

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JOSEPH McCARTHY

PART 20 OF 28

BUFILE NUMBER: 121-23278 (ENCLOSURES)

SUBJECT Joseph McCarthy

FILE NUMBER 121-23278

~~SECTION NUMBER~~ Enclosure behind file (11)

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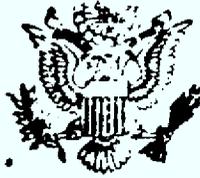
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Congressional

United States
of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 81ST CONGRESS, SECC

Vol. 96

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1950

House of Representative

60433

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Bra-
kamp, D. D., offered the following
prayer:

Almighty and eternal God, we beseech
that in this Brotherhood Week our
prayer may be radiant with
and helpful things
for

city of
we
overtures
adventure of
der which is truly

brothers of the Son of
Man, our minds and hearts may be im-
pervious to those attitudes and feelings
which are alien to the spirit of our
blessed Lord.

Hear us in His name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of
Thursday, February 16, 1950, was read
and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr.
McDaniel, its enrolling clerk, announced
that the Senate had adopted the follow-
ing resolution (S. Res. 229):

Resolved That the Senate has heard with
profound sorrow the announcement of the
of Hon. SCHUYLER OTIS BLANK, late a
representative from the State of Virginia.

That a committee of two Sena-
appointed by the Vice President to
appointed on the part of
of Representatives to attend the
of the deceased Representative.

That the Secretary communi-
resolutions to the House of Repre-
and transmit a copy thereof to the
of the deceased.

That as a further mark of respect
memory of the deceased the Senate
take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian
next day.

A message also announced that pur-
the above resolution the Presid-
had appointed Mr. BYRD and
members of the commit-
of the Senate.

HOUSE

I ask
colleague

the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr.
ABERNETHY) may have an indefinite leave
of absence on account of illness.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to
the request of the gentleman from
Mississippi?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask
unanimous consent to address the House
for 1 minute and to extend my remarks
by inserting an article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to
the request of the gentleman from
Texas?

There was no objection.

[Mr. PATMAN addressed the House.
His remarks appear in the Appendix of
today's Record.]

THE READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESSES

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the spe-
cial order agreed to on February 16, the
Chair designates the gentleman from
Ohio (Mr. McSWENEY) to read Wash-
ington's Farewell Address immediately
after the reading of the Journal on
Wednesday, February 22, 1950.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HERLONG asked and was given
permission to extend his remarks in the
Appendix of the Record.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I ask
unanimous consent to address the House
for 1 minute and to revise and extend
my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to
the request of the gentleman from
Florida?

There was no objection.

FREEDOM DAY

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, in con-
nection with their campaign in behalf
of good government at less cost, the
Florida Retailers Association has sug-
gested a new and jubilant national holi-
day to celebrate tax freedom. The date
of the holiday this year would be April
26.

The idea is that from Janu-
to April 26 this year, the aver-
son works for the Government. Be

be liberated on April 26 and
work for himself and his
remains of an hour

I commend the organized
campaign to call to the at-
workingman the fact that
of every dollar goes for
cents of that amount at
cover or hidden taxes.
penalize the workingman a
portion because you and I
spend, and consequently
virtually every dollar he ec-
to live.

Yes; the cost of
high. Our best consol-
is: Thank God we ar-
the government we ar-
the other hand, if we
government we got.
Tax Liberation Day in
year.

EXTENSION OF

Mr. ELLIOTT asked
permission to extend his re-
marks in two instances ap-
traneous matter.

Mr. BYRDON asked
permission to extend his
remarks and in the
ered last Friday.

Mr. BOLLEN asked
permission to exte-
Record and inclu-
Day speech by
United States.

Mr. DAVIS o-
given permis-
in the Record
clude extraneous

Mr. PASSMA
permission to exte-
Record.

Mr. PAYTE
mission to ex-
Record.

Mr. CROO
mission to e-
Record and in
C. Price, her-
ment, No
to work

121-23278-11

Monday, February 20, 1950

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

60443

Senate adopted small-business resolution.

House passed six miscellaneous bills.

Bills on public library demonstration service and Virgin Islands vocational education cleared for House action by Rules Committee.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 1995-2011

Bills Introduced: Thirty-one bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 3058 to S. 3088; and S. Con. Res. 74. Pages 1998, 2002

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows: S. 2853, to authorize the acceptance of foreign decorations for participation in the Berlin air lift, with amendments (S. Rept. 1277). Page 1998

Small Business: By voice vote, Senate adopted with amendment S. Res. 58 to create a Standing Senate Committee on Small Business, having previously taken the following action on amendments offered as substitutes therefor:

Rejected: By 33 yeas to 49 nays, Holland amendment (as a substitute for Murray amendment) providing for appointment of five Senators to be ex officio members of Senate Committee on Banking and Currency to handle matters relating to small business; and by 31 yeas to 51 nays, Murray amendment (as substitute for Wherry amendment, in the nature of a substitute) creating for 3 years a Special Senate Committee on Small Business.

Adopted: By 55 yeas to 27 nays, Wherry amendment (in the nature of a substitute) creating a Select Senate Committee on Small Business to make investigations of small-business problems. Pages 2011-2034

Cotton Marketing: Senate debated motion of Senator Lucas to take up H. J. Res. 308, revising cotton marketing quota law. Senate stayed in late session after rejecting in early evening by 16 yeas to 18 nays, Lucas motion to adjourn. Pages 2036-2042

Program for Tuesday: Senate recessed at 11:42 p. m. until 11 a. m. Tuesday, February 21, when it will dispose of S. 75, central Arizona project, it having been previously agreed to vote thereon at 4 p. m.

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

APPROPRIATIONS—FOREST SERVICE

Committee on Appropriations: Further testimony in justification of 1951 budget estimates for the Forest Service was received by the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations from Lyle F. Watts, Chief, and Assistant Chiefs Earl W. Loveridge and C. M. Granger, together with their respective assistants, all of the Forest Service, in connection with the subcommittee's hearings on its portion of the omnibus appropriation bill. Hearings continue Thursday.

APPROPRIATIONS—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Committee on Appropriations: Testimony in justification of 1951 budget estimates for the Department of State was received from various officials of the State Department before the Subcommittee on State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriations in connection with study of its portion of the omnibus appropriation bill. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, appeared on funds for the Department generally; Frederick Larkin, Division of Foreign Buildings Operations, testified on funds for American buildings in foreign countries; William Hall and Edward Wilber, both of the State Department, discussed appropriations for Foreign Service retirement and disability fund; and John D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, talked on contributions to international organizations. Hearings continue tomorrow.

On Saturday, February 18, the subcommittee concluded hearings on appropriations for the Judiciary.

APPROPRIATIONS—LOWER MISSISSIPPI, WEST VIRGINIA, AND VIRGINIA

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee on Army Civil-Functions Appropriations received further testimony on budget estimates for 1951 for Army civil functions in connection with hearings on its portion of the omnibus appropriation bill.

The following testified on proposed funds for the lower Mississippi: Representatives Whittington, Brooks, Morrison, and Larcade; Senators Long and Ellender; J. G. Barker, Peyton Berbling, P. B. Oliver, Jr., Frank Polyeon, Charles S. Tindall, Jr., and J. Lester White, all of the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association; Colonel White, Director of Public Works, Louisiana; L. R. Mathias, Red River Valley Association, Shreveport, La.; J. H. Williams; J. A. Ballinger; H. C. Leonard; Judge C. Ely Orr; and Mayor Curt Siegelin, Bogalusa, La.

The following discussed the Wheeling, W. Va., flood wall appropriation: Senators Kilgore and Neely; Representative Ramsay; and Earl I. Runner.

Proposed funds for the Elizabeth River project was discussed by the following: Senator Robertson; S. P. McConnell, Colonial Oil Co., Norfolk; and Ralph B. Douglas, Smith-Douglas Oil Co.

The Gathright Dam project funds were favored by the following: Senator Robertson; Representative Burton; B. C. Mozmaw, Covington, Va., Chamber of Commerce; and Fred W. McClain, Lynchburg, Va. Hearings continue Wednesday.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Committee on Finance: Continuing hearings on H. R. 6000, to extend and improve the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system, and to amend the public-assistance and child-welfare provisions of the Social Security Act, the committee received testimony from nine witnesses as follows: Charles E. Sands, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, Cincinnati, favored provisions of H. R. 6000 which would subject tips and gratuities to OASI taxes, and Daniel J. O'Brien, American Hotel Association, opposed such provisions. Dr. W. R. Alexander, Southern Baptist Relief and Annuity Board, Dallas, opposed provisions of H. R. 6000 which would extend OASI coverage to employees of nonprofit institutions.

The following witnesses opposed provisions of H. R. 6000 which would cover employees of State and local governments who are already under State or local retirement systems: George J. Richardson, John P. Redmond, James McGuire, Glenn Thom, and John P. Crane, all of the International Fire Fighters Association; and Robert Lukens, of Ohio. Representative Van Zandt filed a statement. Committee meets again Thursday.

UN, WORLD GOVERNMENT, AND ATLANTIC UNION

Committee on Foreign Relations: Further testimony on various resolutions proposing World Federation, Atlantic Union, and strengthening of the United Nations was received by the subcommittee, as follows: Testi-

mony in support of Atlantic Union was received from Garrison Norton, former Assistant Secretary of State.

Testimony opposing World Federation and World Government was received from Mrs. William D. Leotch, representing National Society of New England Women; Omar B. Ketchum, VFW; John B. Trevor, president, American Coalition; Edward Jerome, representing the National Economic Council; and Frederic Gilbert Bauer, representing the Society of the War of 1812; testimony supporting World Government was received from Michael Straight, AVC; Benjamin C. Marsh, the People's Lobby; Marvin L. Goldberger, AMVETS; and Samuel R. Levering, representing the Friends Committee. Subcommittee adjourned subject to call of the Chair.

ALASKA—COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: In executive session, a subcommittee, consisting of Senators O'Mahoney, Murray, and Cordon was appointed to draft amendments, the general contents of which have already been approved by the committee, to be offered to H. R. 940, to authorize \$20,365,400 for the construction of the Eklutna hydroelectric project in Alaska.

Committee held further hearings on the Columbia River Basin project in connection with its study of H. R. 5472, the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood-control bill, receiving further testimony from representatives of the Interior Department. Hearings continue tomorrow.

MERCHANT MARINE

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: The following witnesses appeared before the subcommittee to testify in support of the enactment of S. 2786, to promote further the development and maintenance of the American merchant marine: Hubert Brown, Pacific Far East Line, Inc.; G. Harry Poudet, Baltimore Association of Commerce; J. M. Willis, Bethlehem Steel Co., Baltimore; George H. French, Maryland Dry Dock Co., Baltimore; and J. J. Brune, Mayor's Harbor Advisory Board, Baltimore. Hearings continue tomorrow.

DISTRICT JUDGES, AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Committee on the Judiciary: In executive session, committee voted to report favorably the nominations of Frank A. Hooper to be U. S. district judge for the northern district of Georgia, and George W. Whitehurst to be U. S. district judge for the northern and southern districts of Florida.

Committee discussed, but took no action on, S. 2311, to protect the U. S. against certain un-American and subversive activities.

It received a report from its subcommittee on S. Res. 202, to investigate interstate gambling and racketeering activities.

Senate

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1950

(Legislative day of Wednesday, January 4, 1950)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, from all the traditions which separate us and write our names in different camps of thought and conviction we pause for the upward look which makes us one in solemn, yet glad, communion with Thee.

