. Lattimore—on the evidence before us—been shown to have knowingly associated with Communists. The convenient theory suggested to us that he must have known has not yet become the criterion for judging a private citizen in this country. . . .

Right to Express Views.

In our view, the Lattimore case affords an opportunity to reaffirm this Nation's determination to protect its citizens when they, not as minions of agents of a foreign power or subversive group but as independent researchers, writers, and speakers, express freely their honest views and convictions. . . .

(G) Frederick L. Schuman—Our inquiry establishes that Dr. Frederick L. Schuman has never been an employee of the State Department. In fact, his one and only connection with the department in any way was to deliver a 1-hour lecture, without remuneration, at the Foreign Service Institute on June 19, 1946.

(H) John Stewart Service—We have carefully considered the evidence and conclude that John Stewart Service is neither a disloyal person, a pro-Communist, nor a security risk. We have been particularly impressed with the frankness and co-operativeness of Mr. Service in his appearances before us. Many questions with hidden implications have been asked him about events that transpired many years ago. Never did he seek to avoid answering on the

that we have carefully reviewed the loyalty file concerning Vincent, and the McCauley charges are absurd. The file does not show him to be disloyal or a security risk.

Amerasia Case Report.

Relative to the Amerasia case . . . We find there is not a shred of evidence to support an unwarranted charge that Amerasia was "run" in a manner, and that certain prosecutive officials had abused a free rein in handling the in their best judgment.

We find that three bodies now investigated the Amerasia case—(1) a committee of House of Representatives; (2) a special grand jury in New York City in 1944, and (3) a subcommittee—and that each inquiry has established that the case was not improperly handled by the FBI in the investigation of the Department of Justice prosecution.

While the investigation by the FBI failed to establish that inspired or directed espionage, the Amerasia case represents a gusting and inexcusable effort to obtain unlawfully classified documents of the United States Government. A complete examination in contemplation of security, is our finding that the system and method of classification existing at the time was ridiculous. Documents clearly classified in a haphazard and venial fashion with an almost disregard as to whether information contained in the documents was of a character warranting classification. This too clearly had the effect of vitiating the significance of the documents warranting classification. . . .

This subcommittee has subjected to an organized

veterans' groups and committees to send information that is sent by legal means directly between the two parties. The law is not intended for a case where the division for which there is a dispute.



basis for ridicule of those who fight communism with truth, the only weapon with which it can be destroyed.

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strained fearlessly and frankly to call the charges, and the methods employed to give them ostensible validity, what they truly are, fraud and a hoax perpetrated by the Government.

the Senate of the United States and the American people represent perhaps the fiercest campaign of half-truth and untruth in the history of this republic. For the first time in our history, we have seen the totalitarian technique of the "big lie" employed on a sustained basis. The result has been to confuse and divide the American people, at a time when they should be strong in their unity, to a degree far beyond the hopes of the Communists themselves whose stock in trade is confusion and division. In such a disillusioning setting, we appreciate as never before our Bill of Rights, a freedom press and the heritage of freedom that has made this Nation great.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

I
While the charges which resulted in Senate Resolution No. 221 have clearly not been sustained upon investigation, it is believed that their inevitable effect, considering the treatment given them by certain segments of the press and radio, has been to disturb the faith of some American citizens in the security of the State Department—one department in which their faith today should and must be strong and secure. We believe that our findings and conclusions flow naturally from the evidence developed incident to an intensive investigation and are true and judicious; yet we feel that human nature being what it is, particularly in

(H) John Stewart Service—We have carefully considered the evidence and conclude that John Stewart Service is neither a disloyal person, a pro-Communist, nor a security risk. We have been particularly impressed with the frankness and co-operativeness of Mr. Service in his appearances before us. Many questions with hidden implications have been asked him about events that transpired many years ago. Never did he seek to avoid answering on the

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We feel that one of the most reprehensible aspects of the unfortunate results of the charges made against the Communists is the true fact caused by the Communism. Such charges, being the result of a lack of understanding of the effect of outlawing the Communist Party in the United States, have been made by the Government. The Government has been the cause of the

Senator McCarthy said: "Last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party."

At No Time Had Names.

Our investigation establishes that Senator McCarthy at no time has had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party in the State Department and that during the course of a 4 months' investigation he has been unable to produce competent evidence or to indicate where such evidence is obtainable concerning one member of the Communist Party, card-carrying or otherwise, who is employed in the State Department.

We find that on the evening of February 11, 1950, at Reno, Nev., Senator McCarthy again spoke on the question. As reported in the Nevada State Journal:

Senator McCarthy who had first typed a total of 205 employees of the State Department who could be considered disloyal to the United States and pro-Communists scratched out that number, and mentioned only "57 card-carrying members," whom Acheson should know as well as members of Congress.

We find that in making a speech on the Senate floor on February 20, 1950, Senator McCarthy read what purported to be the speech delivered by him at Wheeling, W. Va., that the purported speech as read to the Senate was identical with the speech delivered at Wheeling except that he withheld from the Senate the statement actually made, as set forth in conclusion 1 above, and substituted in lieu thereof the following:

"I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

Facts Misrepresented.

The substitution of the foregoing terminology constituted a misrepresentation of the true facts to the Senate.

We find that in making his speech on February 20, 1950, which occasioned the passage of

ment is made up of high-type individuals of unquestioned loyalty, in and sound judgment.

That the Loyalty Review Board provides an effective and salutary control over the functioning of the loyalty program.

Conclusions Restated.

Our conclusions with respect to each of the individuals publicly charged by Senator McCarthy are being restated as follows:

(a) Esther Caukin Brunauer—The evidence against Mrs. Brunauer, under impartial examination, reduces itself to the fact that she was a member of one organization 5 years before it was cited as a Communist front, and that in 1934 and 1935, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member. . . . The conclusion is inescapable, on the basis of our inquiry, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

(b) Gustavo Duran—Duran was employed in the State Department from January 30, 1943, to October 3, 1946, when he resigned. In view of the fact that his employment in the department ceased before the loyalty program was instituted, we do not feel that a discussion of him is merited in our report. . . .

(c) Haldore Hanson—It is clear from the evidence concerning Hanson that he is not "one of the most strategically important officers in the entire State Department" as charged by Senator McCarthy, and that he will not be in charge of the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars under the Point 4 program. . . . On the basis of our record and the results of the FBI investigation as indicated by the loyalty board's action, we do not find Haldore Hanson to be disloyal, or a man with pro-Communist proclivities or a mission to communize the world.

(d) Philip C. Jessup—The facts before us fall completely to establish that Philip C. Jessup has "an unusual affinity for Communist causes" or is a "dupe" of anyone. His connections with the Institute of Pacific Relations do not in any

Far from being the "architect of our Far Eastern policy," we find that Mr. Lattimore had no controlling or effective influence whatever on that policy. His views have but been among those of hundreds of others that have gone into the cauldron from which emerges the source material that the policy makers of our State Department employed in making their judgments.

We find no evidence to support the charge that Owen Lattimore is the "top Russian spy" or, for that matter, any other sort of spy. Even the testimony of Louis F. Budenz, if given the fullest weight and import, could establish no more than that the Communists used Lattimore to project a propaganda line against China. We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him.

Writer and Scholar.

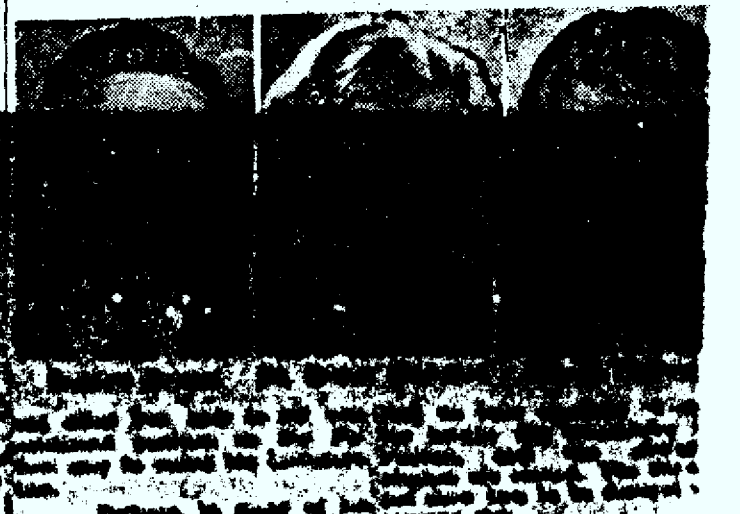
Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of procommunism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever to support this charge and the weight of all other information indicates that it is not true. For the greater portion of his life, Mr. Lattimore has made studies concerning Mongolia, a land little known to most Americans. These studies have been influenced and conditioned, to a lesser or greater degree, by Sino-Russian influences. In making his studies, Mr. Lattimore has found it necessary perforce to come into contact with and study these influences. We find absolutely no evidence to indicate that his writings and other expressions have been anything but the honest opinions and convictions of Owen Lattimore. Similar opinions and convictions vis-a-vis the Far East are entertained by many Americans about whom no conceivable suggestion of Communist proclivities could be entertained. We do not find that Mr. Lattimore's writings follow the Communist or

his articles in *Colliers* and *Saturday Evening Post* and he also worked for *Time* and *Fortune*. Mr. Service was unaware of the changes in the editorial board of *Amerasia* and still considered it an impartial authority on Far Eastern affairs. Because of the limited number of writers specializing on China, it was natural that he would expect errors in the field, like Gey and others, who also a greater interest in the matter than the average person. In addition, it is understood that Mr. Service was not a permanent correspondent during the period in question.

Mr. Service's conduct was extremely indifferent in his dealings with Gey and others, fact which he himself readily admits. Perhaps the State Department's administration process was at fault in failing to send employees coming into Washington on short consultations on to they should treat the press during their stay. But we cannot and do not conclude that his discretion in the *Amerasia* matter is sufficient to brand an otherwise loyal employee of 27 years service as disloyal, pro-Communist, a security risk.

(1) Harlow Shapley—Our inquiry establishes that Dr. Shapley is not an employee of the Department of State in any real or proper sense. . . . Within proper purview of our inquiry, consideration need the given charges made against Dr. Shapley.

(2) John Carter Vincent—Not among the nine individuals charged before us, Senator McCarthy has had a great deal to say reflecting upon the loyalty of Mr. John Carter Vincent, American minister to Belgium. He referred to Mr. Vincent as was No. 2 among the 57 cases, as (1) a big Communist tremendously important to Russia, as (2) a part of an espionage in the State Department, (3) as one who should "not be discharged but should be immediately prosecuted." In passing, it should be stated



Formerly Friends Fused.

Senator McCarthy also charged that Dr. Jessup opposed an attempt to investigate the Institute of Pacific Relations to determine if it were Communist-controlled. It has been shown that this

... Perhaps in field of his contacts, Mr. Lattimore has not acquired the discretion which one knowledge of communism in 1946 indicates would have been wise, but we are impelled to comment that in no instance has Mr. Lattimore been the evidence before us. . . . The responsibility for Communist propaganda is not to be placed on the shoulders of a few individuals who have not

American Case Report
Relative to the American Case
We find there is not a shred of evidence to support unwarranted charges that a propaganda case was "fixed" in a manner and that responsible officials had also a free rein in handling the in their best judgment.

... We find that the information furnished to the Senate on February 20, 1950, by Senator McCarthy concerning "57" individuals included by him only by numbers, was a colored and distorted version of material developed by investigators of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 during the 80th Congress.

Blasting McCarthy Charges



Dr. Harlow Shapley Philip C. Jessup

and unfair an election year, some Americans may question the findings of any investigative body that may have any degree of political complexion, as, of course, is true of any congressional committee. With this in mind, together with the memory of repeated charges, however unwarranted, concerning the loyalty program throughout the Government service as a whole, we make the following recommendation:

(A) That the President of the United States favorably consider the appointment of a commission, in the nature of the Hoover Commission, to make a thorough and comprehensive study of the loyalty program throughout the Federal service with a view to determining its adequacy to meet the requirements of security at this critical juncture of our international relations;

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(B) That this commission be composed of 12 high-minded and public-spirited individuals to be selected as follows:

(1) Four to be appointed by the President of the United States:

(1) Two from the Federal service.

(2) Two from private life.

(2) Four to be appointed by the President of the Senate:

(1) Two from the Senate—one from the majority and one from the minority party.

(2) Two from private life.

(3) Four to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

(1) Two from the House—one from the majority and one from the minority party.

(2) Two from private life.