Teach us so to live and so to toil and so to play our part in this age on ages telling that we may face with clear conscience the gaze of our contemporaries and the judgment of posterity. May our attitudes and hopes widen every area of good will within the reach of our influence. In a divided, fear-haunted, violent world, may we be among those whom the generations to come shall call blessed, because the record shall write our names among today's peacemakers. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. LUCAS, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 17, 1950, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

On request of Mr. SALTONSTALL, and by unanimous consent, Mr. YOUNG was excused from attendance on the sessions of the Senate beginning today, through Wednesday.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LUCAS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Hayden	Mulone
Anderson	Hendrickson	Martin
Benton	Hill	Maybank
Brewster	Hoey	Millikin
Bricker	Holland	Morte
Butler	Hunt	Mundt
Cairn	Ives	Murray
Caperton	Jenner	Myers
Chapman	Johnson, Colo.	Neely
Chavez	Johnson, Tex.	O'Connor
Connally	Johnston, S. C.	O'Mahoney
Cordon	Kefauver	Robertson
Darby	Kem	Russell
Donnell	Kerr	Saltonstall
Douglas	Kilgore	Schoeppel
Downey	Krowland	Smith, Maine
Dworshak	Langer	Smith, N. J.
Eastland	Leahy	Sparkman
Eaton	Lehman	Stennis
Ellender	Lodge	Taft
Ferguson	Long	Taylor
Flanders	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Frear	McCarran	Thye
Fulbright	McCarthy	Tobey
George	McClellan	Watkins
Gillette	McFarland	Wherry
Graham	McKellar	Wiley
Green	McMahon	Williams
Gurney	Magnuson	Withers

Mr. MYERS. I announce that the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Byrd), the

Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY), the Senator from Florida (Mr. PEPPER), and the Senator from Maryland (Mr. Tamm) are absent on public business.

The Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. THOMAS) is absent by leave of the Senate.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. BRIDGES) and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG) are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Iowa (Mr. HICKENLOOPER) is absent on official business.

The Senator from Michigan (Mr. VANDENBERG) is necessarily absent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

VISIT TO THE SENATE OF MEMBERS OF THE JAPANESE DIET

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, in the Vice President's office at the present time are 14 members of the Japanese Diet. They are now visiting this country to study the organization and procedures of the United States Congress and of various State legislatures. I respectfully request the Vice President to direct the Sergeant at Arms to escort these distinguished visitors into the Senate Chamber in order that they may witness the Senate procedure. Following the preliminary proceeding we will take a recess of some 20 minutes in order that we may all become better acquainted with these men from Japan.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Sergeant at Arms will escort the distinguished visitors into the Senate Chamber.

The visiting members of the Japanese Diet, escorted by the Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The SERGEANT AT ARMS (Joseph C. Duke). Mr. President, I have the honor to present members of the Diet of Japan. [Applause.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will state what the Senate, of course, already knows, that members of parliamentary bodies of other nations are entitled to the courtesy of the floor during any visit they make here.

The members of the delegation from the Japanese Diet were escorted to the seats assigned them in the rear of the Chamber.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Members of the Senate be permitted to submit petitions and memorials, introduce bills and joint resolutions, and present routine matters for the RECORD, without debate, and without speeches.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

AMENDMENTS OF INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT ACT

A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the International Wheat Agreement Act of 1949 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF ALIENS—WITHDRAWAL OF NAMES

Two letters from the Attorney General of the United States, withdrawing the names of Heather Mary Bocko or Heather Mary Gill, and Fanny Sara Moritz or Fannie Sarah Moritz, from reports relating to aliens whose deportation he suspended more than 6 months ago, transmitted to the Senate on May 1, 1949, and January 16, 1950, respectively; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1949 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORT ON AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO BY NAVY DEPARTMENT RELATING TO NAVAL PETROLEUM RESERVES

A letter from the Director, Naval Petroleum Reserves, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on agreements entered into by the Navy Department relating to naval petroleum reserves (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

AUDIT REPORT OF INLAND WATERWAYS CORPORATION

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, an audit report of the Inland Waterways Corporation, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1949 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

REPORT ON OPERATION OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED TIN SMELTER, TEXAS CITY, TEX.

A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the operation of the Government-owned tin smelter at Texas City, Tex., and the program for the purchase and sale of tin metal, during the 6 months ended December 31, 1949 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT ON PERSONNEL OF NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

A letter from the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1949, of all the names, salaries, and duties of employees and officers in the employ of the Board (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

A letter from the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Board for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1949 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

"The results obtained during the field training of the One Hundred and Ninth Anti-aircraft Artillery Brigade are ample proof of the capabilities of the brigade commander and staff. . . . The brigade commander is to be commended for his initiative, energy, and enthusiasm which has been so largely responsible for the success of the camp. Through the brigade commander's varied experiences he has acquired an intimate knowledge of human nature, and as a result has been able to instill in his entire command a very high morale and a desire to reflect credit upon the citizen-soldier of our country."—Field Training Inspection Report, Fifth Army Inspection Team, August 7, 1948.

"This unit has progressed rapidly and shows evidence of excellent leadership."—Annual Army Inspection Report, Inspector General Fifth Army, January 3, 1949.

"This is the second field training phase in which this unit has taken part. . . . The excellent results shown by the units under their command are due to a considerable degree to the organizational ability and systematic supervision of the brigade commander and his staff. An examination of the brigade commander's record and his conduct in the field indicate that he is well qualified both as an executive and a troop commander."—Field Training Inspection Report, Fifth Army Inspection Team, August 24, 1949.

"Based on technical proficiency, condition of equipment, camp and range discipline, courtesy and morale, the training standard existing in the One Hundred and Ninth Anti-aircraft Artillery Brigade, Illinois National Guard, as compared with other National Guard units, is superior."—Report of Staff Visit by Representative of Chief Army Field Forces, September 7, 1949.

COMMUNISTS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish to discuss a subject tonight which concerns me more than does any other subject I have ever discussed before this body, and perhaps more than any other subject I shall ever have the good fortune to discuss in the future. It not only concerns me, but it disturbs and frightens me.

About 10 days ago, at Wheeling, W. Va., in making a Lincoln Day speech, I made the statement that there are presently in the State Department a very sizable group of active Communists. I made the further statement, Mr. President, that of one small group which had been screened by the President's own security agency, the State Department refused to discharge approximately 200 of those individuals.

The Secretary of State promptly denied my statement and said there was not a single Communist in the State Department. I thereafter sent a telegram to the President, which I should like to read at this time:

President HARRY S. TRUMAN,

White House, Washington, D. C.

In the Lincoln Day speech at Wheeling Thursday night I stated that the State Department harbors a nest of Communists and Communist sympathizers who are helping to shape our foreign policy. I further stated that I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists who are in the State Department at present. A State Department spokesman promptly denied this, claiming that there is not a single Communist in the Department. You can convince yourself of the falsity of the State Department claim very easily. You will recall that you personally appointed a board to screen State Department employees for the purpose of weeding out fellow travelers—men whom the

board considered dangerous to the security of this Nation. Your board did a painstaking job, and named hundreds which had been listed as dangerous to the security of the Nation, because of communistic connections.

While the records are not available to me, I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the Secretary for discharge because of communism. He actually only discharged approximately 30. I understand that this was done after lengthy consultation with the now-convicted traitor, Alger Hiss. I would suggest, therefore, Mr. President, that you simply pick up your phone and ask Mr. Acheson how many of those whom your board had labeled as dangerous Communists he failed to discharge. The day the House Un-American Activities Committee exposed Alger Hiss as an important link in an international Communist spy ring you signed an order forbidding the State Department's giving any information in regard to the disloyalty or the communistic connections of anyone in that Department to the Congress.

Despite this State Department black-out, we have been able to compile a list of 57 Communists in the State Department. This list is available to you but you can get a much longer list by ordering Secretary Acheson to give you a list of those whom your own board listed as being disloyal and who are still working in the State Department. I believe the following is the minimum which can be expected of you in this case.

1. That you demand that Acheson give you and the proper congressional committee the names and a complete report on all of those who were placed in the Department by Alger Hiss, and all of those still working in the State Department who were listed by your board as had security risks because of their communistic connections.

2. That you promptly revoke the order in which you provided under no circumstances could a congressional committee obtain any information or help in exposing Communists.

Failure on your part will label the Democratic Party of being the bad-fellow of international communism. Certainly this label is not deserved by the hundreds of thousands of loyal American Democrats throughout the Nation, and by the sizable number of able loyal Democrats in both the Senate and the House.

Mr. President, the only answer I have received to this telegram was the statement by the President at his press conference to the effect that there was not a word of truth in the telegram.

Subsequently, the Democratic leader of the Senate—at least, the alleged leader—made a speech in Chicago in which he repeated substantially what the President said, except that he went one step further and stated:

If I had said the nasty things that McCARTHY has about the State Department, I would be ashamed all my life.

He also said there was not a word of truth in my charge. I think it is unfortunate, not because I am concerned with what the senior Senator from Illinois happens to think, but because he occupies such an important position. I believe, if we are going to root out the fifth column in the State Department, we should have the wholehearted cooperation of both Democrats and Republicans—

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Wait until I finish. If the Senator will stay with me for the next few hours he will learn a great many

facts. I have never refused to yield to any Senator, and I do not intend to refuse. The Senator from Illinois will have full time in which to answer any question he wishes to ask, but let me first finish my sentence.

I started to say that I think it is especially bad because it indicates a pre-conceived decision not to work with us in attempting to ferret out Communists. I do not feel that the Democratic Party has control of the executive branch of the Government any more. If it had, with the very able Members on the other side of the aisle, we would not find the picture which I intend to disclose. I think a group of twisted-thinking intellectuals have taken over both the Democratic and Republican Parties to try to wrest control from them.

I shall be glad now to yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I should like to say to the Senator that there is no one in the Senate or in the country who is any more opposed to Communist domination of any nation or Communist infiltration into any country than is the Senator from Illinois. What I am asking the Senator to do—and I hope he will do it, and the country wants him to do it—is to follow through with the speech which he made in Wheeling, W. Va., in which he stated more than 200 persons working in the State Department were known to the Secretary of State to be members of the Communist Party. If the Senator made that statement—and that is what has been reported—I want him to name those Communists. If there are card-carrying Communists in the State Department, the Senator from Illinois will go along with the Senator from Wisconsin in any way possible to remove those Communists from the rolls.

The Senator does not have to do as he did in Salt Lake City and say, "I am not charging these four people with being Communists." The Senator is privileged to name them all in the Senate, and if those people are not Communists he will be protected. That is all I want the Senator to do. If the Senator names those 205 card-carrying Communists, and he proves to be right, the Senator from Illinois will apologize for anything he has said about the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. I wish to thank the distinguished Senator from Illinois for his views, but I should like to assure him that I will not say anything on the Senate floor which I will not say off the floor. On the day when I take advantage of the security we have on the Senate floor, on that day I will resign from the Senate. Anything I say on the floor of the Senate at any time will be repeated off the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Not until I have finished answering the question of the Senator from Illinois. The Senator called my attention to something, and I am glad he did; otherwise I might have overlooked it. Incidentally, the speech in Reno, Nev., and that in Wheeling, W. Va., were recorded, so there is no question

about what I said. I do not believe I mentioned the figure 205. I believe I said "over 200." The President said, "It is just a lie. There is nothing to it."

I have before me a letter which was reproduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 1, 1946, at page A4892. It is a letter from James F. Byrnes, former Secretary of State. It deals with the screening of the first group, of about 3,000. There were a great number of subsequent screenings. This was the beginning.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Please let me finish. The Senator will have all the time in the world to ask questions, and I shall be very glad to yield to the Senator for that purpose, and he can even make short speeches and take all the time he wants.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois—

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not yield at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin declines to yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. The letter deals with the first group of 3,000 which was screened. The President—and I think wisely so—set up a board to screen the employees who were coming to the State Department from the various war agencies of the War Department. There were thousands of unusual characters in some of those war agencies. Former Secretary Byrnes in his letter, which is reproduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, says this:

Pursuant to Executive order, approximately 4,000 employees have been transferred to the Department of State from various war agencies such as the OSS, FEA, OWI, OIAA, and so forth. Of these 4,000 employees, the case histories of approximately 3,000 have been subjected to a preliminary examination, as a result of which a recommendation against permanent employment has been made in 285 cases by the screening committee to which you refer in your letter.

In other words, former Secretary Byrnes said that 285 of those men are unsafe risks. He goes on to say that of this number only 79 have been removed. Of the 57 I mentioned some are from this group of 205, and some are from subsequent groups which have been screened but not discharged.

I might say in that connection that the investigative agency of the State Department has done an excellent job. The files show that they went into great detail in labeling Communists as such. The only trouble is that after the investigative agency had properly labeled these men as Communists the State Department refused to discharge them. I shall give detailed cases.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President—

Mr. McCARTHY. As to the 57 whose names the Senator is demanding, if he will be patient and sit down—

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, in view of the statements made, the Senator should yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall yield at this time only for a question. I shall not yield for any lengthy speeches by the Senator from Illinois. If he wishes to ask a question, I shall be glad to answer it.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, did the Senator say at Wheeling, W. Va., last Thursday night that 205 persons working for the State Department were known by the Secretary of State to be members of the Communist Party, or words to that effect? Did he call the attention of the country to the fact that 205 men in the State Department were card-carrying Communists? Did the Senator say that? That is what I should like to know.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this time to insert in the RECORD a copy of the speech which I made at Wheeling, W. Va.

Mr. LUCAS. Cannot the Senator answer "Yes or No?"

Mr. McCARTHY. I will ask the Senator please not to interrupt me. I will yield to him later. I will give him all the chance in the world.

Mr. LUCAS. I asked the Senator a very simple question.

Mr. McCARTHY. I ask at this time unanimous consent to be allowed to insert in the RECORD a copy of the speech which I made at Wheeling, W. Va. and at Reno, Nev. It was the same speech.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I object.

Mr. McCARTHY. In that case I shall read the speech into the RECORD.

Mr. LUCAS. We want to hear it.

Mr. McCARTHY. The speech reads:

Ladies and gentlemen, tonight as we celebrate the one hundred and forty-first birthday of one of the greatest men in American history, I would like to be able to talk about what a glorious day today is in the history of the world. As we celebrate the birth of this man who with his whole heart and soul hated war, I would like to be able to speak of peace in our time, of war being outlawed, and of world-wide disarmament. These would be truly appropriate things to be able to mention as we celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

I hope the Senator from Illinois will stay for this.

Mr. LUCAS. I shall be right here. I am coming over to the Republican side of the aisle so that I will not miss anything.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am sure the Senator will not miss anything.

The speech proceeded:

Five years after a world war has been won, men's hearts should anticipate a long peace, and men's minds should be free from the heavy weight that comes with war. But this is not such a period—for this is not a period of peace. This is a time of the "cold war." This is a time when all the world is split into two vast, increasingly hostile armed camps—a time of a great armaments race.

Today we can almost physically hear the mutterings and rumblings of an invigorated god of war. You can see it, feel it, and hear it all the way from the hills of Indochina, from the shores of Formosa, right over into the very heart of Europe itself.

The one encouraging thing is that the "mad moment" has not yet arrived for the firing of the gun or the exploding of the bomb which will set civilization about the final task of destroying itself. There is still a hope for peace if we finally decide that no longer can we safely blind our eyes and close our ears to those facts which are shaping up more and more clearly. And that is that we are now engaged in a show-down fight—not the usual war between nations for land areas or other material gains, but a war between two diametrically opposed ideologies.

The great difference between our western Christian world and the atheistic Communist world is not political, ladies and gentlemen. It is moral. There are other differences, of course, but those could be reconciled. For instance, the Marxian idea of confiscating the land and factories and running the entire economy as a single enterprise is momentous. Likewise, Lenin's invention of the one-party police state as a way to make Marx's idea work is hardly less momentous.

Stalin's resolute putting across of these two ideas, of course, did much to divide the world. With only those differences, however, the East and the West could most certainly still live in peace.

The real, basic difference, however, lies in the religion of immorality—invented by Marx, preached feverishly by Lenin, and carried to unimaginable extremes by Stalin. This religion of immorality, if the Red half of the world wins—and well it may—this religion of immorality will more deeply wound and damage mankind than any conceivable economic or political system.

Karl Marx dismissed God as a hoax, and Lenin and Stalin have added in clear-cut, unmistakable language their resolve that no nation, no people who believe in a God, can exist side by side with their communistic state.

Karl Marx, for example, expelled people from his Communist Party for mentioning such things as justice, humanity, or morality. He called this soulful ravings and sloppy sentimentality.

While Lincoln was a relatively young man in his late thirties, Karl Marx boasted that the Communist specter was haunting Europe. Since that time, hundreds of millions of people and vast areas of the world have fallen under Communist domination. Today, less than 100 years after Lincoln's death, Stalin brags that this Communist specter is not only haunting the world, but is about to completely subjugate it.

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down—they are truly down.

I might say for the benefit of the Senator from Illinois that what I am reading was taken from a recording of the speech. I did not use a written speech that night. I continue the reading:

Let there be any doubt that the time has been chosen, let us go directly to the leader of communism today—Joseph Stalin. Here is what he said—not back in 1928, not before the war, not during the war—but 3 years after the last war was ended: "To think that the Communist revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of a Christian democracy, means one has either gone out of one's mind and lost all normal understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the Communist revolution."

And this is what was said by Lenin in 1919, which was also quoted with approval by Stalin in 1947:

"We are living," said Lenin, "not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with Christian states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the Bourgeois states will be inevitable."

Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone here tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the Communist world has said, "The time is now"—that this is the time for the show-down between the demo-

cratic Christian world and the Communist atheistic world?

Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.

Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out the peace—Dumbarton Oaks—there was within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the antitotalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1,825,000,000 people. Today, only 8 years later, there are 800,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia—an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500,000,000. In other words, in less than 6 years the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 6 to 5 against us. This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victories and American defeats in the cold war. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within."

The truth of this statement is becoming terrifyingly clear as we see this country each day losing on every front.

At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction, a shining living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this Nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer—the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been worst.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. I should like to say to the Senator from Wisconsin that I am interested in what he is saying, both as a Senator and as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. When the Senator casts doubt on the personnel of the State Department that, of course, is something which interests me very especially. I not only feel that there should be no Communists in the State Department, but that there should be nobody in the State Department who is not affirmatively, enthusiastically loyal to the United States and what it stands for. Therefore I say to the Senator from Wisconsin now, that so far as the junior Senator from Massachusetts is concerned, he will at the earliest appropriate opportunity make a motion to have a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee take up every single one of the accusations which the Senator from Wisconsin makes.

Mr. McCARTHY. I was hoping the Senator would.

Mr. LODGE. I make that statement at this point, when the Senator from Wisconsin is beginning to speak about

the State Department, because I think that I for one have a special responsibility in that field.

Mr. McCARTHY. In case the Senator from Massachusetts is not able to remain and listen to all of my remarks.

Mr. LODGE. I cannot remain and listen to the whole of the Senator's speech, because I have another engagement, but I shall read it all in the morning with the utmost care.

Mr. McCARTHY. In case the Senator must leave—and I say it will take me a long time to conclude, if I continue to have the interruptions I have previously had—I should like to call attention to three of the cases which I intend to cite: Case No. 1, case No. 2, and case No. 81. Those, I think, represent the big three. While there are vast numbers of other Communists with whom we must be concerned, if we can get rid of those big three we will have done something to break the back of the espionage ring within the State Department.

I might say also, in case the Senator will not be present to hear me, that in giving the records I have been very careful about doing two things: No. 1, not to cite anything which has not been confirmed by the intelligence agencies which have been investigating these men; and No. 2—and this I think is very important—I have tried, and I hope successfully, to red-pencil anything that might be embarrassing to any investigating agency. I know it is easy to call for files, and when I call for a disloyalty file I do not mean that I am calling for the source of information. I do not think any intelligence agency can work and do a good job if the Senate or the House, or any other body is entitled to make public the source of the information. The files which I have here show the source of the information. I contacted one of the Federal intelligence agencies, one of the investigative units. I asked them if they would care to go over what I have to say before I say it, and red-pencil anything which they thought might in any way divulge the source of information, that would in any way inform the Communist spy ring of the information they have. The answer was, "Well, you have gotten all of it from the State Department files, and the Communists within the Department can see those files, and I will show you which Commies have the top-secret clearance, so if they have seen it, it does not do much damage for the Senate to see them."

Mr. LODGE. Let me say to the Senator from Wisconsin that I am not undertaking to say whether he is right or wrong. I have no way of knowing that. What I say is that the matter he is discussing is of such vital importance that I think it ought to be investigated by a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I say with my whole heart, I hope I am wrong. There is nothing as disturbing as this picture. But if I am wrong, I shall be very happy indeed to know that I am.

Mr. LODGE. I say to the Senator that I shall do all I can to leave no stone unturned to get to the bottom of the matter.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I cannot yield any further.

Mr. LUCAS. Perhaps I can save some time. The Senator from Wisconsin in his discussion with the Senator from Massachusetts said that he had a long speech and had to read it. If the Senator will answer my question, perhaps we can save some time.

Mr. McCARTHY. I cannot yield at this time for the Senator's question. I cannot yield for that purpose until I complete the speech.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska if I do not lose the floor thereby.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator may yield to me without losing the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I do not want to interrupt the proceedings. I am perfectly willing to cooperate with the majority leader in every way. But when I look around the Senate Chamber I see only two or three Senators on the other side of the aisle, and half a dozen on this side of the aisle. The matter seems to me to be of such importance—

Mr. LUCAS. The Senator from Nebraska and I are present.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes; but I believe more Senators should be present. I believe more Senators should be on the floor to hear this statement. I do not want to interfere with the majority leader's program, but I ask him if we cannot take a recess at this time, or, if necessary, have a quorum call to bring Senators back to the Senate Chamber so they can hear the speech being made by the Senator from Wisconsin. It seems to me the only sensible thing to do at this time is to take a recess or have a quorum call.

Mr. LUCAS. As I look around the Senate Chamber I see about as many Senators present as I usually see present when a speech is being made. Last Friday we discussed the creation of a Small-Business Committee all afternoon, and at times only 3 Senators were present. The resolution then before the Senate was a very important one. I believe there are perhaps 25 or 30 Senators now present. That is as many as would remain after we have a quorum call.

Mr. WHERRY. Very well, if the Senator from Illinois feels that way.

Mr. LUCAS. I am perfectly satisfied to sit here and listen.