II

It is recommended that a joint committee of the House and Senate be appointed to make a careful study of the immunity from civil suit extended members of Congress by reason of statements made by them on the floor of either House and before congressional committees. Our experience in this investigation indicates that this privilege extended us should not become a license for the char-

a committee of the Congress has, in practical effect, been declared invalid by the Supreme Court in the case of United States v. Bryan (70 S. Ct. 724 [1950]); rehearing denied (70 S. Ct. 1018 [1950]). Two witnesses have appeared before us and refused to testify, claiming their privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment to the Constitution. While contempt citations have been recommended in the case of each of these individuals, it is apparent that even if they are convicted for contempt, we have still been deprived of testimony on matters deemed material to our inquiry. Such a situation tends to threaten the very foundation of the immemorial prerogative of the Congress to conduct investigations and hearings. It is accordingly recommended that the appropriate committee of each branch of Congress conduct an immediate study with a view to developing a statute which will provide the necessary immunity where testimony is material to an inquiry and at the same time not be a vehicle to be employed by unscrupulous individuals seeking to escape punishment for crimes committed.

V

It is recommended that the

have been greatly impressed with the high caliber of State Department personnel charged with responsibility for security, both in Washington and abroad. We believe the American people would like to know and are entitled to know of the excellent strides which the department has taken to meet the peculiar and manifold problems entailed by the global disposition of its employees, activities and installations.

VI

The Amerasia case revealed that during the last war (1) there was a complete lack of common sense or good judgment shown in the classifying of documents and dispatches and (2) the system, at least at that time, for keeping records which would serve to determine the location of classified material was manifestly inadequate. While it is understood that studies have been made in the executive branch of the Government to correct this situation, it is recommended that the President through the National Security Council or otherwise, determine that such studies have resulted in corrective instructions that have been appropriately implemented.

Respectfully submitted.

MILLARD E. TYDINGS

Textual Excerpts From Majority

Following are textual excerpts from the findings and recommendations of the Democratic majority of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee set up to investigate charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin that Communists have infiltrated the State Department:

Findings and Conclusions.

Despite his denials on the Senate floor, publicly, and before this subcommittee, that he made the statement, we find on the evidence that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, W. Va., said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, while I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Our investigation establishes that the foregoing allegations are false and, particularly, that Senator McCarthy had no such list as alleged and that there is not one member of the Communist Party or of a "spy ring" employed in the State Department known to the Secretary of State or other responsible officials of that department.

We find that (in making a speech) at Salt Lake City, Utah, Senator McCarthy said:

"Last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party."

At No Time Had Names.

Our investigation establishes that Senator McCarthy at no time has had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party in the State Department and that during the course of a 4 months' investigation he has been unable to produce competent evidence or to indicate where such evidence is obtainable concerning any member of the Communist Party who is employed in the State Department.

We find that on the evening of February 11, 1950, at Reno, Nev., Senator McCarthy again spoke on the question. As reported in the Nevada State Journal:

Senator McCarthy who had first typed a total of 205 employees of the State Department who could be considered disloyal to the United States and pro-Communists scratched out that number, and mentioned only "57 card-carrying members," whom Acheson should know as well as members of



Frederick L. Schuman



John S. Service



Owen Lattimore

support the charges... Amazingly, despite Senator McCarthy's insistence that the loyalty files would prove his case and the clamor that the files be opened after the President made the files available to us, Senator Hickenlooper read only 9 of the files and Senator Lodge only 12.

Our investigation reveals that the loyalty program is of indispensable value in protecting both the employe and the security of the Federal service and that it is being efficiently administered.

Specifically:

(A) That the FBI's loyalty investigations are comprehensive and conclusive with respect to the facts.

(B) That the State Department's security division is efficiently operated by highly qualified personnel.

(C) That the Loyalty and Security Board of the State Department is made up of high-type individuals of unquestioned loyalty, integrity, and sound judgment.

(D) That the Loyalty Review Board provides an effective and salutary control over the functioning of the loyalty program.

Conclusions Restated.

Our conclusions with respect to each of the individuals publicly charged by Senator McCarthy are being restated as follows:

(a) Esther Calkin Brunauer—The evidence against Mrs. Brunauer, under impartial examination, reduces itself to the fact that she was a member of the organization 3 years before she was listed as a Communist front, and that in 1934 and 1936, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member... The conclusion is inescapable, on the basis of our inquiry, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

(b) Gustavo Duran—Duran was employed in the State Department from January 30, 1943, to October 3, 1946, when he resigned. In view of the fact that his employment in the department ceased before the loyalty program was

and early 1940's. Significantly, however, though her name has been associated in one manner or another with 20 different cited organizations, she was found to be connected on but one occasion with an organization after it was cited as subversive. Moreover, many of the alleged associations were denied or explained. In other cases, she had a great deal of distinguished company... We do not find that her employment in the past by the State Department is evidence of the fact that that department has employed disloyal persons.

Lattimore Influence Small.

(f) Owen Lattimore—We find that Owen Lattimore is not now and never has been in any proper sense an employe of our State Department. His connection with that department in any capacity has been at most peripheral and that on a most sporadic basis.

Far from being the "architect of our Far Eastern policy," we find that Mr. Lattimore has had no controlling or effective influence whatever on that policy. His views have but been among those of hundreds of others that have gone into the cauldron from which emerges the source material that the policy makers of our State Department employed in making their judgments.

We find no evidence to support the charge that Owen Lattimore is the "top Russian spy" or, for that matter, any other sort of spy. Even the testimony of Louis F. Budenz, if given the fullest weight and based on the evidence, no more than that the Communists used Lattimore to project a propaganda line about China. We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him.

Writer and Scholar.

Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of procommunism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever to support this charge and the weight of all other information indicates that it is not true. For the greater portion of

ground he could not ren but always... the benefit... might... additio waived... and tarily... the jury in... 1946. hearing all the facts, the jury unanimously voted to indict Mr. Service. We could fail to be impressed also with almost continuous scrutiny which he has been subjected in the last 5 years. He has cleared four times by either State Department Personnel Board or the State Department Security and Loyalty Board.

Accepted Practice.

While not condoning it, we recognize that it was an accepted practice for State Department officials to impart some type of classified information to writers in order to give them background information for their articles. John S. Service was in an unusual position in China and, in accordance with Gen. Stilwell's policy, he maintained relations with representatives in China of the American press in order to keep them on political and military developments in China theater. He appears to have been allowed a greater freedom in contacts with the press than would an officer in a similar position in Washington. It is also emphasized that both Mark Gayn and Philip Jaffe were considered reputable newspaper writers by the public in the early 1940's when Service first met them. Mark Gayn was known for his articles in Collier's and Saturday Evening Post and also worked for Time and Fortune. Mr. Service was unaware of the changes in the editorial board of Amerasia and still considered it an impartial authority on Eastern affairs. Because of the limited number of writers specializing on China, it was natural he would expect experts in the field, like Gayn and Jaffe, to have a greater interest in his material than the average writer. In this connection, it is undisputed that Service was seeing other correspondents during this same period. Service was not a member of the Communist Party and was not an extremely disloyal man in dealing with Gayn and Jaffe, a fact which he himself readily admits. Perhaps the State Department's administration process is at fault in failing to brief employes coming into Washington on short consultations so they should treat the press with discretion. But we cannot and do not conclude that his discretion in the Amerasia matter is sufficient to brand an otherwise loyal employe of 17 years service as disloyal, pro-Communist, a security risk.

(i) Harlow Shapley—Our inquiry establishes that Dr. Shapley

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'Fraud, Hoax,' Say Dem Senators To McCarthy

By MARVIN L. ARROWSMITH
 WASHINGTON, July 17 (AP).—Republican Sen. McCarthy's Communists-in-government charges were labeled "a fraud and a hoax" tonight in a report by the Democratic majority of a Senate inquiry committee.

It accused him of "perhaps the most nefarious campaign of halftruths and untruths" in the nation's history.

The three Senators, Tydings (Md.), Green (R.I.) and McMahon (Conn.) declared McCarthy failed to prove a single basic accusation. They declared he used "the totalitarian technique of the big lie." The report ranks as one of the bitterest denunciations by Senators of a colleague Congress has ever seen.

McCarthy described the report of the Democratic majority on the committee as being "gigantic in its fraud and deep in its deceit."

"The Tydings-McMahon report is a green light to the Red fifth column in the United States," McCarthy declared. "It is a signal to the traitors, Communists, and fellow-travelers in our government that they need have no fear of exposure from this administration."

"The most loyal stooges of the Kremlin could not have done a better job of giving a clean bill of health to Stalin's 5th column in this country."

Republican Sen. Lodge of Massachusetts filed a minority report which said the stormy four-

month investigation "must be set down as superficial and inconclusive . . . a tangle of loose threads . . . of leads which were not followed up."

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"THE REPORT NOBODY BELIEVES"

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The Herring Is a Little Higher Now

The Report Nobody Believes

Tydings and Co. says there are no Communists in the State department and there is no Communist influence in the State department. These findings would be welcome, if true. Unfortunately nobody believes them.

We can say with little fear of contradiction that even the three New Deal senators who offer the country this sugared assurance don't believe their own statement.

What we had in the congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster we are now given again—a large bucket of whitewash. What we had when incredible mismanagement was charged to the atomic energy committee is tossed back at us again—denials and evasions.



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But, meanwhile, four spies in this country and one in England who were stealing our atomic secrets for Russia have been arrested.

What Mr. Truman called the Alger Hiss case—a “red herring”—has been served up to us by the Administration once more. The herring is a little higher now, and Hiss, convicted as a perjurer-spy, is under sentence of five years and has been disbarred.

We have got precisely what we have come to expect from every political investigation by the New Deal—self-exculpation by the party which has fostered, condoned, and protected betrayals of the national interest and public trust such as this country has never before known.

What else could we expect? This is the party of lies. It is the party of Roosevelt, telling America's fathers and mothers “again and again and again” that, on no account, would their sons be sent into a war he was then plotting.

It is the party of Truman, the product of the Pendergast machine in Kansas City, where, when 71 henchmen faced



OLD FAITHFUL

the penitentiary for stealing the primary election in 1946, the simple solution presenting itself was to blow the courthouse safe and steal the fraudulent ballots providing the evidence.

JUL 19 1950

Truman is the man who only two years ago said of Stalin, "I like old Joe. Joe is a decent fellow." If the boss Communist is a "decent fellow," then who is to say that lesser, non-Russian Communists are also not "decent fellows"?

Certainly the New Deal senators who were commissioned to investigate Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration of the Administration found nobody who did not measure up to their standards for being a "decent fellow." But why not? Look at the senators:

Millard Tydings, of Maryland, New Dealer, was the original sponsor of the present secretary of State, Dean Acheson, when the latter was presented as nominee for undersecretary of the Treasury in 1933. Tydings conceded at the time that he had initiated the move to put Acheson in the job. To statements that Acheson's law firm had extensive Wall St. connections, Tydings replied that Acheson had also represented Russia in American courts and accepted Moscow's fees. Now, as secretary of State, Acheson presides over Truman's world-wide anti-Communist crusade.

Tydings also happens to be the son-in-law of Joseph E. Davies, Roosevelt's Russophile ambassador to Russia, whose book, "Mission to Moscow," was a flagrant piece of pro-Soviet propaganda. By another curious coincidence, Seth Richardson, chairman of the President's Loyalty review board, through which there filtered all of the curious characters Senator McCarthy has called security risks, is a law partner of Davies. And Tydings was appointed chairman by the New Dealers to investigate the whole mess.

Theodore F. Green, New Deal senator from Rhode Island, is 83 years old and is chiefly distinguished as the one-time little Hitler of the tiny New England State. On Jan. 2, 1935, even before being sworn in for his second term as governor, Green, in the space of less than two hours, engineered a coup unique in the history of American government.

He ousted the five Republicans composing the existing State Supreme court and replaced them with a Democratic majority. He killed 80 State boards and commissions manned by Republicans. He restored to himself powers long since taken from the governorship.

JUL 19 1950

All of this Senator Green accomplished by unseating elected Republican State senators on the basis of a quick recount by two of his henchmen, thus converting a Democratic senate minority into a majority.

Green's lieutenant governor, Robert E. Quinn, his chief agent in this bloodless revolution, succeeded Green when the latter became a senator. Quinn is chiefly remembered for using the State militia to shut down the Narragansett race track in order to put a political enemy out of business.

The third New Dealer on the Tydings whitewash majority is Brien McMahon, an old hand at sweeping New Deal dirt under the rug.