Mr. WHERRY. Perhaps the majority leader is, but I say that a very important speech is being made. Terrific challenges are being hurled. I am perfectly willing to stay until 9 o'clock, but I submit to the majority leader that I feel more Senators ought to be on the floor if the Sen-

ator from Wisconsin is going to proceed with his speech.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. MCCARTHY. If that is done I do not think we will obtain a quorum, and I will be obliged to discontinue. I should like to read some more of my speech.

Mr. President, at this time I ask unanimous consent that we proceed until 7 o'clock without having a quorum call, and at that time the Senate adjourn until 11 o'clock tomorrow, and that then I may have the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, let me say that what has now been suggested is what is often suggested under similar circumstances. Let me remind the Senate that on the request of certain Democratic and Republican Members I made the announcement that there would be no vote tonight on the important measure which is now pending, the cotton-potato measure. Consequently many Senators have gone home. Now the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. WHEAT), the minority leader, and others, do not want the Senator from Wisconsin to continue. They want a quorum call. The Senator from Wisconsin now asks that he be allowed to quit at 7 o'clock. If the speech is one which is going to electrify the Nation, I should think the Senator from Wisconsin would desire to get it off his chest as fast as he possibly can, and not wait until tomorrow, because tomorrow the Senator will have no larger audience than he has at the present time. I should like to say to the Senator from Wisconsin that if the statement he is about to make is as important as he says it is, and if he can prove what he says he is going to prove, he will find the Senator from Illinois making the same demand that the Senator from Massachusetts made, which is a thorough and complete investigation with respect to all the Communists he is going to name. I want to remain here until he names them. That is what I am interested in. The newspaper reporters and the people of the country generally are demanding to know who these 207 or 201 Communists are.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I will not yield any further.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield in order to straighten out the record respecting the program for tomorrow?

Mr. MCCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that we already have a special order that the Senate will meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning under a unanimous-consent agreement, with the time for a vote having been set. Therefore it would not be possible for the Senator to continue his speech as of 11 o'clock tomorrow.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Very well. I will withhold yielding for a call of a quorum for the time being, if the Senator does not mind.

Mr. President, I continue to read from my speech:

Now I know it is very easy for anyone to condemn a particular bureau or department

in general terms. Therefore, I would like to cite one rather unusual case—the case of a man who has done much to shape our foreign policy.

When Chiang Kai-shek was fighting our war, the State Department had in China a young man named John Service. His task, obviously, was not to work for the communization of China. Strangely, however, he sent official reports back to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally Chiang Kai-shek and stating, in effect, that communism was the best hope of China.

Later, this man—John Service—was picked up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for turning over to the Communists secret State Department information. Strangely, however, he was never prosecuted. However, Joseph Grew, the Under Secretary of State, who insisted on his prosecution, was forced to resign. Two days after Grew's successor, Dean Acheson, took over as Under Secretary of State, this man—John Service—who had been picked up by the FBI and who had previously urged that communism was the best hope of China, was not only reinstated in the State Department but promoted. And finally, under Acheson, placed in charge of all placements and promotions.

Today, ladies and gentlemen, this man Service is on his way to represent the State Department and Acheson in Calcutta—by far and away the most important listening post in the Far East.

Now, let's see what happens when individuals with Communist connections are forced out of the State Department. Gustav Duran, who was labeled as (I quote) "a notorious international Communist," was made assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs. He was taken into the State Department from his job as a lieutenant colonel in the Communist International Brigade. Finally, after intense congressional pressure and criticism, he resigned in 1946 from the State Department—and, ladies and gentlemen, where do you think he is now? He took over a high-salaried job as Chief of Cultural Activities Section in the office of the Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Illinois to the fact—especially in view of the comment he recently made—that I did not list John Service as one of the 57. Perhaps I could have, but I have listed only persons whose files were available to me. For some unknown reason, John Service's file has disappeared in the State Department. I have tried to find where it is, and I have been told that it is in the office—quoting the individual over there—"of the top brass." So I have not listed Service, and that is the sole reason why I have not. I have listed only individuals whose records have been confirmed by the President's own investigative agency.

The Senator from Illinois will also note that I have not named any of the 57. I have named or will name four individuals, and I have given or will give their records. One is John Service. I have shown what influence he has had in the Far East. I have not reached the second one yet; but I am now discussing what happens when those with communistic connections are forced out of the State Department, and in a short time I shall reach the fourth one.

I read further from my speech:

Then there was a Mrs. Mary Jane Kenny, from the Board of Economic Warfare, in the State Department, who was named in an FBI report and in a House committee report as a courier for the Communist Party while work-

ing for the Government. And where do you think Mrs. Kenny is—she is now an editor in the United Nations Document Bureau.

Another interesting case was that of Julian H. Wadleigh, economist in the Trade Agreements Section of the State Department for 11 years and was sent to Turkey and Italy and other countries as United States representative. After the statute of limitations had run so he could not be prosecuted for treason, he openly and brazenly not only admitted but proclaimed that he had been a member of the Communist Party . . . that while working for the State Department he stole a vast number of secret documents . . . and furnished these documents to the Russian spy ring of which he was a part.

You will recall last spring there was held in New York what was known as the World Peace Conference—a conference which was labeled by the State Department and Mr. Truman as the sounding board for Communist propaganda and a front for Russia. Dr. Harlow Shapley was the chairman of that conference. Interestingly enough, according to the new release put out by the Department in July, the Secretary of State appointed Shapley on a commission which acts as liaison between UNESCO and the State Department.

That is the man who headed the conference which the Secretary of State said was a tool of Communist Russia, a sounding board of Communist propaganda. Again, that man was not named as one of the 57, but he might well have been.

I read further:

This, ladies and gentlemen, gives you somewhat of a picture of the type of individuals who have been helping to shape our foreign policy. In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly infested with Communists.

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.

One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in our Government is that we are not dealing with spies who get 30 pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of a new weapon. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy.

In that connection, I would like to read to you very briefly from the testimony of Larry E. Kerley, a man who was with the counter espionage section of the FBI for 8 years. And keep in mind as I read this to you that at the time he is speaking, there was in the State Department Alger Hiss, the convicted Alger Hiss; John Service, the man whom the FBI picked up for espionage—

And for turning over secret documents—

Julian Wadleigh, who brazenly admitted he was a spy and wrote newspaper articles in regard thereto, plus hundreds of other bad security risks.

The FBI, I may add, has done an outstanding job, as all persons in Washington, Democrats and Republicans alike, agree. If J. Edgar Hoover had a free hand, we would not be plagued by Hisses and Wadleighs in high positions of power in the State Department. The FBI has only power to investigate.

Here is what the FBI man said.

Mr. President, let me point out solely for the Record something which I know Senators are well aware of, but something which causes confusion in the minds of many persons throughout the United States, namely, that the FBI has

no power other than to investigate. People often write to Senators, and say in their letters, "With a man like J. Edgar Hoover at the head of the FBI, how is it that this situation exists?" For their benefit I think it should be stated that the FBI has no power whatever except to dig up facts and report them to the Department of Justice or other executive agencies.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. On that point, let me inquire whether it is also true that the Secretary of State has the sole power to discharge, without trial, anyone in the State Department whom he thinks might be disloyal.

Mr. McCARTHY. I so understand—under the McCarran amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, under the McCarran Act.

Mr. McCARTHY. I so understand; and I understand that it applies both to employees of the State Department and to civil-service employees.

Mr. FERGUSON. So it is not necessary for a trial to be held in such cases, but the Secretary of State has full power to discharge, and that power was given to him in 1946; was it not?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes; and I intend to call attention to it.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at this point?

Mr. McCARTHY. Not until I finish reading this statement. I shall be glad, when I finish reading it, to yield to the Senator.

I read further from the statement, reading what was said by the FBI man:

In accordance with instructions of the State Department to the FBI, the FBI was not even permitted to open an espionage case against any Russia suspect without State Department approval.

Incidentally, Mr. President, this was testimony given at a hearing of a Senate subcommittee, headed by the Senator from Maryland (Mr. O'CONNOR).

I read further:

Mr. ARENS. Did the State Department ever withhold from the Justice Department the right to intern suspects?

Mr. KEELLY. They withheld the right to get out process for them which, in effect, kept them from being arrested, as in the case of Schevchenko and others.

Mr. ARENS. In how many instances did the State Department decline to permit process to be served on Soviet agents?

Mr. KEELLY. Do you mean how many Soviet agents were affected?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. KEELLY. That would be difficult to say because there were so many people connected in one espionage ring, whether or not they were directly conspiring with the ring.

Mr. ARENS. Was that order applicable to all persons?

Mr. KEELLY. Yes; all persons in the Soviet-espionage organization.

Mr. ARENS. What did you say the order was as you understood it or as it came to you?

Mr. KEELLY. That no arrests of any suspects in the Russian-espionage activities in the United States were to be made without the prior approval of the State Department.

That means the prior approval of the Alger Hisses and the Wadleighs in the State Department.

I read further:

Now the reason for the State Department's opposition to arresting any of this spy ring is made rather clear in the next question and answer.

"Senator O'Connor. Did you understand that that was to include also American participants?"

"Mr. Keelley. Yes; because if they were arrested that would disclose the whole apparatus, you see."

Meaning the whole apparatus both inside and outside the State Department.

I read further:

In other words they could not afford to let the whole ring which extended into the State Department be exposed.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Not at this time. The Senator has insisted that I read this statement, and I shall read all of it before I yield.

I now read further:

This brings us down to the case of one Alger Hiss who is important not as an individual any more, but rather because he is so representative of a group in the State Department. It is unnecessary to go over the sordid events showing how he sold out the Nation which had given him so much. Those are rather fresh in all of our minds.

However, it should be remembered that the facts in regard to his connection with this international Communist spy ring were made known to the then Under Secretary of State Berle 3 days after Hitler and Stalin signed the Russo-German alliance pact. At that time one Whittaker Chambers—who was also part of the spy ring—apparently decided that with Russia on Hitler's side, he could no longer betray our Nation to Russia. He gave Under Secretary of State Berle—and this is all a matter of record—practically all, if not more, of the facts upon which Hiss' conviction was based.

Under Secretary Berle promptly contacted Dean Acheson and received word in return that Acheson (and I quote) "could vouch for Hiss absolutely"—at which time the matter was dropped. And this, you understand, was at a time when Russia was an ally of Germany. This condition existed while Russia and Germany were invading and dismembering Poland, and while the Communist groups here were screaming "war monger" at the United States for their support of the allied nations.

Again in 1943, the FBI had occasion to investigate the facts surrounding Hiss' contacts with the Russian spy ring. But even after that FBI report was submitted, nothing was done.

Then late in 1946—on August 5—when the Un-American Activities Committee called Alger Hiss to give an accounting, President Truman at once issued a Presidential directive ordering all Government agencies to refuse to turn over any information whatsoever in regard to the Communist activities of any Government employee to a congressional committee.

Incidentally, even after Hiss was convicted—

The statement should have been "even after Hiss was indicted"—

it is interesting to note that the President still labeled the exposé of Hiss as a "red herding."

If time permitted, it might be well to go into detail about the fact that Hiss was Roosevelt's chief adviser at Yalta when Roosevelt was admittedly in ill health and tired physically and mentally . . . and when, according to the Secretary of State, Hiss and Gromyko drafted the report on the conference.

That is not entirely correct; actually the report on the conference was drafted by Hiss, Gromyko, and an Englishman whose name I cannot now recall.

Mr. MUNDT. It was Gladwyn Jebb.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is what I understood the Senator to say previously.

I read further:

According to the then Secretary of State Stettinius, here are some of the things that Hiss helped to decide at Yalta. (1) The establishment of a European High Commission; (2) the treatment of Germany—this you will recall was the conference at which it was decided that we would occupy Berlin with Russia occupying an area completely circling the city, which, as you know, resulted in the Berlin airlift which cost \$1 American lives; (3) the Polish question; (4) the relationship between UNRRA and the Soviet; (5) the rights of Americans on control commissions of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary; (6) Iran; (7) China—here's where we gave away Manchuria; (8) Turkish Straits question; (9) international trusteeships; (10) Korea.

Of the results of this conference, Arthur Hiss Lane of the State Department had this to say: "As I glanced over the document, I could not believe my eyes. To me, almost every line spoke of a surrender to Stalin."

As you hear this story of high treason, I know that you are saying to yourself, "Well, why doesn't the Congress do something about it?" Actually, ladies and gentlemen, one of the important reasons for the graft, the corruption, the dishonesty, the disloyalty, the treason in high Government positions—one of the most important reasons why this continues is a lack of moral uprising on the part of the 140,000,000 American people. In the light of history, however, this is not hard to explain.

It is the result of an emotional hang-over and a temporary moral lapse which follows every war. It is the apathy to evil which people who have been subjected to the tremendous evils of war feel. As the people of the world see mass murder, the destruction of defenseless and innocent people, and all of the crime and lack of morals which go with war, they become numb and apathetic. It has always been thus after war.

However, the morals of our people have not been destroyed. They still exist. This cloak of numbness and apathy has only needed a spark to rekindle them. Happily, this spark has finally been supplied.

As you know, very recently the Secretary of State proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes—of being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust. The Secretary of State in attempting to justify his continued devotion to the man who sold out the Christian world to the atheistic world, referred to Christ's Sermon on the Mount as a justification and reason therefor, and the reaction of the American people to this would have made the heart of Abraham Lincoln happy.

When this pompous diplomat in striped pants, with a phony British accent, proclaimed to the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, the blasphemy was so great that it awakened the dormant indignation of the American people.

He has lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the whole sorry mass of twisted, warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of national honesty and decency in Government.

Mr. President, that answers the question of the Senator from Illinois as to the number of Communists I stated were in the State Department. I have stated I have the names of 57. Let me make it

clear that I do not claim to know all the Communists in the State Department. I do not have any counter-espionage group that can go there and ferret out all the information. I have also pointed out that the State Department refused to discharge—and so stated in a press conference—205 individuals who, its own security agency said, were unsafe risks. If the Senator has any further questions, I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I now repeat the same question I asked the able Senator in the beginning: Did the Senator from Wisconsin, in a speech at Wheeling, W. Va., Thursday, February 9, declare that he had a list of 205 persons working for the State Department, who were known by the Secretary of State to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCARTHY. I may say, if the Senator is going to make a farce of this, I will not yield to him.

Mr. LUCAS. No.

Mr. McCARTHY. I told him three times. I read the speech to him. I told him I said there were 57 Communists in the State Department. I told him there were in the State Department 205, who, according to the President's own Security Board, are unsafe risks. They said, "Mr. Secretary, fire these men. Discharge them." He refused to do it. I quoted Secretary Byrnes' letter, telling him to do that. I shall not answer any more silly questions of the Senator. This is too important, too serious a matter for that. I am trying to get down to the point of showing the Senate cases, facts, and dates, so that the President will admit that he was wrong, and I hope the Senator from Illinois will admit that he went off half cocked in Illinois the other day when he said, as the President said, this is all lies, and tried to prejudge the case.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I will be glad to yield for a question.

Mr. LUCAS. This is pretty serious to the Senator from Illinois, and it is serious to the Senate, and it is serious to the country. The only thing I am asking the able Senator is whether the newspapers misquoted him. The newspapers quoted him, and there is an editorial in the Washington Post, which is libelous if not true, in which the Senator is quoted in his speech at Wheeling, W. Va., as saying that he had a list of 205 persons working for the State Department who were carrying Communist cards. What I want to know is merely one simple thing. I did not find anything in the speech to bear out what the newspaper reported to be true. The Senator keeps talking about 57; the newspaper says the Senator said there were 205. That represents quite a difference, and it is of importance, whether the Senator from Wisconsin made the statement or did not make it. He can answer yes or no to that. He may say that in his speech he did not make that statement; he may have made it in a conference of some kind. But it was carried all over

the country, through the Washington newspapers, the New York newspapers, and the Chicago newspapers, that the Senator said he could name the 205 who were carrying Communist cards. It may be a silly question in the eyes of the Senator from Wisconsin, and that, as he said, I am trying to make a farce out of this thing, but it is a serious charge; the Senate and the country are entitled to know the facts.

Mr. McCARTHY. May I answer the Senator's question?

Mr. LUCAS. It is serious to me.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me answer the Senator's question, for the third time. I will tell the Senator, and I am now repeating it, if the Senator will sit down and give me the time to do it, that there are at least 57 Communists in the State Department. I think, without any trouble at all, with sufficient investigation, we can find the 205 for the Senator. As to what the Washington Post says, I do not know, and I frankly do not care. I think that is clear. I will not answer the Senator a fourth time. I said that I made speeches. I have said there were 57 Communists in the State Department. I wired the President to that effect.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am not yielding to the Senator now. I have wired the President to that effect, and I told him those names were available to him. I am now going to give the Senate of the United States the facts, and I refuse to go further into the question raised by the Senator from Illinois. Let me tell him now, so there may be no question in his mind, I said 57 Communists were in the State Department. I said there were 205 in the State Department whom the Secretary of State refused to discharge, although his loyalty board said, "Discharge those men." Now, is that clear to the Senator?

Mr. LUCAS. If that is what the Senator is saying, I can understand; but what I am trying to find out is whether newspapers have deliberately distorted what the able Senator said in his speech.

Mr. McCARTHY. I refuse to yield further to the Senator.

Mr. LUCAS. I want to find out.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. McCARTHY. For a question, certainly.

Mr. LEHMAN. Do I correctly understand the Senator to claim he has submitted the names of the 57 cases to which he refers and the 205 names which are referred to, not only in the Washington Post but in a number of other newspapers, to the State Department? Does he claim he has submitted the names of 57 and 205, or any substantial number?

Mr. McCARTHY. The answer to the Senator is, "No." The answer is "No."

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. Does not the Senator believe that, interested as he is in combatting communism, and we are all interested in combatting communism, that it is his duty both as a Senator of the United States and as an American to sub-

mit those names to the State Department or to the Senate, in executive session?

Mr. McCARTHY. If the Senator will but sit down and let me make my report to the Senate, he will have all the information he wants. The Senator from Wisconsin does not need any advice on his duty as a Senator, in this respect.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one question?

Mr. McCARTHY. No, not now; not until I give some of the information the Senator is asking for. I will not yield for another 15 or 20 minutes, until I can get down to the information which I am trying to give the Senate. I will not yield any further.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I demand the regular order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin will proceed.

Mr. LUCAS. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall be glad to yield later to the Senator.

Mr. President, I am going to have difficulty talking, while the Senators are chatting.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Let there be order in the Chamber.

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall be glad to yield for 5 or 10 minutes to let the Senators carry on their conversation.

Mr. President, I have before me information from the State Department files, information which the President says the Senate did not have. Having this information, it is a serious question as to what should be done with it. I originally thought possibly we could hope for some cooperation from the State Department and the President. However, in going over the material and finding that all of it, of course, has been available to the State Department, for it is all from their files, it seemed that nothing would be gained by calling it to their attention again. The President, I felt, had demonstrated his lack of interest quite thoroughly during all the Hiss investigation. Then, when I sent him a telegram and said, "Mr. President, I have the 57 names; they are yours if you want them"; and when he answered by calling me a liar, I felt I could get no cooperation from the President.

Then, when the majority leader, without even discussing the matter with me, though he knew I had stated that I had the information, he made a speech in Illinois and prejudged the case, without hearing the evidence, and said, "The Senator from Wisconsin is a liar." I felt I could get no cooperation from the majority leader. It was then suggested that I ask the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to go into the matter and that I submit the names to that committee. I talked to some of the members of the committee. They thought perhaps the Committee on the Judiciary or the Committee on Foreign Relations, or both committees jointly might have jurisdiction, and they thought it should be discussed with them.

I discussed it with a number of the individuals who have been interested in the subject, digging up this information. They felt that under the present circum-

stances the committee could do very little, because, if we gave the committee the names and the information, and the President said, "You cannot get any information from the State Department files," they would be hamstrung. It was suggested that I draft a resolution providing that the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, or some other committee, should have the right to subpoena the secret State Department files. That sounds all right on the face of it, Mr. President, but it is dangerous to go that far.

As is well known, during the Coplon trial the judge ordered the FBI to submit all its secret files, including the sources of information. That information was made public, and a number of men in the FBI have stated that it set the FBI back 10 years. It endangered the security of some of their best men.

I finally arrived at the conclusion that the only way to clean out the State Department, or any other Department which is infested with Communists, is not by the passage of any additional law. The only way it can be done is to secure the cooperation of the President. If we could get that, and he says that the information will be made available so that trusted staff members could go over the files, and we can be sure that the sources of information shall not be disclosed, we can clean house. I frankly think that is the only way. In line with that, I decided to submit to the Senate the detailed cases. Originally I was disturbed that I might give out information which would embarrass the investigative agencies by indirectly disclosing some of their sources of information, but I was told, "With so many commies over here having top positions, you need not fear giving the information to the Senate."

I have gone over it. Let me say, before starting, that I shall submit quite a large number of names. I think they are of importance. They all worked for the State Department at one time or another. Some are not there at the present time. Many of them have gone into work which is connected closely with the Department, for example, foreign trade, and some branches of the Maritime Commission.

I shall not attempt to present a detailed case on each one, a case which would convince a jury. All I am doing is to develop sufficient evidence so that anyone who reads the Record will have a good idea of the number of Communists in the State Department.

While I consider them all important, there are three big Communists involved, and I cannot possibly conceive of any Secretary of State allowing those three big Communists, who are tremendously important and of great value to Russia, to remain in the State Department. I do not believe President Truman knows about them. I cannot help but feel that he is merely the prisoner of a bunch of twisted intellectuals who tell him what they want him to know. To those who say, "Why do you not tell the State Department; why do you not give the names to the State Department?" I say that everything I have here is from the State Department's own files. I felt, when the

State Department asked for the names, without being willing to cooperate or to work with us, it was saying, "Tip us off; let us know on whom you have the goods."

Case No. 1. The names are available. The Senators may have them if they care for them. I think, however, it would be improper to make the names public until the appropriate Senate committee can meet in executive session and get them. I have approximately 81 cases. I do not claim to have any tremendous investigative agency to get the facts, but if I were to give all the names involved, it might leave a wrong impression. If we should label one man a Communist when he is not a Communist, I think it would be too bad. However, the names are here. I shall be glad to abide by the decision of the Senate after it hears the cases, but I think the sensible thing to do would be to have an executive session and have a proper committee go over the whole situation.

I was very happy to hear the Senator from Massachusetts say that he would move that the Foreign Relations Committee appoint a subcommittee to go into the cases.

The man involved in case No. 1 is employed in the office of an Assistant Secretary of State. The intelligence unit shadowed him and found him contacting members of an espionage group. A memorandum of December 13, 1946, indicates that he succeeded in having a well-known general intervene with an Assistant Secretary in behalf of one man who is an active Communist with a long record of Communist Party connections. There is another individual who is very closely tied up with a Soviet espionage agency. There is nothing in the file to indicate that the general referred to knew those two individuals were Communists.