McMahon for years was one of the officials of the New Deal Department of Justice, the agency charged

with exposing and prosecuting subversives. If the justice of Senator McCarthy's assertion that the State department was loaded with protected Communists and fellow travelers were admitted, McMahon would have been in the position of exposing the culpability of the department he so long served, and, furthermore, his own dereliction as chief of its criminal division.

As chairman of the joint congressional committee on atomic energy, Mr. McMahon previously had bent all of his efforts toward proving that the atomic energy commission had properly safeguarded the secrets of the atom bomb. Only later did the arrest of members of the Soviet atomic spy ring demonstrate the spuriousness of the whitewash applied to the charges of Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper that the atomic secret had not been guarded.



Sen. Green

JUL 19 1951

These three—Tydings, Green and McMahon—
 abruptly voted to stop the McCarthy investigation when
 the war in Korea afforded a convenient diversion. They



DEMOCRATIC WAIL: 'WE'D RATHER BE DIRTY'
 hurried to completion the report now announced,
 clearing every single suspect. They did not permit their
 two Republican committee colleagues, Senators Hicken-
 looper and Henry Cabot Lodge, to inspect their report.

They departed from the rules of the Senate by releasing
 the report to the press before they even tendered it to
 the full Senate foreign relations committee, in whose
 name they acted as a subcommittee. Sen. Connally, the
 New Deal chairman of that committee, limped forward
 with a summons for the committee to meet and receive
 the report 24 hours after it had been published in the
 nation's press.

Lodge and Hickenlooper would have none of Tydings'
 phony clearance. Internationalist and supporter of the
 Administration's foreign policy though he is, Lodge found
 the whole proceeding too much for a sensitive stomach.
 In a separate statement, he asserted:

"The investigation must be set down as superficial and
 inconclusive. The proceedings often lacked impartiality;
 the atmosphere was too often not that of seeking to ascer-

JUL 19 1950

tain the truth. The subcommittee's record is a tangle of loose threads, of witnesses who were not subpoenaed, of leads which were not followed up . . . this business will never end, clearly or otherwise, if the practice of having



THE BUCKET BRIGADE

the majority party investigate the majority continues to hold sway."

The pretext of the Tydings New Dealers for giving clearance to all of the men and women whom Sen. McCarthy had dubbed Stalin's little helpers was that the State department loyalty files which the subcommittee, after months of Presidential obstruction, was finally permitted to inspect showed "nothing derogatory."

Sen. McCarthy had anticipated this weak defense. He had produced, in advance of the release of the Tydings report, statements from one present and three former employees of the State department that in 1946 the Administration had a team of eight persons working for five months to weed everything from the files which was derogatory or incriminating.

A deadline was set for this task: It had to be completed before the Democratic congressional majority was replaced by a Republican majority elected to the 80th Congress. State department officials were even permitted to strip their personal files, so that the men who were de-

JUL 19 1950

fendants were able to destroy the evidence against themselves.

So, all provision having been made, and a rigged investigation undertaken for the purpose of ratifying a predetermined judgment, the nation is now told by the New Deal that Prof. Owen Lattimore, the New Deal pilot of America's policy in the Orient, was never of service to Russia. The public is informed that Dr. Philip Jessup, ambassador-at-large, who was knee deep in Communists in all of his years with the Institute of Pacific Relations, is neither a knave nor a dupe, as Mr. McCarthy called him.

The people are told that John Stewart Service, State department Far Eastern "expert," cleared no less than six times by the New Deal loyalty boards (would a man whose loyalty was unquestioned have to make as many farewell appearances as Sarah Bernhardt?) may have been "indiscreet" in his dealings with Communists, but that is all.

And the nation is also told that there was no fix in the case of the six persons arrested for war time espionage in the theft of 1,700 secret government documents which found their way to the offices of the pro-Soviet magazine Amerasia.



Sen. McMahon

In fact, by assurance of Tydings and his New Deal friends, the people need not feel disturbed about anything, and least of all about Communist manipulation of New Deal policy. The three senators thus have made themselves a part of the Communist conspiracy at a time when it is

JUL 19 1950



obvious that our weakness in Korea was made known to the Communists of the Kremlin, and when it is certain that that weakness was promoted within the Administration.

The American people now have a simple criterion for determining Communist influence in this country. It will be evidenced fully by counting up those who support the Tydings report.

JUL 191



Sen. Tydings



Sen. McCarthy

JUL 19 1950

a Scapegoats

y Marquis Childs

Policy For The Future

IF YOU had been one of that exclusive company of Stalin, Molotov, et al., sitting in the inner fastness of the Kremlin with its circle upon circle of guards, you would during the past six months have been reading reports on conditions in America. You would want to know the intentions, the capacity, the temper of the greatest power in the West.



Childs

You would not need the reports of your secret agents to learn that there were serious divisions and weaknesses in America. A member of the United States Senate publicly charged that the Department of State was infiltrated at the highest level with Communists. And this charge touched off a violent political quarrel that absorbed much of the energy and attention of both executive and legislative branches of the Government.

In the Kremlin this obviously meant that America was divided and weak. It could be put alongside reports that within the powerful Republican Party a move was growing for "peace" and an end of foreign adventures.

So if you were one of that little group of planners, you might calculate that it was safe to make a beginning; particularly since all the reports confirmed what you wanted to believe, your preconceived ideas about American democracy and its conflicts and contradictions. So you would risk the Korean attack, expecting a quick and easy conquest. And you would be tremendously surprised when the United States reacted as it has reacted with positive military steps taken not alone in Korea but at three other key points in Asia.

PERHAPS the time has come to look at our own reaction here at home. Except for the Communists and a few others on the extreme right, most people seem to have felt an enormous relief. You could almost hear a collective sigh go up that action had been ordered and division and doubt at least for the time being ended.

There were those who accepted the fact but reluctantly, and with the need to find a scapegoat. Conspicuous in this class was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. And Taft found as his scapegoat it hardly surprised anybody. Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

This has a tender little irony

all its own. For at one point in the McCarthy barrage, and it may well have been the crucial point of acceptance or rejection of the assault, Taft gave his blessing to the technique of aiming at another victim if you miss the first one.

It seems to me that the State Department can be criticized for failing to evolve and carry out a positive and constructive program for the Far East. But to put all the blame on Acheson is like blaming a runner for failing to win a race when everyone has been busy putting obstacles in his way.

A POSITIVE, constructive program in peacetime calls for a maximum of public acceptance. It calls for confidence in the motives and the objectives of those who are carrying it out.

The atmosphere of the past five months has been just the opposite. Everything has been done to break down confidence. The attacks have produced timidity, uncertainty, delay. Decisions, and Korea is an excellent example, have been blurred over and conflicting views have gone unresolved.

Now, thanks to the aggressive action of the Communists in Korea, there is an immediate and tangible task to be carried out with American weapons and American courage and skill. The headlines show that that assignment is considerably more difficult than was realized in the first burst of relief that action and more action and more action could be substituted for uncertainty and division.

But it may not be too early to try to take a little longer look into the future. American action can end the conflict. No one doubts that the Communist invaders can and must be driven out.

When that has been done, however, the position of the South Korean republic will be far more desperate than it was before. It has all along been a pretty weak instrument. Towns will be smashed, lines of communications and roads destroyed and thousands of refugees made homeless.

To help restore a stable order will take more skill, patience and unity than we have yet shown in our dealings with the peoples of Asia. Without the provocation of open Communist aggression, the whole picture in Asia might have further deteriorated while we bickered among ourselves. We cannot always count on action, action, action to avert the larger and longer responsibility of world order and peace.

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Wash. Post

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Date: JUL 1 1950

Hear, but Little Light, In Report Criticizing McCarthy Charges

Investive Phrases Give
G. O. P. Ammunition to
Hit 'Political' Motives

By David Lawrence

There's plenty of heat but not very much light in the report made by three Senate Democrats criticizing the charges made by Senator McCarthy, Republican, concerning Communists in the Government.

It is most unfortunate that Senators Tydings, McMahon and Green, who signed the report, allowed the staff who composed it to phrase the document in the language of political invective. As such it can only furnish further ammunition to the Republicans and condemn the report as political in motive rather than judicial.

As a document expected to reveal whether there are or have been Communists in the Government and what damage they have done to American foreign policy in the Far East, the report is inadequate and fragmentary. It would have been far better if the hearings had been open to the public, because now the selection of excerpts out of context tends only to confuse the reader and strengthen suspicions of "white-wash."

People Want to Know.

It does not help matters just to focus attention on Senator McCarthy's recklessness of statement, as if this were a contest between two sets of politicians making charges and accusations on the stump. What the American people want to know is how the Communists got into the Government, how they were eliminated if they are now extinct, and how it happens that valuable Government papers were stolen and put into the hands of Communist sympathizers.

To accept the denial of Communist sympathizers on the witness stand is to accept statements from persons who are trained to lie. Testimony that is based on mere denial is neither proof nor disproof. Too much of the sub-

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, Republican, in his individual report nearer to objectivity than his colleagues. He said that the facts were incomplete and that they were not conclusive. He raised some pertinent questions, particularly about the mysterious handling of the Amerasia case during wartime early in 1945. Speaking of the stolen papers in that case, he says:

"That many of these documents were of great importance is shown by the following brief descriptions of some of the documents: A 'top secret' document dealing with targets in Japan; a 'top secret' document on Japanese resources; a 'top secret' document which revealed the United States breakdown and mastery of Japanese codes; a 'strictly confidential' Office of Naval Intelligence report on the organization of Japanese naval forces; a 'strictly confidential' communication from Ambassador Gauss on the reorganization of the Chinese air force; a 'classified' report on airplane and seaplane anchorages in Japan, Formosa, and Korea prepared by Military Intelligence; an Office of Naval Intelligence 'confidential report' on China coast physical geography and coastwise shipping routes, bearing pencilled notations 'war plans, coastal areas, inner passage, mined areas'; a 'very secret' document containing a memorandum to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington; two documents of the Military Intelligence Division entitled 'changes to order of battle of Chinese army'; a document marked 'top secret for eyes only,' the very highest classification given; a 'confidential' forecast of the Pacific war which indicated the location of American submarines; together with other classified documents dealing with the composition of United States forces in Manila and an operations plan for Naval Intelligence for their entire counter-intelligence organization in the United States.

Questions Unanswered.

Why were the Americans who perpetrated this theft allowed to escape jail and punishment for treason? Why was the prosecution of this case so ineptly handled? Why were documents of this kind taken away from his office by a State Department employee? Why, indeed, didn't the Tydings committee do a public post-mortem of this case before the American people so that they could learn all the facts?

Senator Lodge exposed some of the lame excuses and alibis given by the administration for failure to prosecute the case. The whole chapter needs reopening by an impartial tribunal. Surely the Senate and House would not expect a fair trial of the case.

If the Amerasia case was so carelessly handled, will not other cases be handled the same way? Can there be any confidence in security measures if the way the Amerasia case was handled is now suppressed for fear of political consequences? Is it more important to win an election or to punish traitors? These are the real questions which along with dozens of others have been left unanswered by the Tydings committee report.

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G.O.P. Senators Will Seek New State Dept. Probe

Senate Republicans yesterday temporarily blocked filing of a report blasting Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, for his charges of communism in the State department and decided to push for an independent probe.

A secret conference of at least 20 G.O.P. senators earlier voted to fight for Senate rejection of the Tydings subcommittee report which brands McCarthy's accusations as a "fraud and a hoax."

Subcommittee Discharged

The inquiry by Tydings' group was ended Tuesday when the full foreign relations committee voted to file the report without recommendation and discharged the subcommittee.

Sen. Lodge (R) of Massachusetts, a minority member of the subcommittee, said G.O.P. leader Wherry of Nebraska, probably will make a motion on the report and a further inquiry.

Election Battle Preview

Lodge said that under the plan the foreign relations committee would be instructed to report legislation setting up a non-partisan commission to continue the investigation.

Filing of the report will erupt in a violent preview of next fall's election battles over the issue of Red sympathizers in the government.

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Wash. News

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N.Y. Mirror

Communist in the State Department

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ADD 1 COMMUNISTS (111P)

IVES RECALLED THAT THE SENATE HAD AMENDED ITS RESOLUTION ORDERING THE INVESTIGATION TO ELIMINATE REFERENCE TO MCCARTHY'S SPECIFIC CHARGE. HE SAID SOME PERSONS MAY FEEL THAT, IF THERE WERE A FRAUD AND A HOAX, IT WAS EVIDENT "IN THE APPARENTLY DELIBERATE ACTION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE IN DISREGARDING THE WILL OF THE SENATE."