That is a part of the usual modus operandi. If there is one Communist in the Department, he will get some other individual to recommend another Communist so that the breed can be increased.

This individual was successful in obtaining important positions for other Communists. They were finally ordered removed from the Department not later than November 15 of the following year. Subsequent to that time, however, both of them still had access to secret material.

A memorandum of November 2, 1946, pointed out that this individual and the previously mentioned Communists whom he succeeded in having placed were connected with an alleged Russian espionage agency. Nevertheless, this individual still occupies an important position in the State Department. I should like to point out at this time, however, that the security group, which was then operating in the State Department, was apparently doing a good job. It presented the entire picture to the Secretary of State. This individual who, the investigate agency of the State Department says, is a Communist, got a general innocently to bring two other Communists into the State Department, and he is today in the State Department and has

access to the secret material. As I say, his name is certainly available to any Senate committee that wants it.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Will the Senator tell us the name of the man for the Racoon? We are entitled to know who he is. I say this in all seriousness. The Senate and the public are entitled to know who that man is, as a result of the charge made by my friend. If he is a Communist, the Senator from Wisconsin knows that the Senator from Illinois will go right along with the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator can come to my office as soon as I finish and receive the names. I intend to go through all the cases. If it is the judgment of the Senate that it wants the names exposed on the Senate floor, which would be a very unusual procedure, I shall be glad to expose them. The question is too important for either the Senator from Illinois or the Senator from Wisconsin to make the decision. If any Senate committee is actually interested in disclosing the names—

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. The Committee on the Judiciary has been investigating communism more than half the year. I think the Senator from Wisconsin is entirely correct. We have never made a name public unless we had the consent of J. Edgar Hoover. I, for one, want to be recorded as absolutely agreeing with the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the Senator from North Dakota.

The Senator from Illinois knows there is nothing secret about the names that he cannot have. I do not like this political byplay. If we continue as we have been going, the next war will be lost before we start. I heard a commentator last night say that Russia has 1,200 divisions, and he stated that there were 54,000 troops in Albania, indicating that Russia is about to start the fighting part of the next war.

It is tremendously important that we clean out the espionage ring in our State Department.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. No. I cannot yield at this time. *Case No. 2.*

This is a case to which I particularly invite the Senate's attention. The files show two very interesting facts. A major portion of the file was removed. Papers refer to information in the file which is nonexistent. Upon contact with the keeper of the records, he stated that, to the best of his knowledge, the major portion of the file had been removed. He did not mention any name, but he said, "He was put in some high-brass job about 2 years ago."

I am inclined to think that this individual's name may be known from the information which I shall give here.

The file shows two things. It shows first, that this individual had some of his clothing picked up, with unusual ma-

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terial in it, and, second—and this is important—it shows that the State Department and the President had prepared material which was to be sent to a foreign government. The file shows that before the material left the State Department it was in the hands of the Kremlin in Moscow. Do Senators follow me? The State Department's own investigative file shows that some secret material, which was being transmitted to another nation, before it even left this country for the other country, showed up in Moscow. So far, that is not too significant. However, the file shows that this particular individual, who has held one of the most important positions at one of the listening posts in Europe, was shadowed, that he was found to have contacted a Soviet agent, and that the Soviet agent was then followed to the Soviet Embassy, where the agent turned the material over to the Soviet Embassy. Do Senators follow me? This is what the secret State Department file shows: First, the papers get to Moscow in some mysterious manner, and, second, this individual, who is now one of our foreign ministers, contacts a Russian espionage agent, and that agent is followed to the Russian Embassy, where the material is handed over. This is no secret to the State Department.

Incidentally, I might say that I promised the press I would have copies of this material for their use. However, in view of the fact that I have nothing completely ready at this time, and must refer to the documents before me, which I cannot turn over to the press, I do not have anything to give them. I am sorry. I shall try, however, to give them now the material I have, and shall try to make the dates and places as clear as I can.

Case No. 3. This individual was born in Flushing, N. Y., in 1903. He was employed with OSS in 1942. In 1945 he was transferred to the State Department and assigned to Research and Intelligence. The State Department's file shows that he is a member of a number of Communist-front organizations, and that his pals are known Communists. The file further shows that this fact is admitted by him. The original report in which this information is contained is dated July 3, 1942. The security report of April 18, 1946, indicates that numerous witnesses, including college professors and police officers in California, testified he was a radical and a fellow traveler. He was very friendly and sympathetic toward Harry Bridges, and strongly opposed any move to deport Bridges. The report also shows that he was also a close friend of Ralph Friedman, secretary of the Communist Party in California. Another security report, dated November 13, 1946, quotes his associates as saying that he favored the Chinese Communists in China and favored Russia in most respects.

The State Department officials themselves, according to this report, describe him as being overly sympathetic to Russia and the Communist experiment. This is all a part of the report. Another Government official said the individual frequently blamed the capitalists for all

the trouble in Russia, and constantly praised Russia as the ideal. So far as I know, everything in this individual's file indicates that he is actively working with and for the Communists.

Case No. 4. The individual came to the United States from Hungary in 1944. He was employed as a translator and script writer for OWI, and later by the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. The report of January 3, 1947, indicates that he is an active member of a Communist front organization, and that he lost his former job because of his constant arguments in favor of communism. A former employer, according to the file, stated that this individual boasted of being a member of the Communist Party. A third informant also stated that this individual boasted of his Communist connections and argued that communism was superior to democracy. The fourth informant said that he constantly argued politics, and that communism was the ideal system for this country. Two of the references on his application for citizenship were members of at least one Communist-front organization and contributors to Communist periodicals. Another reference refused to recommend him, questioning his loyalty, and saying that he was a Communist. Another reference, of April 24, 1947, showed that this employee's supervisor in the State Department felt he was a fellow-traveler. This individual has been contributing to the Hungarian Communist magazine, N. O. K.

Various memoranda and reports by the State Department Security Agency in the files indicate that no one was found to question this employee's communistic connection and beliefs.

Case No. 5. This case serves as a very good example of the failure on the part of the State Department to take any action even after conclusive evidence of a person's Communist activity was shown by the State Department's own security agency. He was born in North Carolina in 1900. He was employed by the Foreign Economic Administration from August 1942, to August 1945, and was then transferred to the State Department and placed on Research and Intelligence.

I should like to call attention, Mr. President, to the number of these individuals who succeeded in getting into Research and Intelligence. Research and Intelligence, the Voice of America, and Far Eastern Affairs seem to be the prime targets.

The report dated May 4, 1946, in this man's file shows that eight persons, including six college professors at Harvard University and the University of California, agreed that this individual has strong communistic leanings, and that in their opinion he was either a card-carrying member of the Communist Party or a fellow-traveler. That is the opinion of six professors at Harvard University and the University of California. Some of the opinions expressed by his associates might well be read.

A professor at the University of California stated that he was acquainted with this individual since September

1937; that he did not trust him; he considered him in the class of Harry Bridges; that under no circumstances would he hire him, and also that there was something about him that aroused his intuition, and caused him to be afraid of his outside connections, and under no circumstances would he recommend him to the Government.

A fellow student stated that he had known him since 1939 and that he knew him definitely as a Communist; that he felt that this individual was getting money from the Communist Party, and the other students did also, because they would say that this individual was not preaching communism for his health, but that it was a business with him; that he would not recommend this individual to the Government because he feels that he is a Communist.

This individual was discharged from a Navy school during the war for bad grades and for Communist activities. A memorandum, dated May 15, 1946, from CSA to the Office of Controls, states that an "investigation discloses evidence of a material nature tending to affect adversely the loyalty to the United States and its institutions." This report reveals that this individual is unmistakably identified with communistic activities. While the records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel show that he was given a special order discharge in March 27, 1942, under honorable conditions, evidence in his file, all of which is, of course, available to the Secretary of State, reveals that he was discharged because it was found that he was an ardent student of and advocate of communism.

A report, dated March 25, 1947, indicates that this individual had been receiving mail from the Soviet Embassy, as well as communistic publications. An official of a Washington, D. C. university stated that he had hired this individual to conduct a class in Chinese, but later learned that he was closely connected with communistic groups on the west coast. Four members of the faculty at the University of California confirmed this individual's communistic leanings. All of the above information was brought to the attention of the top officials in the State Department in a memorandum summarizing the case in 1947, with the recommendation that he be immediately discharged. The State Department refused to discharge him because it was not proven that he had committed any overt act. Subsequent to this time, this individual argued often and heatedly in favor of a Communist regime in China. He admitted having been a subscriber to the Daily Worker.

Let me repeat for the benefit of the Senate, the State Department refused to discharge this individual because he had not been shown to have committed any overt act, despite the fact that the State Department's own security agency had in a report stated that he was unmistakably identified with communistic activities; despite the fact that he had been discharged from a Navy school because he was an ardent student and advocate of communistic doctrine; despite the fact that he had been receiving mail from the Soviet Embassy, as well as being a

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subscriber to the Daily Worker; despite the fact that six professors at Harvard and the University of California agreed that he was a "party member or fellow traveler"; despite the fact that a fellow student who knew him well stated that he would not recommend him for a job in the Government because of his communistic activities. This man, the State Department says, must be kept on because he has committed no "overt" act.

The State Department's own Security Board then submitted four subsequent reports, the first one dated September 12, 1947, in an attempt to convince the Department that this man was dangerous and should be discharged. Subsequently this man's position was abolished. However, he was not discharged. Listen to this. His position was abolished, but what happened then? He was transferred to the Division of Research replacing an employee who, so far as I can learn, had an excellent record, and whose loyalty was in no way questioned. This in spite of the fact that a State Department official who knew him and worked with him in China as well as in this country, said he was—and this is what a State Department official said about this man, whom the Department refused to discharge, whom they shifted over to another job where he bumped another worker—the State Department official said he was mediocre, dull, and incompetent. So his only qualification was his communistic connections. This same State Department official said, "This is the only man in the Government of whom I would speak unfavorably."

Keep in mind that under the McCarran bill, a very wise piece of legislation, the Secretary of State has the absolute unquestioned right to discharge a man of this kind. So the Secretary could have discharged him as first recommended. Four times bluntly they have said, "Get rid of this man." His superior officer says he is dull and incompetent, but for some reason or other he is still kept on.

Another State Department official said that he considered this individual extremely weak as to ability. I believe it is unnecessary to comment on the attitude of the State Department in this case. Certainly it is an attitude which frightens me and bodes ill for the future of the United States.

Another one is case No. 6. This individual is with the DIVISION of Central Services. A security report dated December 31, 1946, describes her as being "pink" and as advocating that we substitute conditions in Russia for those in the United States. She takes a very active part in the conferences of the UPWA, which has been picked up by the CIO, actively opposed the President's loyalty order, but has been given top secret clearance. This individual has a right to see all the top secret documents.

Case No. 7. This individual was an associate business economist to August 1944; with FEA from August 1944 to August 1945, and then transferred to the State Department as an economist. This individual is a member of the Young Communist League. He was affiliated with four other organizations

which are named by the Attorney General as having been Communist fronts. This individual admits membership in the Young Communists, and in the other Communist-front organizations, but claims to have changed his view since that time, and therefore was given top secret clearance by the State Department. I may say incidentally I am using the pronoun "he" in all these cases, although some of the individuals are not of the male sex.

Case No. 8. This individual was born in New York City in 1918. He was employed as an economist and analyst with the OSS in the State Department from June 1945. Previous to that time he worked for the War Production Board. He was assigned again to Research and Intelligence in the State Department. This man, according to the State Department files, was an active member of a number of Communist-front organizations, was a very close friend of several men who are under suspicion by the FBI of being connected with Russian espionage cases and has two brothers who have been openly working for the Communist Party.

I may say that I know that some of these individuals whose cases I am giving the Senate are no longer in the State Department. A sizable number of them are not. Some of them have transferred to other Government work, work allied with the State Department. Others have been transferred to the United Nations. But I think the cases are important whenever we find that an individual, despite his Communist connections, has been given top-secret clearance. That gives an idea what is going on.

Here is one which I think the Senate will enjoy:

Case No. 9. This individual, after investigation, was not given security clearance by the State Department. After failing to obtain clearance by the State Department he secured a job in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. And where do Senators think that man is today? He is now a speech writer in the White House. That is case No. 9. I will secure a little more information on that case if I may.

So that there may be no question about this, we will refer directly to the investigative file. I think I am doing Mr. Truman a favor by telling him this. I do not think he knows it. I do not think he would have this individual there writing speeches for him if he knew it.

Both the individual referred to and his wife—this is in the file of the investigative agency—are members of Communist-front organizations. He has a relative who has a financial interest in the Daily Worker. But in any event the State Department used good judgment not to clear this individual.

Case No. 10. This individual is in the Biographical Information Division of the State Department. Her husband signed a Communist Party election petition, stating he was a member thereof. She is active in the UPWA. The mere fact that her husband was a Communist may not make her a Communist, but she also has been given top secret clearance

Case No. 11. This individual was an analyst in OSS from July 1943 to August 1945, and was employed in the Division of Map Intelligence in the State Department after August 1945. He is a close pal of a known Communist and has stated it would be a good idea if the Communists would take over in this country. He is a regular reader of the Daily Worker. This individual is not in the State Department at this time, but has a job in the CIA as of today. Here is what we find. Such individuals use the State Department as a stepping stone to some other agency. This man, who pals around with Communists, who is satisfied, according to the files of the State Department, that Communists should take over this country, is now in the Central Intelligence Agency.

Case No. 12. This individual started as a corresponding secretary at the White House. From there he moved over to the Soviet Embassy and obtained a job as assistant editor. From there he transferred to the State Department and, so far as I can discover, transferred from there to a section of the Commerce Department, with which the State Department works, where he remained until several months ago. Where he is as of today I frankly do not know. I think this is a rather interesting shift, however, from White House to the Soviet Embassy, to the State Department, to the Commerce Department.

Case No. 13. This individual is a foreign reserve officer under the information and cultural program. He was appointed to this position in September 1947, and assigned to Milan, Italy, where he took part in the educational program. This individual spent time in Soviet Russia in 1927 as a member of the trade-unions delegation to Soviet Russia, which delegation was repudiated by William Green, president of the A. F. of L. He was the sponsor, organizer, and member, respectively, of various Communist-front organizations. He has been cited by the Daily Worker a number of times for his work. The records of the industrial detail of the Chicago police department list him as a Communist as early as 1930. This man's file shows that members of the churches in Italy and high officials of the National Catholic Welfare Council objected to his being assigned to educational duties in Italy, basing this objection upon his communistic activities. Lt. Col. Gayre, of the British Army, who was this individual's supervisor in Italy, indicated that he was a "wild leftist theorist," who would veer entirely to the left if given the opportunity. This individual is described as a pedantic, tedious, conceited, impractical, pompous man, and this applies to so many of them, a man who would enjoy the pleasures of the right, but popularity with the left.

Case No. 14. This is a case of pressure from a high State Department official to obtain security clearance for an individual with a bad background from the standpoint of security. He was appointed in December 1945 as a translator in the State Department.

This is an interesting case showing the extent to which some of their superior

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officers will get when they find that some of these very unusual individuals are going to lose their jobs. He was appointed in December 1945 as a translator in the State Department. A report from another Government investigating agency under date of January 9, 1946, advised that the subject should be dismissed as a bad security risk because he was flagrantly homosexual. He had extremely close connections with other individuals with the same tendencies, and who were active members of Communist-front organizations, including the Young Communist League.

I think this is interesting, Mr. President. I asked one of our top intelligence men in Washington, one day, "Why do you find men who are so fanatically Communist? Is there something about the Communist philosophy that attracts them?"

He said, "Senator McCARTHY, if you had been in this work as long as we have been, you would realize that there is something wrong with each one of these individuals. You will find that practically every active Communist is twisted mentally or physically in some way."

The State Department's own security agency recommended the discharge of this employee on January 22, 1946. On February 19, 1946, this individual's services were terminated with the State Department. Subsequently on April 1, 1946, the action discharging this individual was rescinded and he was reinstated in his job in the State Department. In this case a CSA report of September 2, 1947, is replete with information covering the attempt of a high State Department official to induce several individuals who had signed affidavits reflecting adversely upon the employee to repudiate their affidavits. The file shows that that high State Department employee even went out and personally contacted the individuals who signed the affidavits, and asked them, "Won't you repudiate them?"

This individual, according to the security files of the State Department, was a very close associate of active Soviet agents. As to whether he is in the State Department at this time or not, I frankly do not know, but in view of fact that he was reinstated, I assume that he is.

A while ago the Senator from Nebraska asked whether I would yield while he suggested the absence of a quorum. I shall be glad to do so now. However, if the Senator thinks it is not possible to obtain a quorum at this time—

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me at this time, let me say to the majority leader that I do not wish to disrupt the program. I wish to cooperate with the majority leader in carrying on the session.

I said then, and I say now, that these charges are very serious. If there is a desire to have a quorum call now, I shall be glad to have one.

Mr. McCARTHY. I may say that I have just received a note that the majority leader—I am not criticizing him for doing so—has informed all Senators on his side of the aisle that there will not be a vote tonight, and that there is no reason for Senators to remain here,

and that there will be no quorum call. I assume he did not do that because he did not want Senators on his side of the aisle to hear the charges. I assume he merely wanted to give them an opportunity to go to dinner. However, I have no desire to present what I regard as important information before a half-empty Senate.

On the other hand, if the majority leader thinks there is not a possibility of obtaining a quorum, because of the advice given to Senators on his side of the aisle, I shall be glad to yield for a motion to take a recess until tomorrow.

In other words, I do not agree to having the majority dismissed by the majority leader.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I told Senators that there would not be a vote tonight upon the cotton bill which is the pending question. Had I known that there would have been any question about a quorum call, I certainly would have had Senators remain here, to be present to answer to a quorum call, if not to listen to the Senator's address.

We have now continued until 7:30 in the evening.

In view of the statement about having a night session and in view of the work that is before us, I had hoped that the Senator from Wisconsin would conclude his remarks tonight.

If he does not conclude his remarks tonight, but expects to resume them tomorrow, he certainly will not have any time then, because of the unanimous consent agreement which has been entered in regard to a vote at 3 o'clock on Senate bill 76.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me inquire of the majority leader whether the information I have received is correct. Did the Senator advise Senators on his side of the aisle that there was no reason for them to remain, that he would assure them there would be no quorum call and no vote?

Mr. LUCAS. I did not assure them that there would be no quorum call.

All that Senators on this side of the aisle asked me was whether there would be a vote tonight. I said, "No," that the Senator from Wisconsin was going to take the floor, and probably would occupy the floor for 4 or 5 hours, as I had been informed; and I said, "I will stay here, and I hope everyone else who wants to hear the Senator will stay here as he discusses this very important question." But so far as a vote was concerned, I advised all Senators who asked me, and I advised the minority leader so that he could advise Senators on his side of the aisle, that there would be no vote on the pending question tonight.

But I certainly hope the Senator from Wisconsin will proceed, because he is making a very important address, and the country is interested in it, and what few Senators are here now are interested in it; and I doubt whether there will be more Senators here day after tomorrow than are present now.

At this time I see another Senator returning to the Chamber after having had his dinner. I know he is very much interested in the question the Senator

from Wisconsin is discussing. The Senator from Oregon has just reentered the Chamber, and I know he is trying to swell the attendance of Senators here a little.

The Senator from Nebraska (Mr. BULLER) is also reentering the Chamber now, I observe.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Wisconsin will yield once again, 10 or 12 Senators are in the Chamber at this time, several on the other side, and some on this side, who are staying here to be helpful to the Senator from Wisconsin. But I appeal to the Senator in regard to what I regard as the only logical thing to do. I do not wish to be in the position of forcing the majority leader to call a quorum.

I do know that the majority leader has told Members on both sides of the aisle, in my presence, that there would not be a vote tonight on the pending question. He did so with good intentions, namely, to state that there would not be a vote tonight on the potato issue.

But he knows, as I do, that when such statements are made, attendance in the Senate Chamber decreases, and it is very difficult to proceed with a night session under such circumstances.

I do not feel in a position to instruct the majority leader, in view of the other announcement.

However, we are to have a vote tomorrow at 4 o'clock; and after that, of course, we can take up anything that it is desired to take up.

This is an important matter, and there might be a demand to learn all the facts.

I think the Senator from Wisconsin is presenting a serious challenge, and I think it desirable to have all Senators present, if possible, to hear his remarks.

I do not insist upon having a quorum call. I doubt very much whether we could obtain a quorum, and I do not want to take advantage of the parliamentary situation. But I say, in all fairness, that as soon as the Senator reaches a point where he can conveniently suspend his remarks until tomorrow—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I shall not be as careful of the majority leader's feelings as the minority leader is. I shall suggest the absence of a quorum, unless the Senator wishes to move that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow.

I think it is very unusual, in view of the Senator's declaration of his interest in this subject, for the majority leader to dismiss Senators on his side of the aisle or encourage them to leave the Chamber.

I think the subject now under discussion is one in which the Democrats should be especially interested. As the Senator from Illinois knows, unless something is done to clean up the State Department, the Democratic Party is going to be identified with that group. I think that is wrong. I think there are too many fine Democrats in this country and too many fine Democrats in the Senate, on the Democratic side of the aisle, to permit the Democratic Party to be identified with the group I have been discussing. I think Democratic Senators should be as much interested as we on

this side of the aisle are in cleaning up that situation.

But I do not like the information I have received, namely, that the Senator from Illinois has advised all Senators on his side of the aisle to leave. If the information I have received is not correct, I should like to know it.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LUCAS. It is customary here, as the Senator from Wisconsin knows, that when Members of the Senate inquire whether there is to be a vote on the pending question at a certain time, if it is known that there is not to be a vote at that time, the reply is "No." Of course, immediately such Senators leave, as the Senator knows; and no doubt the Senator from Wisconsin himself has done that many times since he has been a Member of the Senate. Whenever the minority leader tells Senators on his side of the aisle that there is not going to be a vote on the pending question, they do not usually remain to hear the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin or the speech of the Senator from Illinois on any subject, regardless of how important it may be.

The Senator from Wisconsin should not think he has any monopoly on fighting communism in this country, and he cannot by implication or by innuendo attack the Senator from Illinois with respect to cleaning out the State Department. I have told the Senator before, and I repeat it now, that whenever the Senator names names and presents conclusive information before the proper committees, or if he will do it now before the Senate, if he desires, and if what he says is substantiated, I will go arm in arm with my good friend the Senator from Wisconsin in assisting in cleaning out any Communist nests in the State Department or in any other branch of the Government.