HE CHARGED THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT AND YESTERDAY'S SPEECH BY CHAIRMAN TYDINGS "SHOW BEYOND QUESTION THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATION HAS BEEN AIMED PRIMARILY AND EXCLUSIVELY AT SEN. MCCARTHY."

"WITH THIS TASK, THEREFORE, WHOLLY UNCOMPLETED AND WITH NO EVIDENT EFFORT OR EVEN DESIRE TO COMPLETE IT ON THE PART OF THE MAJORITY RESPONSIBLE FOR IT," IVES SAID, "THIS IMPORTANT WORK SHOULD NOW BE ASSIGNED TO A BODY QUALIFIED TO FINISH THE UNDERTAKING AS ORIGINALLY DIRECTED BY THE SENATE."

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ADD 2 COMMUNISTS

IVES WAS FOLLOWED BY SEN. HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., R., MASS., AS THE REPUBLICANS OPENED FIRE ON THE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT. LODGE, WHO FILED A ONE-MAN DISSENT, ACCUSED TYDINGS OF MAKING SOME "UTTERLY INACCURATE" STATEMENTS ABOUT HIS POSITION.

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AND 3 COMMUNISTS

LODGE SAID HE REFUSED TO SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATS IN CLEARING AN AMBASSADOR AT LARGE PHILIP C. JESSUP BECAUSE HE WAS NEVER INVESTIGATED. "I'M NOT GOING TO SAY OR IMPLY THAT WE INVESTIGATED JESSUP WHEN WE HAVE NOT," HE DECLARED.

THE MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN CHARGED THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE ONLY INVESTIGATED TWO PERSONS--JOHN S. SERVICE AND OWEN LATTIMORE.

AND THE LATTER INQUIRY, HE SAID, WAS "MOST INADEQUATE AND FRAGMENTARY."

LODGE SAID THE SUBCOMMITTEE DID NOT GO INTO WHETHER LATTIMORE INFLUENCED FOREIGN POLICY, AND THAT FAILURE WAS A "PITY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF LATTIMORE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE PUBLIC."

HE SAID THERE WAS "NOT ENOUGH DEVELOPED" REGARDING LATTIMORE "TO ENABLE ME TO CLEAR OR NOT CLEAR HIM." BUT, HE SAID, THE EVIDENCE DID NOT SUTAIN ORIGINAL CHARGES THAT LATTIMORE WAS THE "CHIEF COMMUNIST AGENT" IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE "CHIEF ARCHITECT OF FAR EASTERN POLICY."

HE REHEWED HIS CALL FOR A BIPARTISAN COMMISSION TO DO THE JOB THOROUGHLY.

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Memorandum to the State Department

Chapman

ADD. 6 COMMUNISTS

LODGE, WHO FILED A ONE-MAN DISSENT FROM THE MAJORITY REPORT, SAID THAT TYDINGS MADE SOME "UTTERLY INACCURATE" STATEMENTS ABOUT HIS POSITION. HE SAID HE WAS SPEAKING LARGELY TO CLEAR UP THOSE INACCURACIES.

SEN. ROBERT A. TAFT, R., O., ASKED WHY THE SUBCOMMITTEE DID NOT CALL PERSONS NAMED IN THE LOYALTY FILES TO TESTIFY.

LODGE SAID THE SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE GIVEN THE FILES "CONFIDENTIALLY" WITH THE PROMISE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE NOTES OR REVEAL THEM. IT WAS THEN "IMPOSSIBLE TO CALL ANYBODY", HE SAID.

SEN. BRIEN MCMAHON, D., CONN., SAID THAT THE SENATE RECORD SHOULD BE CLEARED OF THE "IMPLICATION" LEFT BY SEN. JAMES P. KEM, R., MO., THAT ATTORNEY GENERAL MCGRATH AND FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER WERE "IN CLOUTS" NOT TO GIVE THE SUBCOMMITTEE THE COMPLETE FILES.

"I DO NOT MEAN TO INSINUATE," KEM SAID. "I STATE IT AS A FACT." KEM SAID THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE FBI ALSO "HAD THEIR HANDS TIED" IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE ALLEGED KANSAS CITY VOTE FRAUD IN 1946.

UNDER QUESTIONING BY SEN. WAYNE L. MORSE, R., ORE., LODGE ADMITTED THAT MCCARTHY GAVE THE COMMITTEE NO PROOF OR OTHER EVIDENCE TO BACK UP HIS CHARGES. LODGE ALSO CONCEDED THAT NONE OF THE MCCARTHY CHARGES OF "COMMUNISM" WERE PROVED.

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ND 4 COMMUNISTS (208P)

SEN. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, R., IA., A MEMBER OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE, LATER TOOK THE FLOOR TO CHARGE THAT THE REPORT IS OF "NO LEGAL FATHERLY." HE SAID IT IS AN "ATTEMPT TO ASSAULT AND CRITICIZE AND CONDEMN" MCCARTHY.

HICKENLOOPER SAID THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HAD DENIED HIM THE RIGHT TO FILE A MINORITY REPORT AND NEVER ACTUALLY AVOIDED THE REPORT BEFORE IT WAS SENT TO THE SENATE.

THE IOWA REPUBLICAN SAID THE SUBCOMMITTEE WAS NOT SET UP TO "PROSECUTE...PERSECUTE, MALIGN OR ASSAULT" MCCARTHY AS HE THOUGHT IT HAD DONE.

IT "FAILED UTTERLY" TO CARRY OUT ITS MISSION, HE ASSERTED.

HE SAID HE VOTED TO DISCHARGE THE SUBCOMMITTEE BECAUSE "WE HAD NOT DONE A JOB" AND THERE WAS "NO EVIDENCE WE WERE GOING TO."

HICKENLOOPER ALSO SAID THAT SO FAR AS HE KNEW THE SUBCOMMITTEE NEVER HELD A MEETING TO APPROVE THE REPORT. HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT IT UNTIL IT WAS PRINTED. THE REPORT, HE SAID, IS A "MYSTERIOUS...MYSTERIOUSLY PREPARED DOCUMENT."

WHERRY LATER INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION FORBIDDING ANY SENATOR IN A COMMITTEE OR THE COMMITTEE ITSELF FROM DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY IMPEACHING TO ANOTHER SENATOR "ANY CONDUCT OR MOTIVE UNWORTHY OR UNBECOMING A SENATOR."

THE RULE NOW APPLIES TO SENATORS WHEN THEY ARE SPEAKING ON THE SENATE FLOOR BUT DOES NOT APPLY TO SENATORS AT COMMITTEE HEARINGS.

IF A SENATOR VIOLATES THE RULE, HE LOSES THE FLOOR AND IS FORCED TO TAKE HIS SEAT.

WHERRY'S RESOLUTION WAS REFERRED TO THE RULES COMMITTEE.

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135 AUG 11 1950

File 121-22278
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

ADD 5 COMMUNISTS

SEN. HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., R., MASS., WHO FILED VIEWS
DISSENTING FROM THE DEMOCRATIC SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS, URGED AGAIN THAT
A SPECIAL BI-PARTISAN COMMISSION BE APPOINTED TO CONDUCT AN
INVESTIGATION.

ONLY BY SUCH A METHOD, LODGE SAID, COULD A "CIRCUS-LIKE
ATMOSPHERE" OF PUBLICITY AND KLEIG LIGHTS BE AVOIDED. ONLY THUS,
HE SAID, COULD AN INQUIRY BE DIVORCED FROM POLITICS AND A BID FOR
POPULAR SUPPORT THROUGH PUBLICITY CHANNELS.

AS LODGE SPOKE, AIDES BROUGHT TO TYDINGS' DESK A PHONOGRAPH,
STACKS OF DOCUMENTS, A RECORD AND HUGE CHARTS IN PREPARATIONS FOR
A SPEECH BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN.

IT WAS BELIEVED THE FIRST EFFORT TO USE A PHONOGRAPH IN SENATE
DEBATE AND PAGES SCURRIED ABOUT THE CHAMBER HOOKING UP THE DEVICE.

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Tydings Fires 2 1/2-Hr. Blast At McCarthy From Floor

Challenges 'Hoaxed'
 Senate to Act on
 'Vile Charges' Made
 In Publicity 'Dregs'

By Alfred Friendly
 Post Reporter

Senator Tydings told the Senate yesterday it had been hoaxed and deceived by the "false and vile charges" of Senator McCarthy, and he challenged Senators to do something about it.

The Maryland Democrat, chairman of the subcommittee that investigated McCarthy's allegations of subversion in the State Department, appeared clearly to be asking for a motion of censure. He said, however, he would not propose one himself.

At the end of a roaring, almost uninterrupted two-and-one-half-hour speech, Tydings defied the Senate to show that McCarthy's charges were not "a fraud, a hoax and a deceit," and asked Senators to "search their consciences" for remedial action.

Day Long Awaited

For Tydings, yesterday was day he had awaited for almost four months, when he filed his subcommittee's majority report on McCarthy's charges and told a packed Senate what he thought about them and their author.

It was one of the bitterest and most barefisted personal denunciations ever delivered on the Senate floor. Tydings gave back in two hours what he had taken from McCarthy in the form of an incessant personal attack, from March to July.

To the Wisconsin Republican's daily cry that Tydings' subcommittee had been "whitewashing" he said the record would show "who has been whitewashing—whitewashing with mud, with slime, with filth, with the dregs of publicity."

The attack, in which Tydings got more exercise in striding to and fro and gesturing than he would have in three sets of tennis, was accompanied by a showing of charts—later hung up to bedeck the Senate chamber walls—and desks stacked high with papers and phonograph records of McCarthy's speeches—the latter never played.

Tydings took the floor in the See LOYALTY, Page 10, Col. 4

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Page

Times-Herald _____
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 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N.Y. Mirror _____

55 AUG 19 1950

Date: 7/21/50

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LOYALTY—From Pg. 1

afternoon after a vain, but solid, attempt by the Republicans to force the recommitment to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of its subcommittee's scathing 300-page majority report on the charges.

In three votes, all on parliamentary questions but in effect all dealing with the same issue—to

have the Senate refuse to accept the report and send it back to the Committee—Republicans lost to a Democratic majority.

The votes, usually of about 46 to 37, and all on points of order, were on strict party lines, without a single Democrat or Republican straying from the fold.

Such comfort as the GOP Senators could take from them lay in the fact they had succeeded in corraling every member to "go

down the line" in objecting to the majority report and, by inference, supporting McCarthy.

Even such Republican Senators as Mrs. Smith (Me.), Aiken (Vt.) and Morse (Oreg.), on the liberal wing and in the past most critical of McCarthy's methods, voted with their party.

Although Tydings, with sarcasm and burlesque, often had the Senate in roars of laughter, nevertheless for the most part of the day the scene was one of tense, cold anger.

Once it got hot enough for fists to swing—or almost.

One of the would-be pugilists was Senator Wherry (R., Nebr.), the minority leader, who took offense at one of the passages in the Tydings report.

During a lull in Senate proceedings, he asked the subcommittee counsel, Edward P. Morgan, a 37-year-old 6-footer, if

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Again and again he made not too veiled comments about McCarthy.

"Anything I say on the Senate floor," he sneered, "I'll say outside the Senate floor and I won't retract it when I'm out."

He spoke of "men of little character who would prefer to serve their own ends rather than their country."

He began by insisting that what a Senator of the United States says is bound to carry the most serious weight.

That is why, he indicated, McCarthy's remarks of February 9 this year, in Wheeling, W. Va., that there was a spy ring in the State Department, that there were 205 card-carrying members in the department, and that Secretary of State Acheson knew about them but was doing nothing to get rid of them made such a tremendous impression.

In elaborate demonstration, he sought to show that McCarthy had actually said that, but had lied to the Senate later in denying he said it.

Tydings pointed to a record of a McCarthy speech. "There is the voice," he said, "and it is not the voice of truth."

There is not much doubt, he went on, what McCarthy said, and that he later denied saying it.

"That's why I said that a hoax and a fraud was perpetrated on the United States," Tydings roared. "any, by the eternal God, that's true."

At the end of the day, McCarthy issued a short statement saying Tydings had "tried to notify Communists in Government that they are safe in their positions."

However, he said, as a result of his charges, two of the people mentioned in his famous "81 cases" have already left the Government. One was not named, but the other, said McCarthy, was his Case 19, which he said was William W. Remington.

[The 81 cases purported to be those of present or former State Department employees. As McCarthy presented Case No. 19 to the Senate, it was so vague as to be unidentifiable. Remington has never been a State Department employee. Editor's note.]

McCarthy 'Golden Voice'

To Be Heard in Private

By the United Press

Senator Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.) is going to stage a private

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Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: _____

Tolson _____
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 Glavin _____
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performance starring the "golden voice" of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

And though advance billing promises a show to remember, you can bet Republican Whip Kenneth S. Wherry won't be in the audience. Tydings was like a frustrated impresario when Wherry started to object to playing the McCarthy recording on the Senate floor.

The Maryland Democrat wanted to give the flavor of reality to his charges that McCarthy perpetrated a "fraud and hoax" on the Senate and the American public.

All the apparatus was in place. Tydings was about to let the Senators hear the Wisconsin Republican's own voice charging there were 205 card-carrying Communists in the State Department.

McCarthy had made the claim in a broadcast over station WWVA, Wheeling, W. Va., last February.

Wherry started to protest that "there are certain rules governing use of the Senate chamber," but Tydings cut him short, snapping:

"I will play this record off the Senate floor at a later time, but admission will be by card only."

The Maryland Democrat proceeded to tell "what the record

would say if I could play it," adding with heavy sarcasm:

"My hearers will never get the full beauty they could through hearing the golden voice itself telling it. (Laughter filled the packed chamber.)

But the crowded Senate and jammed galleries could not have been more attentive as Tydings took the center of the stage.

With pointer and charts, he traced what he called McCarthy's "odyssey" from Wheeling, W. Va., where the 205-Communists charge was aired, to Salt Lake City, Utah, where the Wisconsin Red-hunter changed the figure to 57, to the Senate floor where, Tydings said, McCarthy substituted 81 "warmed-over" cases of alleged security risks.

Now shouting, now speaking in a low, intense voice, Tydings produced a chart that he said he had labeled "Behind the Eight Ball."

It listed eight groups he said had found nothing in the 81 cases—

four committees of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, former Representative Bartel Jonk-

man (R., Mich.), Senators Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (R., Mass.);

and "the entire Eightieth Congress."

McCarthy sat silent, his hand to his chin, as Tydings—his voice tinged with sarcasm—said, "Oh, my, how the newspapers did lap up these things."

Tydings went on like an orchestra leader, building up to his climax. He spoke of his subcommittee's action in clearing Owen Lattimore and others of McCarthy's Communist charges, and said sorrowfully:

"After five months of false smears, headlines, the papers won't print much of it. Our hearts are out there in Korea. The poor devils whose names were paraded will be lucky if they are mentioned on page 73 under the weather advertisement."

"What is the Senate going to do about it?" he demanded.

When he sat down, Democrats

applauded heartily, then stood up to shake his hand.

Republicans remained silent. McCarthy sat for a few moments

looking at some papers. He got up, spoke for a moment to Senator John J. Williams (R., Ind.) and left the chamber alone.

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: _____

GOP Lashes At Tydings Over Report On McCarthy

Jenner Virtually
Calls Him Traitor;
Lodge Admits No
Reds Were Found

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

Yesterday was the Senate Republicans' turn to throw back the cry of "fraud and hoax" at the Democrats who, the day before, had so denominated the charges and campaign of Senator McCarthy.

The Republicans did throw the charge back and with ever-mounting intensity, up to the point when Senator Jenner (R., Ind.), in effect virtually accused Senator Tydings (D., Md.) of being a traitor and defender of a Communist conspiracy.

The day before, Tydings, chairman of the subcommittee which returned the scathing report on McCarthy's "deceitful" attempt to show that the State Department was ridden with Communists, had run up something of a record in this generation in personal denunciation of a colleague on the Senate floor. But the record lasted only 24 hours. It was broken to bits by Jenner's outburst yesterday.

So also was the Senate's Rule 19, which forbids the imputing by one Senator to another of unworthy or unbecoming conduct or motive.

In almost so many words, Jenner implied that Secretary of State Acheson and hosts of his top officials were Communist conspirators who deliberately sold the Orient and half of Europe into Communist slavery.

And in his report declaring McCarthy's charges "a fraud and a hoax" that "deceived" the Senate and the Nation, Tydings was simply covering up for State Department "termites and vermin," Jenner said.

Tydings' report, Jenner went on, is a "blasphemous perversion of the truth." Tydings himself, Jenner continued, has organized "a conspiracy within his own political family circle to help cover up such a hideous perversion and betrayal of the public trust."

Throughout Jenner's birthday speech—he was 42 yesterday—Tydings sat quietly at his desk nibbling at a pint-sized unlighted cigar.

When Jenner finished, Tydings was on his feet to offer two reports from the Armed Services Committee, of which he is chairman, for increasing American military mobilization. He asked immediate consideration of one bill, to extend present enlistments for one year. It passed the Senate quickly.

As a gallery historian observed, there had finally been a case of "Hayne's reply to Webster."

Yesterday's Republican counter-offensive to Tydings' report on McCarthy and to Tydings' floor speech was almost exclusively an attack on Tydings and his investigating subcommittee. Curiously, not one Republican Senator who spoke had a complimentary word for McCarthy himself, or attempted to say his charges were true or his methods acceptable.

Even the Republican lead-off man, Senator Ives, (N. Y.), intimated that perhaps he had some See LOYALTY, Page 5, Column 4.

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JUL 22 1950

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Page

Times-Herald _____
Wash. Post 1
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N.Y. Mirror _____

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Date: JUL 22 1950

question about the Wisconsin Republican's performance. For Ives said, in complaining that the Tydings subcommittee had failed to make complete investigation.

"Errors in commission by some should not blind us to errors in omission by others."

Senator Lodge (R., Mass.), a minority member of the Tydings subcommittee, followed Ives, principally to correct what he thought were misinterpretations of his position made by Tydings in his speech the previous day.

He insisted it was impossible, from the loyalty files the subcommittee had been allowed to examine, to come to any conclusions on the loyalty of the persons listed in McCarthy's famous "81 cases".

Senator McMahon (D., Conn.), also on the subcommittee, insisted that in effect Lodge was thus criticizing the work of the FBI. Lodge refused to agree.

A moment later, flushed, furious and with his fist shaking, McMahon upbraided Lodge for failing to clear Ambassador-at-Large Philip Jessup of McCarthy's charges that he had pro-Communist leanings.

Lodge asserted he had no doubts at all about Jessup's loyalty, and was delighted that persons who knew him, such as Generals Marshall and Eisenhower, said he was a fine American. But, Lodge asserted, the subcommittee had not made a real investigation of Jessup. Therefore he, Lodge, was not going to pretend that it had, nor "clear" him in the absence of such an inquiry.

Senator Lehman (D., N.Y.) observed it was "somewhat ungenerous" of Lodge not to have said as much in the minority report he submitted.

At one point, Senator Magnusson (D., Wash.) asked Lodge: "Did the Senator in his investigation find any Communists in the State Department?"

"No, I did not," Lodge said, and added further that he thought such Communists as the department ever had came in 1945 and 1946 when it absorbed several wartime agencies. Since then, he said, the department had made a good approach to a good security system.

There followed a long discussion, mostly among the Republicans, on the fact that the subcommittee's report, filed the previous day, came back from the printer with a cover sheet indicating it was a report from the full Foreign Relations Committee.

This, said Senators Smith (R.,

Mundt (R., S. Dak.) was "a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the American people," since the full committee had not adopted the report, but merely transmitted it to the Senate.

Senator Flanders (R., Vt.) submitted a resolution to withdraw the printed copies and correct the title page. It went to the Senate clerk's desk where, it would appear, it may stay a long while. Meantime, the reports are printed and in circulation.

Senator Jenner's excoriation of Tydings was prompted by remarks the latter had made about Jenner on Thursday.

In a digression in his speech on McCarthy, Tydings had asserted that in his votes Jenner had consistently followed the "Stalin line." He had voted against the Marshall Plan, against the Atlantic Pact and against foreign military aid—all of which were also bitterly opposed by the Kremlin and the Daily Worker.

Accordingly, Jenner's remarks were woven about the refrain: "Let's see who's following the Commie line,"—he or Tydings. He attempted to show that Tydings was a "stooge" of the Administration, one of its "trained seals" and—in reference to Tydings' earlier attempt to play a recording of McCarthy's speeches on the Senate floor—a "disc-jockey."

It was easy to call Tydings' hand, Jenner said, "for these cards he is hiding are red with the blood of treachery."

The Administration and State Department for which Tydings was covering up and supporting, said Jenner, were responsible for three wars in a generation, the debacle in the Far East, the betrayal of China, the mess in Korea, the recognition of Russia, and the attempted destruction of Germany and Japan, "the only two powers in the world which have been able to stop the threatened aggression of Russia's oriental hordes."

He noted that Tydings had sponsored Acheson for his first position in the Government. Pointing at the Marylander, he then shouted:

"Is it not true, Senator Tydings, that it is your father-in-law, Mr. Davies, who as our Ambassador to Russia, wrote as foul a piece of pro-Soviet propaganda ever designed to corrupt the minds of the American people?"

Referring to a remark Tydings made the day before that he had been decorated for World War I service, Jenner said he had no medals himself. He added that he

didn't know Tydings had until he heard it from "his own lay-by-lips." But, Jenner concluded, he thought Tydings would one day get another medal.

"It will be large and emblazoned with a single name: Thanks from good old Joe for a job well done."

Tydings broke his silence when Jenner's speech only began. Senator Connally (D., N.Y.) moved that Jenner be silenced under Rule 19, and a Republican motion followed to permit Jenner to proceed. Tydings shouted a loud "Aye."

The Senate Fights a Private War By Fred Othman



What this private little war of the statesmen is costing us taxpayers in wages for work that won't get done until later I hate to estimate. And when the gentlemen will get back to the appropriations bill, which theoretically is the business before them, I have no idea.

THE reason for the fight is easy and simple to understand: The Foreign Relations sub-committee called Sen. Joe a bum for making his charges against pinkos in high places. Now his defenders are calling the committee men bigger bums for saying such things about a member of their club. Other fights are brewing as offshoots of the original battle and that's where the thing gets complicated. All messed up in politics and theories about how a gent ought to behave.

I sat thru the second day of it and there was Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (R. Mass.), perhaps the handsomest senator, explaining why he couldn't go along with his fellow members of the sub-committee. Those Democrats in charge, he said, were so busy investigating Sen. McCarthy they never got around to investigating the alleged Communists. So he couldn't say yes, and he couldn't say no, about such

IN the Senate at the moment Korea looks almost as far away as the land of Oz. The gentlemen have a war of their own in progress, fought mostly with super-heated air.

For two solid days now they've been snarling about Sen. Joe McCarthy (R., Wis.) and his charges that a platoon of Communists do business as officials at the State Department. I never heard before senators call each other such horrible names. I've never seen 'em get so red in the face, nor shout so loud.

top-flighters as Philip Jessup and Owen Lattimore. He didn't really think they were Commies but that wasn't because of any investigating done by the committee. He spoke at length and I could see Sen. Warren Magnuson (D., Wash.) growing fidgety. He finally broke in.

He was about to catch a plane for his home town, he said, and he knew when he got there the people were going to ask him one question.

"Tell me one thing," he pleaded, "Did the senator find any Communists in the State Department?"

"No, I did not," Sen. Lodge replied.

From here on out the argument turned into a not-so-gentlemanly battle royal. Sen. James Kern (R. Mo.) said one reason maybe the committee didn't get much information from the files of the FBI was that a political appointee in the form of the Attorney General told the G-men what to do. Sen. Lodge agreed.

THIS made Sen. Brian McMahon (D., Conn.), a member of the committee, furious. His face turned as white as his linen suit and his eyes as black as his tie. "Does the Senator from Massachusetts intend to leave the implication that the FBI and the Attorney General are in cahoots to suppress the facts?" he roared.

Sen. Lodge said he didn't say that. Sen. Kern said, well, he did. He said he wasn't insinuating anything; he cited as fact that the Attorney General tied the hands of the FBI in certain cases. Such as the Kansas City vote frauds.

Sen. Lodge complained that the FBI wasn't even allowed to help decipher the files for the investigators. Sen. McMahon retorted they were written in English. Hieroglyphics, insisted Sen. Lodge.

"That's absurd," cried Sen. McMahon. He stalked out. But he soon came back and the gentlemen went on from there. Later, maybe, they'll resume the passage of some laws.

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131-73-78 - A
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44 SEP 13 1950

File 131-73-78
5-7

Page

Times-Herald
Wash. Post
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N.Y. Mirror

Date: JUL 22 1950

House Probers Call on Budenz To List 400 Reds on U.S. Rolls

Committee Wants Names Turned Down In Inquiry by Tydings Whitewashers

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The House un-American activities committee, it was learned yesterday, is preparing to follow up one of the many leads to evidence of communism in the government left untouched by Senate investigators under Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland.

Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the Community Daily Worker, now a Fordham university professor, has been placed under subpoena by the committee. His testimony will be deferred for some time pending a prior investigation.

When Budenz appeared in executive session before the Senate foreign relations subcommittee headed by Tydings, he offered to prepare a list of 400 names of Communists in government, including the State department.

Tydings Shelved Offer

The three Democratic members of the subcommittee, who later joined in a whitewash report stating there were no Communists or security risks in the State department, were taken aback. Sen. McMahon (D) of Connecticut remarked that the group would "certainly" want the names. Budenz then said he would have them ready in two weeks. Questioning on this topic was quickly dropped.

But the Tydings group never again contacted Budenz, it was learned, and appeared to have no interest in a list of names which bore directly upon their investigation of disloyalty in the State department.

Their final report, issued more than a month later, and condemned in Senate debate as a whitewash, made no mention of Budenz' offer which was disclosed in a transcript of his secret testimony.

Named Hanson, Lattimore

Budenz named Haldore E. Hanson, State department head of President Truman's Point 4 spending program, and Owen Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins university professor and State department consultant, as Communists. An attempt was made to discredit this testimony in the Democratic report, which stated that Budenz' evidence against the two men had little weight because it had not been given to the FBI years before.

Members of the House committee said the failure to follow up Budenz' offer to submit a list of 400 Communists in government was incredible. They immediately issued the subpoena for Budenz with a view to securing all the evidence which the Tydings subcommittee neglected to obtain.

Senate debate on the Tydings subcommittee whitewash will continue today, with Sen. Ferguson (R) of Michigan discussing the report. Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin is scheduled to follow Ferguson on the floor.

The Wisconsin senator, whose charges that the State department is infested with Communists and fellow travelers precipitated the Senate investigation, announced yesterday that he will read at least two of the secret State department files in the 81 cases examined by the subcommittee.

Promises New Evidence

The Democratic majority of the subcommittee exonerated those involved on the basis of what was in the secret files, without further investigation. McCarthy said he will show that the subcommittee never followed up various charges and allegations in the files.

McCarthy announced further yesterday that he will produce "new espionage evidence" in connection with the Lattimore case. He also, he promised, will challenge Tydings to play on the floor last Thursday, when he was halted by objections. The exact contents of this record have not been disclosed, but Tydings has indicated it is of a speech made by McCarthy in February in which he charged there were 200 Communists in the State department.

Tydings has hinted playing the record will prove McCarthy is a "liar." According to Tydings, McCarthy subsequently denied ever making such an accusation. McCarthy said yesterday that the record will prove it is Tydings who is guilty of falsehood.

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Mohr ✓
Tele. Room ✓
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Page 2

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

N. Y. Compass

JUL 24 1951

Date:

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NOT RECORDED
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Communists In the State Department

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*Call Stouley
C. J. Stouley*

(COMMUNISTS)

SEN. HOWARD FERGUSON, R., MICH., DISCLOSED A THREE-YEAR OLD CHARGE IN A SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE THAT TOP COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT WERE DELIBERATELY PROTECTED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THEN SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN ACHESON.

"IT IS EVIDENT THAT THERE IS A DELIBERATE, CALCULATED PROGRAM BEING CARRIED OUT NOT ONLY TO PROTECT COMMUNIST PERSONNEL IN HIGH PLACES, BUT TO REDUCE SECURITY INTELLIGENCE AND PROTECTION TO A MINIMUM," THE CHARGE STATED.

FERGUSON TOLD THE SENATE THAT THE STATEMENT WAS MADE IN A MEMORANDUM BY A SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE WHICH HE HEADED ON JUNE 10, 1947. IT WAS HANDED TO THE THEN SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE C. MARSHALL AT A SECRET SESSION, HE SAID.

THE HERETOFORE SECRET MEMORANDUM WAS PRESENTED BY FERGUSON IN A SENATE FLOOR ATTACKING THE FINDINGS OF DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF THE SENATE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE. THEY TERMED CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R., WISC., "SHEER AND A HOAX."

THE SUBCOMMITTEE DEMOCRATS ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE MCCARTHY CHARGES HAD BEEN INVESTIGATED BY FOUR COMMITTEES OF THE GOP-CONTROLLED BOTH HOUSES. NONE OF THESE COMMITTEES, THEY SAID, CONSIDERED THE ALLEGATIONS SUFFICIENTLY SERIOUS TO MERIT A REPORT.

FERGUSON VIGOROUSLY DISPUTED THE LATTER FINDING BECAUSE IT INVOLVED HIS SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE. HE SAID THE MEMORANDUM WAS THE RESULT OF ITS "DEEP CONCERN" OVER THE SITUATION THAT THEN EXISTED.

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IT BEGAN:

"IT BECAME NECESSARY DUE TO THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO A CONDITION THAT DEVELOPED AND STILL FLOURISHES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF DEAN ACHESON."

THE MEMORANDUM LISTED NINE NAMES--WHICH FERGUSON OMITTED--AND SAID THEY WERE "ONLY A FEW OF THE HUNDREDS" OF STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES WHO WERE "AN OBVIOUS HAZARD TO NATIONAL SECURITY."

"THERE IS ALSO THE EXTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT IN HIGHLY CLASSIFIED POSITION OF ADMITTED HOMOSEXUALS, WHO ARE HISTORICALLY KNOWN TO BE SECURITY RISKS," THE MEMORANDUM SAID.

FERGUSON ALSO RELEASED FOR THE FIRST TIME A LETTER WRITTEN TO FORMER SEN. JOSEPH E. BALL ON JUNE 24, 1947, BY THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN E. PEURIFOY. IT SAID THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAD FIRED 10 EMPLOYEES ON THE BASIS OF DEROGATORY INFORMATION.

FERGUSON TOLD THE SENATE THAT FIVE OF THE 10 LISTED BY PEURIFOY WERE INCLUDED IN THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S MEMORANDUM. PEURIFOY, HE ADDED, SAID HE WAS INVESTIGATING OTHER CASES AND WOULD KEEP BALL INFORMED FROM TIME TO TIME.

ON JULY 1, 1947, HE CONTINUED, PEURIFOY INFORMED BALL THAT ANOTHER EMPLOYEE HAD BEEN FIRED.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE MEMORANDUM PAINTED A DARK PICTURE OF CONDITIONS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. IT CITED THE CASE OF CARL ALDO MARZANI, WHO HAS SINCE BEEN SENTENCED TO PRISON FOR DENYING ON HIS JOB APPLICATION THAT HE HAD EVER BEEN A COMMUNIST.

7/24--JW1258P

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ADD 1 COMMUNISTS (1258P)

IN ADDITION, THE MEMORANDUM SAID, THE DEPARTMENT HAD A PRELIMINARY REPORT LINKING SOME OF ITS TOP MEN TO SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES. IT SAID THAT THIS REPORT HAD BEEN "CHALLENGED AND IGNORED" BY OFFICIALS "WITH THE APPARENT TACIT APPROVAL OF MR. ACHESON."

"SHOULD THIS CASE BREAK BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT ACTS, IT WILL BE A NATIONAL DISGRACE," THE SUBCOMMITTEE SAID.

"THIS CONDITION RUNS ALL THE WAY UP AND DOWN THE LINE," THE MEMORANDUM CONCLUDED. "ASSISTANT SECRETARY (SPROULED) BRADEN ALSO SURROUNDED HIMSELF WITH MEN LIKE (NAME OMITTED) AND WITH (NAME OMITTED) WHO HAS A NOTORIOUS INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION. THE NETWORK ALSO EXTENDS INTO THE OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY (WILLIAM) BENTON."

THE MEMORANDUM SAID THE U.S. NAVY HAD BEEN BLOCKED FROM CARRYING OUT THEIR GERMAN SCIENTIST PROGRAM BY "A PROTEGE OF ACHESON." FERGUSON DID NOT DISCLOSE HIS NAME.

"THE NEW CHIEF OF CONTROLS IS A MAN UTTERLY DEVOID OF BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE FOR THE JOB, WHO IS AND AT THE TIME OF HIS APPOINTMENT WELL KNOWN TO THOSE WHO APPOINTED HIM TO BE, A COUSIN AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF A SUSPECTED SOVIET ESPIONAGE AGENT" THE MEMORANDUM SAID.

THE CHIEF OF CONTROLS WAS NOT NAMED BUT A SIMILAR ACCUSATION AGAINST HAMILTON ROBINSON WAS INVESTIGATED BY A HOUSE EXECUTIVE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE IN THE 80TH CONGRESS. NO ACTION WAS TAKEN.

7/24--OW--126P

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ADD 3 COMMUNISTS

SEN. HENRY CABOT LODGE, R., MASS., TOLD THE SENATE THAT ABOUT 45 TYPEWRITTEN PAGES OF QUESTIONS WHICH HE HAD POSED AT THE COMMITTEE SESSION ON JUNE 28 WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S PRINTED TESTIMONY. LODGE SAID HE SUGGESTED THE QUESTIONS BUT ADDED THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE DECIDED NOT TO ASK THEM.

FERGUSON ATTACKED THE "INTEMPERATE" TONE OF THE "BALDLY PARTISAN" SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT AND SAID ITS "TACTICS" HAVE "ALL THE EARNMARKS OF DICTATORSHIP TECHNIQUE."

FERGUSON SAID HE IS SURE THAT SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TYDINGS DID NOT WRITE THE REPORT. TYDINGS, HE SAID, IS AN HONEST MAN.

"I AM SORRY THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BEEN DISCHARGED," FERGUSON SAID, ADDING THAT THE GROUP SHOULD "MAKE AN INVESTIGATION OF ITS OWN STAFF."

"WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORDING?" FERGUSON ASKED. "WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LEAVING OUT THESE QUESTIONS?"

FERGUSON CRITICIZED "WEASEL WORDS" WHICH HE SAID WERE USED IN THE REPORT TO CENSURE SOME OF THE FIGURES WHO WERE SPOTLIGHTED IN CHARGES BY MCCARTHY HE ASKED WHY THE REPORT WENT SO FAR AS TO REPORT A NUMBER OF COMMITTEE SESSIONS ATTENDED BY GOP MEMBERS.

THE REPORT, FERGUSON SAID, WAS "SO BALDLY PARTISAN THAT MINORITY MEMBERS WERE NOT PERMITTED TO SEE IT" BEFORE IT WAS ISSUED.

7/24--N202P

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ADD 4 CORRECTION

LODGE NOTED THE ALLEGED OMISSION FROM THE SUBCOMMITTEE PRINTED
 EARLY AFTER NELSON HAD MENTIONED IT IN HIS SPEECH. LODGE SAID
 THE LIST OF QUESTIONS DOES NOT APPEAR AT THE PROPER PLACE IN THE
 RECORD.

ONE VOLUME OF HEARINGS HAS BEEN PRINTED. ANOTHER VOLUME-
 INCLUDING AN APPENDIX--IS STILL IN PREPARATION.

BUT LODGE MADE HIS COMPLAINT, OTHER REPUBLICANS INCLUDING
 MR. HOWARD E. NICHENLOOPER, R., IA., A SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBER, AND
 MR. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, R., CAL., SAID THEY HAD BEEN UNABLE TO
 OBTAIN COPIES OF THE PRINTED VOLUME. KNOWLAND SAID HE HAD BEEN
 ADVISED THAT TYLINGS WAS RELEASING THEM PERSONALLY.

A MOMENT LATER NICHENLOOPER ADVISED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A COPY.
 THE PAGES WERE APPARENTLY DISTRIBUTING THEM TO ALL SENATORS.

7/24--H204P

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ALL 2 COMMUNISTS

SEN. BRITH MCMAHON, D., CONN., A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE, MADE AN IMMEDIATE REPLY TO THE FERGUSON SPEECH. HE SAID THAT "NOBODY HAS A BETTER RECORD THAN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION" FOR PROSECUTING AND JAILING COMMUNISTS AND SPIES.

IN RAPID SUCCESSION, MCMAHON LISTED ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLOW, HANCOCK, AND THE 11 COMMUNIST LEADERS PROSECUTED IN NEW YORK. IN ADDITION, HE SAID, THE ADMINISTRATION "IS TAKING CARE" OF HARRY BRING, WEST COAST LONGHORNER'S LEADER, AND THOSE WHO HAVE REFUSED TO STAY UNDER OATH WHETHER THEY ARE COMMUNISTS.

"IT IS THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND NOT ANYBODY ON THIS FLOOR WHO HAS PROSECUTED THESE PEOPLE AND SENT THEM TO JAIL," HE SAID. "I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT IF ANYBODY IN THIS COUNTRY HAS INFORMATION ON SUBVERSION AND TAKES IT TO THE PROPER AUTHORITIES, THE PEOPLE INVOLVED WILL BE PROSECUTED AND, IF GUILTY, JAILED."

"BUT IF THE DAY COMES THAT WE IN THIS COUNTRY JAIL PEOPLE ON THE OF A HUNCH, WITHOUT A HEARING AND WITHOUT A CHANCE TO PERMIT THEM TO PROVE THEIR INNOCENCE, THEN THE KNEWLIN WILL BE VERY HAPPY."

7/28--11:07

Ferguson Raps Probe Report on McCarthy

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) charged yesterday that the report on the McCarthy Communist-investigation was the most "intemperate and abusive" such document ever filed in the Senate.

His phrasing, he said, was reminiscent of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi propaganda minister, or Andrei Vishinsky, Soviet foreign minister.

Ferguson carried into the second week the Republican criticism of the report, which called the charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.), a "hoax and a fraud" and said McCarthy had utterly failed to prove his allegations. McCarthy will talk today.

Ferguson said the report, issued by the Democratic majority of a Foreign Relations Subcommittee, "used soft words to shield those who have been careless with national security." He wondered aloud who wrote it, saying it could not have been written by Senator Tydings (D., Md.), subcommittee chairman, or his two Democratic associates, Senators McMahon of Connecticut or Green of Rhode Island. (All three signed it.)

Asks Probe of Staff

Attacking dismissal of McCarthy's charges, Ferguson said there not only ought to be a new investigation of communism in the Government, but also an investigation of the Tydings subcommittee staff.

He disclosed that in 1947, a Senate Appropriations subcommittee informed Gen. George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, of a "deliberate, calculated program to protect Communist personnel in high places" in the State Department. The same memorandum declared that another purpose of the asserted intrigue was "to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity."

Replying to the memo on June 24, 1947, the then assistant secretary of State John E. Peurifoy told the subcommittee that 10 employees, regarded as security risks, had been fired, including five

named in the memorandum.

"In addition, I expect to take action on two more cases within the next few days," Peurifoy wrote.

"Of the remaining 55 cases of individuals employed in the department, concerning whom derogatory allegations have been made, three are either resigning or are being terminated by a reduction in force, and recommendations for security clearance have been made in eight cases, which are still being considered. The remaining 44 cases will be investigated further."

Touche on Alger Hiss

Ferguson touched on Alger Hiss, former State Department official convicted of lying when he swore he did not turn over secret government data to a Soviet courier. Hiss is at liberty pending action on his appeal.

Ferguson presented a confidential memorandum written March 7, 1946, by J. Anthony Panuch, State Department security officer. In it, Panuch vigorously opposed a departmental reorganization plan attributed to Hiss. He said it would give Hiss "working control" over documents moving to and from the United States delegation to the United Nations.

"The security hazard of such a setup, if eventually accomplished, would seem to warrant the continuing interest of the FBI and other security intelligence agencies," Panuch wrote.

Ferguson said he fears the McCarthy investigation report is apt to "lull the State Department into a false sense of security."

Senator Lodge (R., Mass.), one of the two Republicans on the investigating committee protested that the printed record of the hearings omitted 45 typewritten pages of questions which he thought the committee should ask, but which it didn't.

Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.) tried fruitlessly to get the Senate headed back to debate on the \$3,700,000,000 single-package appropriation bill.

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Harbo
Belmont
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Tele. Room
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INDEXED - 6A

NOT RECORDED
71 SEP 22 1950

Page

Times-Herald
Wash. Post 5
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N.Y. Mirror
N. Y. Compass

JUL 25 1950
Date:

Tolson _____
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9-19-50

Lattimore Denies McCarthy 'Pay-Off' Hint

Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) suggested yesterday that the Senate look into the sale of Vermont property by Owen Lattimore and his wife to another couple described by McCarthy as Communists.

Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University professor, was accused by McCarthy in March of being Russia's top spy in this country. A Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee last week cleared Lattimore.

McCarthy told the Senate yesterday that Lattimore and his wife last September acquired a half interest in property in Bethel, Vt., an area which McCarthy said "contains a little group of Communist sympathizers."

McCarthy said the Lattimores paid between \$1000 and \$1500 to a "cotenant," then sold it last June to Ordway and Mary Southard for apparently between \$4000 and \$4500, in what he suggested might have been a "Communist pay-off."

Southard was the Communist Party candidate for Governor of Alabama in 1942, and his wife is described in the (Communist) Daily Worker as district secretary of the Young Communist League, McCarthy said.

Lattimore, reached at Wellfleet, Mass., said he sold his half share without "a cent of profit" to a "complete stranger," later learning the purchasers were the Southards. He said he "had to sell my property to meet expenses forced on me by McCarthy's scurrilous attacks."

Joseph Barnes, accused by Louis F. Budenz of being a Communist, yesterday denied the charge "unreservedly."

Testimony made public last week by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee quoted Budenz, longtime managing editor of the Daily Worker, as saying Barnes "known to me personally to be a Communist." He identified Barnes as a former foreign editor of the New York Herald Tribune.

In a telegram to Senator Mahon (D., Conn.), of the inquiry committee, Barnes said the subcommittee had slandered him in making the Budenz testimony public without giving him a chance to deny it.

INDEXED

NOT RECORDED
 135-446 1 1950

Page _____
 Times-Herald _____
 Wash. Post 9
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: 2/23/50

State Dept. Sabotaged South Korean Arming, McCarthy Declares

By the Associated Press

FON DU LAC, Wis., July 31.—Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, declared yesterday a congressional plan to arm South Korea was "sabotaged by the State Department."

The Senator demanded again that President Truman fire Secretary of State Acheson, who he accused of having helped to "mastermind disaster for America and victory for Communism in the East."

Speaking to 4,500 persons at an Izaak Walton League picnic, Senator McCarthy said Congress had passed one bill providing \$75 million, "any part of which could be used in Korea," while another bill provided more than \$10 million "all of it to be used to arm South Korea."

"President Truman signed those two bills without word of protest," the Senator said, "and then what happened? The State Department crowd stepped in and how much of that money do you think actually was spent to arm South Korea? Only \$200, and that to load some baling wire."

Senator McCarthy also assailed Mr. Acheson for the administration policy in Western Germany, declaring that Russia is creating a powerful army in the eastern part of that country while "we keep ours half weak."

The Senator declared that the Democrats conducted a "dishonest" inquiry into his Communists-in-Government charges. He renewed attacks on persons he has accused publicly of being pro-Communist.

Lattimore's New Book Blasts 'Tide of Fear'

By the Associated Press

Owen Lattimore, a principal target of Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, in his charges of Communism in Gov-

ernment, says "a tide of fear has swept Washington and is undermining the freedom of the Nation."

"Bully boy politicians of the McCarthy stripe . . . are demagogues who are skilled in the exploitation of fear," Mr. Lattimore adds in a book, "Ordeal by Slander," published today.

"Vindication of each individual 'who has been falsely accused' is not enough, Mr. Lattimore writes: 'We must re-establish the freedom to inquire and the freedom to express opinions based on independent inquiry.'"

Mr. Lattimore, specialist on Far

Eastern affairs accused by Senator McCarthy of being Russia's top spy in this country, said his story shows the danger "to which we are all exposed. It might have happened to you."

The three-member Democratic majority of a Senate subcommittee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges against Mr. Lattimore and others said they were not proved.

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Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star 5

N.Y. Mirror _____

N. Y. Compass _____

Date: JUL 31 1950

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

McCarthy Lashes at Tydings, Calls Him Truman's 'Lap Dog'

Senator Vows to Continue His Battle On Commies So Long as He's in Office

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 6 (AP).—Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin renewed his Communists-in-government charges today and called Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland the Truman administration's "whimpering lap dog."

McCarthy also said he intends to continue a "bare-knuckle" fight to expose Communists "as long as I remain in the Senate."

"Dishonest" Probe Charged

Tydings headed the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which investigated McCarthy's allegations that the State department harbors Communists and Red sympathizers.

The Democratic majority of the subcommittee labeled the McCarthy charges "a fraud and a hoax."

In a speech before the Wisconsin Retail Food Dealers association, McCarthy accused Tydings and Sen. McMahon (D) of Connecticut, who also was on the investigating committee, of doing "a dishonest job," and of being "interested in protecting Communists for political reasons."

Then, in leading up to his sharpest criticism of Tydings, McCarthy asked:

"Why does the Congress stand idly by while a group of Com-

munist, fellow travelers and their dupes (in the State department) sabotage the efforts of the American people to hold back the atheistic Communist horde before it hits our shores?"

Tydings Assailed

"The American people want to know where and how was spent the \$90,000,000,000 which the American people gave to make this nation strong. If that money was wasted the American people want to know, where why and by whom."

"As you know, the (Senate) armed services committee is charged with the responsibility of making sure that the money which we appropriate for the arming of this nation, and any other nation, is being properly spent."

"Who do you think is the chairman of that committee? None other than Millard Tydings—the same Tydings who headed the whitewash committee."

"As chairman of that committee he should be the watchdog of the American people . . . He should know where the \$90,000,000,000 we spent to make this nation militarily strong went."

"Unfortunately, the man whom the Administration placed in charge of that committee, instead of being a bristling, vigilant watchdog is the Administration's whimpering lap dog. This is truly a tragic situation."

McCarthy repeated his bitter criticism of Secretary of State Acheson and said again there is an "urgent necessity of getting rid of him if this nation is to survive."

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Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
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Gandy _____

17 SEP 13 1950

Page

Times-Herald 1

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

N. Y. Compass _____

AUG 7 1950
Date: _____

DEBILITATE HIS COCKY ANNOUNCEMENTS. I was hand from a high source at President Truman's really small 07 the charges made against the State Dept. Hiss may not be genius nor the best President we ever had, but there is nobody who would want to accuse him of not being a good American at heart. Therefore, he realizes as well as any man on the street that where



• Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Doyle oblige photographer during dinner at Chateau Richelieu.

there is smoke there is fire and that there is something seriously the matter with the State Dept.

Truman, I have been authoritatively told, would like nothing more at this point than to dismiss Dean Acheson, but he fears such a move at this time could be interpreted by the voters as a weakness as well as an admission of guilt. And if Truman washes his hands of the whole mess, saying that he's not at fault if the State Dept. had on its staffs perverts and pinkos, then he lays the blame squarely at F. D. Roosevelt's door. Nevertheless, some Republicans intend to appeal to the President's patriotism to make the move.

The same source also believes that Sen. Joe McCarthy has not found his last salvo by any means. The ex-Marine from Wisconsin hopes to catch one of the culprits for perjury, which is what Alger Hiss hanged himself with. And as to Tydings' statement that Owen Lattimore had been cleared by the FBI, one should not forget that Alger Hiss was also cleared for nine years by the FBI, otherwise he would not have been permitted to act as President Roosevelt's adviser at Yalta and in his high position in the State Dept.

All this, of course, is no reflection on J. Edgar Hoover. It is Hoover's patriotism and fair play which are the best guarantee for all of us, but it should not be forgotten that Mr. Hoover is a subordinate and has to obey the instructions of his superiors, the Attorney General and the President.

Anyway, it would have been much more preferable to hear from J. Edgar Hoover directly, rather than Tydings, that Owen Lattimore had been "cleared." Hoover would not have lied—but he might not have been able to answer it. In other words, what the Republicans believe is that the ball game isn't over until the 11th inning.

SOME FUN AT EL MOROCCO the other night when Carol Brooks, the stunning model (she looks like Daisy Mae) who once tried suicide over Al Capp, entered and saw the creator of Li'l Abner dining with Carol Marcus Saroyan. She spent the whole evening parading her handsome escort back and forth past their table to the dance floor, but she only got polite nods for her efforts.

The William Waters Jr. are expecting the Stork... The gossip in society about that bride-to-be's sudden cancellation of marriage plans is that she actually had a terrific crush on her prospective father-in-law.

Beverly Robert Jr. of the Newport clan has lately been escorting lovely Virginia French Dick, sister of "Tuckie" Astor.

Ernest Hemingway said he was fighting to keep his title as one of the World's Worst Dressed Men. Well, I've news for him—he hasn't a chance with Lucius Beebe around.

When Betty Furness' much-married husband, Bud Ernst, ended his life so dramatically Monday night it came as a great shock to his column. Only two weeks ago I reported that Bud had suddenly returned from Reno to forget about divorce and resume life with Betty, whom he had wed twice. The Ernsts seemed happy again and no one had an idea that Bud might be thinking of an eternal separation.

Handwritten notes and signatures:
 J. Edgar Hoover
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(MCCARTHY)

CHARLESTON, S.C.--SEN. JOSEPH MCCARTHY, R., WIS., COMPARED SECRETARY OF STATE ACHESON WITH RUSSIA'S V. M. MOLOTOV TODAY AND DEMANDED HIS IMMEDIATE REMOVAL.

WHEN THE SENATOR COMPLETED HIS ADDRESS BEFORE SOME 330 PERSONS ATTENDING THE STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, DELEGATES ENDORSED HIS VIEWS IN RESOLUTIONS.

"THE KOREAN DEATH TRAP," MCCARTHY SAID, "CAN BE LAID AT THE DOORS OF THE MEN WHO SABOTAGED THE CONGRESSIONAL ATTEMPTS TO SEND AMMUNITION TO THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN CHINA, FORMOSA AND KOREA...MEN WHOSE SHADOWS HOVER LIKE VULTURES OVER THE CORPSE OF CHINA."

REFERRING TO THE KOREAN SITUATION, MCCARTHY SAID, "IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE" THAT FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES F. BYRNES, IN "SPEAKING FRANKLY," WHICH WAS WRITTEN IN 1947, "TOLD US EXACTLY WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IN KOREA IF WE WERE TO FOLLOW THE COURSE THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID FOLLOW. YET WHEN THE INEVITABLE WHICH BYRNES PREDICTED HAPPENED IN 1950, OUR NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY SURPRISED.

MCCARTHY ASKED FOR THE IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF ACHESON BECAUSE "WE CAN'T AFFORD TO WAIT UNTIL THE ELECTION OF 1952."

9/1--N428P

Communist in the State Department

EX - 83

INDEXED - 4

121-23478-14
 47 SEP 1950

55 SEP 30 1950

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Polson
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Clegg
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Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Belmont
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Dulles Calls Republicans to Task

By Drew Pearson

REPUBLICAN Senators who have been yelling about "Communist spies" in the State Department got a verbal straight-arm from John Foster Dulles, the department's top Republican adviser, at a private luncheon arranged by New Jersey's GOP Senator Alex Smith.

Dulles was picked by President Truman, somewhat against his own political judgment, to pacify the Republicans. At first, Mr. Truman had hesitated about putting him in the State Department because Dulles had been so vituperative against the Truman Administration in running for the Senate last fall. However, Secretary Acheson insisted, and Mr. Truman finally acquiesced. Now it looks as if even Republican Senators aren't satisfied with Dulles.

At the start, Dulles shed his diplomatic gloves by bluntly reporting that the Defense Department, not the State Department, was chiefly responsible for the unarmed condition of Southern Korea.

Dulles, who was to have been Dewey's Secretary of State, also criticized military leaders—without specifically mentioning General MacArthur—for inaccurate intelligence reports regarding Korea. The State Department foresaw the crisis several months in advance and urged armed aid to Southern Korea, Dulles reported, but was overruled by Defense Secretary Johnson and military advisers.

Senator McCarthy walked out of the luncheon just as Dulles got to his main topic—alleged Communist spies in the State Department.

"I see Senator McCarthy has left," Dulles told his fellow Republicans. "His absence will enable me to touch on something without embarrassing him. I want to say that I have never seen a known Communist in the State Department, and I do not know of anyone there with Communist sympathies or leanings."

A Dose of Communism

IN THE past there has been a group in the department that was disturbed by the failure of Asiatic countries to appreciate the serious threat of communism," Dulles continued. "This group felt that a dose of communism would wake up China and be the best stop-gap against Communist expansion over there.

"However, I think that most of those who felt that way are now out of the department, and those who are left do not hold responsible positions any longer."

At this, Senator George Malone of Nevada jumped from his chair and bellowed:

"What you say confirms Senator McCarthy's charges! Do I understand you to say that such people helped to shape policy in the State Department, and that today American boys are dying in Asia as a result of the dose of communism Korea is getting?"

"I said no such thing," fired back Dulles, flushing. "You know I didn't. That is your conclusion. These people did not determine State Department policy on Korea or any other country. Also, as I have reported, most of them are no longer with the department."

"Who are they?" Malone hotly pursued. "Name them."

"I did not come up here to indulge in personalities, but to give you Senators a report on the situation in the State Department today with regard to these charges about spies," replied Dulles. "There are no spies or Communists in the State Department. All the people employed there are good Americans who want to promote the best interests of their country."

At this point, McCarthy returned and Malone shouted: "Repeat what you have just said, Mr. Dulles!"

Whereupon, McCarthy asked: "Was Dean Rusk one of this group you referred to?"

The indirect slap at Rusk, Assistant Secretary in charge of Far Eastern affairs, infuriated Dulles.

"I want you to understand, Senator," he replied, "that Dean Rusk is and always has been a fine public servant. The country owes a great deal to him."

For half an hour, Malone, Hickenlooper of Iowa, McCarthy, Bill Jenner of Indiana and Carl Mundt of South Dakota pounded the unhappy Dulles. In the end, Malone grimly remarked: "You can't sell the State Department to us."

Whereupon Wayne Morse of Oregon, who has no love for the isolationists, commented acidly:

"Foster, it ought to be plain to you by now the State Department doesn't have a chance with the Republicans."

The Height of Hypocrisy

REPRESENTATIVE RALPH GWINN (R., N. Y.), is now urging that the Postoffice Department be turned over to private enterprise so Government bureaus will have to pay postage. Believe it or not, this is the same Congressman who has taken advantage of his free mailing privileges to mail tons of propaganda around the country.

Last year alone, Gwinn mailed out 2,450,000 copies of his speeches against the Truman Administration without paying for a single postage stamp. This saved him—and cost the taxpayers—\$73,500 in 3-cent stamps, or six times his salary for the year. In other words, it cost the taxpayers the salaries of seven Congressmen to keep Gwinn in office.

Russian Propaganda

THERE are no fewer than 27 anti-American plays showing in Moscow right now. Yet if American newsmen, who try to write the news out of Moscow, should mention this, their dispatches would be censored. Every American newspaper publishing a Moscow dispatch should automatically carry this warning: "Censored."

Perhaps if Representative John Taber of New York, Senators Byrd of Virginia and George of Georgia, plus other economizers, would take a trip to Moscow and get one glimpse at the extent of the anti-American propaganda, they would be willing to spend a few dollars on United States propaganda.

NOTE—Best insight into Russian propaganda is the book, "If You Were Born in Russia," by Arthur Goodfriend, a former editor of the Stars and Stripes.

INDEXED - 5

NOV 21 1950
71 SEP 21 1950

Page

Times-Herald

Wash. Post 6B

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

Date:

Tolson _____
 Ladd _____
 Clegg _____
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 Belmont _____
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 Gandy _____

McCarthy Data Being Checked By Spy Probers

By United Press

The House un-American activities committee will refuse to investigate the specific charges by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin of Communist infiltration into the State department, an authoritative source said today.

He added, however, that committee investigators are checking records of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which looked into McCarthy's statements. He said they might unearth "new leads" for their own inquiry into Communist operations.

Suggested by Velde

Rep. Velde, a committee member, suggested yesterday that the committee look into McCarthy's charges that the State department is infested with Reds.

He was particularly interested in McCarthy's recent claim that he has an "airtight" case that State department aide Edward G. Posniak is a Communist. Posniak has denied any sympathy with communism whatever.

Velde noted that McCarthy volunteered to testify before the House committee after Senate investigators denounced his charges as a "fraud and a hoax."

Wood Is Mum

Chairman Wood (D) of Georgia declined comment on Velde's proposal, except to say that a decision was up to his full committee. He said the question may

But one responsible source said the committee would consider it "in poor grace" to look into the McCarthy charges in view of the Senate subcommittee's action.

He added that the committee had a line on many of the persons involved in a Senate inquiry "long before McCarthy was ever Senator."

OCT 3 1950

Page

Times-Herald 2
 Ten Star Edition

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: _____

Tolson ☒
 Ladd ☒
 Clegg ☒
 Glavin ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tracy ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Nease ☒
 Gandy ☒

Letter to the State Department

(7 P.M. EST. RELEASE)

SEN. OWEN BREWSTER, R., ME., ACCUSED SEN. MILLARD E. TYDINGS, D., MD., OF MAKING "FALSE" CAMPAIGN CLAIMS ABOUT LAST SUMMER'S INVESTIGATION OF CHARGES THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS OVERRUN BY COMMUNISTS.

THE CHARGES WERE MADE BY SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R., WIS., AND WERE LABELLED "A FRAUD AND A HOAX" BY A SENATE INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE HEADED BY TYDINGS.

BREWSTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, TOLD REPORTERS THAT TYDINGS HAS BEEN TELLING MARYLAND VOTERS THE FBI THREW DOWN MCCARTHY'S CHARGE THAT STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY FILES WERE "STRIPPED" OF DAMAGING MATERIAL BEFORE SENATE INVESTIGATORS LOOKED AT THEM.

BREWSTER PRODUCED A LETTER FROM FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER WHICH, HE SAID, SHOWED THAT TYDINGS HAD STRETCHED THE TRUTH.

IN THE LETTER, HOOVER SAID BREWSTER WAS CORRECT IN BELIEVING THAT THE FBI CHECKED STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY FILES AND FOUND THERE HAD BEEN NO TAMPERING WITH FBI REPORTS PLACED THEREIN, BUT THAT THE FBI DID NOT CHECK TO SEE WHETHER MATERIAL SUBMITTED BY OTHER AGENCIES MIGHT HAVE BEEN REMOVED.

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55 NOV 8 1950

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Tydings' Campaign Claims Hit By Brewster, Quoting FBI

Hoover Won't Vouch for All Material In Files Seen By Loyalty Probers

By William Bradford Huie, Jr.
Campaign claims by Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland that the State Department's personnel files were intact when his investigating committee examined them this summer were labeled as false yesterday by Sen. Brewster (R) of Maine.

Brewster added another round to the controversy as to whether State department employees had "raped" the files before their perusal by the Tydings committee by revealing correspondence with J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director.

Material Missing
 Hoover, in a letter to Brewster yesterday, made it clear that his agents could account only for material which the FBI had incorporated into the files. Brewster, however, pointed out that there had been no accounting for material inserted in the files from the central intelligence agency, Army and Navy intelligence, the secret service, civil service, and government loyalty boards.

Brewster, chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, told a press conference yesterday that claims by Tydings in his campaign literature, attempting to bolster his "whitewash" loyalty investigation, had prompted his clearing the matter up with Hoover.

Brewster waved a copy of a Tydings campaign pamphlet which said "If you hear that the files had

records examined by the investigating committees were "raped, rifled or incomplete," tell them the FBI says "No."

FBI Files Intact
 On Sept. 8, Hoover had written Tydings saying the FBI had found the files intact, but not explaining he meant they were only intact as far as FBI material in the files was concerned.

"This would seem to settle rather conclusively the false claim that the FBI at any time has expressed any opinion or even conducted any investigation as to whether the State department files were 'raped, rifled or incomplete,'" Brewster said.

Prospects of a Republican victory in Maryland, where John Marshall Butler is attempting to unseat the veteran Tydings, Brewster added, "are much more encouraging than we had hitherto believed. There are substantial symptoms of a revolt."

The campaign chairman also added that prospects at this time of the Republicans winning control of the Senate are "even better than they were in 1946, when the G.O.P. swept both houses."

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 Nichols ☒
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 Tracy ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Nease ☒
 Gandy ☒

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100-2-278-1

100-151-22478
550

Page

Times-Herald ☒
 Wash. Post ☐
 Wash. News ☐
 Wash. Star ☐
 N.Y. Mirror ☐
 N. Y. Compass ☐

OCT 26 1950
 Date:

100-22478