The Senator from Wisconsin knows me well enough to know that I was fighting communism long before the Senator from Wisconsin was, because I am several years older than he is. But the matter is so important that it seems to me we should have this entire story now. Let us get all the information and all the facts in the Record at this particular time; and the Senator can, by unanimous consent, offer and introduce into the Record anything he wishes to. Let him put all of it in, and then ask for a meeting, either before a special committee of some kind or before the Foreign Relations Committee or the Judiciary Committee, and go thoroughly into the things the Senator is talking about.

I am all for that, I say to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator agree with me that in view of the facts that I have presented, it is absolutely necessary that we have a complete and thorough investigation of this matter by a Senate committee?

Mr. LUCAS. I am in favor of a complete and thorough investigation of what

the Senator has said; and I hope the Foreign Relations Committee or some other committee will bring the Senator immediately before it and will interrogate him under oath with respect to what he has presented here. The Senator should name names before that committee, because he has said—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, the Senator yielded to me.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. LUCAS. I will get a quorum, if that is the case.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the Senator feels that he will embarrass Senators on his side of the aisle by calling a quorum, I will yield while he moves that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow.

Let me say this, Mr. President, in view of the attitude of the Senator from Illinois, who last week, before he knew any of the evidence, went to Chicago, where he said, "Senator McCARTHY is lying; there is not a single Communist in the State Department."

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I—

Mr. McCARTHY. Wait a minute, let me finish. He said there was not a word of truth in what I said. He said if he had said what I said about there being 57 Communists in the State Department, he would be ashamed the rest of his life. He now seems to think this should be made a trial of the man who is digging out the Communists, instead of the Communists. If we are to indulge in such tactics I want the entire Senate present to hear it.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I will move to recess until tomorrow, if the Senate wishes that to be done.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. So far as the junior Senator from Idaho is concerned, he has been glad to remain on the floor to listen to these important revelations of the Senator from Wisconsin, because the Senator from Wisconsin, in his remarks, has shed some light upon the possible reasons for the State Department's foreign policy in China during the past few years, which possibly justified the infiltration of communism within China, to such an extent that it may now be too late to present this very vital information to one of the committees of the Senate. It is too late now to counteract and nullify that insidious State Department influence, through scores and scores of Communists and fellow travelers who have been responsible, even under Secretaries of State like General Marshall. We realize that only recently J. Edgar Hoover made the public statement that in this country today there are 540,000 Communists and fellow travelers. So I think the American people are entitled to have a complete exposure of the forces within the State Department. If there is no truth or justification in what the junior Senator from Wisconsin has been telling this body this evening, then the American

people should know the truth. But at a time when every American recognizes that we are at the mercy of sabotaging by those who have been placed on high levels in the State Department and other branches of the executive department, it behooves us not only to spend \$13,000,000,000 or \$14,000,000,000 annually on the national defense, but it is the duty, the obligation—I believe the American people join with me in making the statement that it is the obligation—of the President of the United States, who is alone responsible for the selection of these officials, through the Secretary of State, to make a housecleaning, so that we may proceed to build up the security and defenses of the country, to the end that we may be prepared, in case we should be the victims of Communist aggression in the months ahead.

I wish to compliment the junior Senator from Wisconsin on the revelations he is making at this time. Notwithstanding the fact that there are entirely too few Members of this body present, it is encouraging to note that so many members of the press and radio galleries are present. I believe they recognize that the American people want the facts, though, even now, it may be too late to clean our house of the rats and saboteurs who are a constant menace to the safety of the Republic.

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. No; I do not yield. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I have decided it may be well to complete the presentation of the case tonight, but I am not going to speak to an empty chamber. I am going to suggest the absence of a quorum, and then proceed to develop all the facts. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The secretary will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hayden	McClellan
Anderson	Hendrickson	McFarland
Butler	Ives	Murray
Cordon	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson
Darby	Kerr	Smith, Maine
Donnell	Lehman	Sparkman
Dworshak	Lucas	Wherry
Wetton	McCarthy	Williams

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is not present. The clerk will call the names of the absent Senators.

The legislative clerk called the names of the absent Senators; and Mr. CAPREKART, Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. HOKY, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. MOREK, Mr. RUSSELL, and Mr. SCHROFFEL answered to their names when called.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is not present.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, much as I dislike to do this, I presume that I shall be compelled to make a motion to adjourn. I have not made it yet—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that debate is not in order.

Mr. LUCAS. I shall not debate; I shall only make a statement.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, unless I can make a statement also, I shall call for the regular order. If the Senator from Illinois is going to make a statement, I want an opportunity to answer him.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a little delay, Mr. LANGER, Mr. CAIN, Mr. LONG, Mr. STENNIS, and Mr. KILGORE entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. LUCAS. I move that the Senate adjourn until 11 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

Mr. CAIN and other Senators requested the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. KILGORE. I find from reading the newspapers that the wet season is driving the pintails north.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, what is the result?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, what is the result of the vote?

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, how am I recorded as voting?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recorded as voting in the affirmative.

Mr. CORDON. I vote "nay."

Mr. IVES. What is the result, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk is still tallying.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DOUGLAS), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. MYERS), the Senator from Florida (Mr. PEPPER), and the Senator from Maryland (Mr. TYDINGS) are absent on public business.

The Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. THOMAS) is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senators from Connecticut (Mr. BENTON and Mr. McMAHON), the Senators from Kentucky (Mr. CHAPMAN and Mr. WITHERS), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. CHAVEZ), the Senators from Texas (Mr. COWLEY and Mr. JOHNSON), the Senator from California (Mr. DOWNEY), the Senators from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND and Mr. STENNIS), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Delaware (Mr. FREAR), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GEORGE), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GILLETTE), the Senators from Rhode Island (Mr. GREEN and Mr. LEAHY), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. HILL), the Senators from Wyoming (Mr. HUNT and Mr. O'MAHONEY), the Senators from South Carolina (Mr. JOHNSTON and Mr. MAYBANK), the Senators from Tennessee (Mr. KEFAUVER and Mr. McKELLAR), the

Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGUIRE), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. MCCARRAN), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. NEELY), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. O'CONNOR), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. TAYLOR), and the Senator from Utah (Mr. THOMAS) are unavoidably detained.

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. BAIRD) and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG) are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Iowa (Mr. HICKENLOOPER) is absent on official business.

The Senator from Michigan (Mr. VANDENBERG) is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Maine (Mr. BRIDGES), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. BRICKER), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. BUTLER), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. FLANDERS), the Senator from California (Mr. KNOWLAND), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. MALONE), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. MARTIN), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. MILLIKIN), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. SALTONSTALL), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. THYE), and the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. WILEY) are detained on official business.

The Senator from Michigan (Mr. FERGUSON), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. GURNEY), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. JENNER), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. KEAM), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. LODGE), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. TOSBY), and the Senator from Utah (Mr. WATKINS) are absent on public business.

The result was announced—yeas 16, nays 18, as follows:

YEAS—16

Fulbright	Kilgore	Murray
Hayden	Lehman	Robertson
Hoyer	Long	Russell
Holland	Lucas	Sparkman
Johnson, Colo.	McClellan	
Kerr	McFarland	

NAYS—18

Allen	Dworshak	Morse
Cain	Eaton	Schoeppel
Capehart	Hendrickson	Smith, Maine
Cordon	Ives	Taft
Darby	Langer	Wherry
Donnell	McCarthy	Williams

NOT VOTING—62

Anderson	Gurney	Mundt
Benton	Hickenlooper	Myers
Brewster	Hill	Neely
Bricker	Humphrey	O'Connor
Bridges	Hunt	O'Mahoney
Butler	Jenner	Pepper
Byrd	Johnson, Tex.	Saltonstall
Chapman	Johnston, S. C.	Smith, N. J.
Chavez	Kefauver	Stennis
Connally	Leahy	Taylor
Douglas	Knowland	Thomas, Okla.
Downey	Leahy	Thomas, Utah
Eastland	Lodge	Thye
Ellender	McCarran	Tosby
Ferguson	McKellar	Tydings
Flanders	McMahon	Vandenberg
Frear	Magnuson	Watkins
George	Malone	Wiley
Gillette	Martin	Withers
Graham	Maybank	Young
Green	Millikin	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to adjourn is rejected.

Mr. TAFT. A point of order, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. TAFT. If there is not a quorum present the vote is obviously invalid.

Mr. LUCAS. Not on this motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. May the Chair state that no quorum is needed on a motion to adjourn.

Mr. LUCAS. I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to compel the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a further delay, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. BRIDGES, and Mr. ELLENDER entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Later, Mr. BENTON, Mr. BRICKER, Mr. DOWNEY, Mr. EASTLAND, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. FLANDERS, Mr. FREAR, Mr. GILLETTE, Mr. GREEN, Mr. HILL, Mr. HUNT, Mr. JOHNSON of TEXAS, Mr. KNOWLAND, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MARTIN, Mr. McMAHON, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. NEELY, Mr. O'MAHONEY, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. THOMAS of Utah, Mr. THYE, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. WILEY, and Mr. WITHERS also entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, do I have the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I believe I have the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LUCAS. Was there unanimous consent given to the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. McCARTHY) to occupy the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There was no unanimous consent granted.

Mr. LUCAS. Then, Mr. President, I demand recognition.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McCARTHY. Do I not have the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that so long as a point of order is not made against the Senator from Wisconsin, he would be entitled to the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. I make the point of order, Mr. President, and I ask for recognition.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McCARTHY. Is it not too late to make the point of order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is sustained, and the Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. MORSE, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and other Senators asked for the yeas and nays.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I will withdraw the point of order if the Senator from Wisconsin wants the floor.

Mr. McCARTHY. I should be glad to yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. I shall speak on my own time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order has been withdrawn. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, for the benefit of those Members of the Senate who were not present earlier in the evening, I have given detailed records of certain individuals in the State Department who have very definite communistic connections. I explained to the Senate earlier in the evening that I would not take the time to make out a court case against each person referred to. I am pointing out facts so that there may be a convening of one of the appropriate committees to make a thorough investigation.

As I explained earlier, there is a serious question whether I should disclose names to the Senate. I frankly feel, in view of the number of cases—there are 81 cases—that it would be a mistake to publicly disclose the names on the floor. I shall be willing, happy, and eager to go before any committee and give the names and all the information available. I shall refuse to give the source of the information, however. I know the State Department is very eager to know how I have secured all this information. I know that the jobs of the men who helped me secure this material would be worth nothing if the names were given. If it were not for some good, loyal Americans in the State Department—and there are many of them—I should not have been able to present this picture to the Senate tonight. The vast majority of the employees of the State Department are loyal, and I think the President should see to it that their good names are not tarnished.

I told the Senate earlier this evening that I have what I call the Big Three, No. 1, No. 2, and No. 81. I feel that if those individuals are removed from the State Department we shall have gone a considerable distance in breaking the back of the espionage ring in the State Department.

I also told the Senate earlier that I have no way of knowing definitely which of these persons are still in the employ of the State Department. I know they have all been there at some time. A sizable number is still there.

Case No. 16. This individual's file is perhaps the largest, physically, of the files in the CSA. Among other things, the file reflects that this individual furnished material to known Soviet espionage agents and that he had constant contacts with a long list of Communists and suspected Soviet agents. On July 24, 1946, a recommendation of dismissal was made. Nothing was done. In September 1946 there was a request for further information, even though at that time the records showed that he was furnishing secret material to known Communist agents.

On July 24, the State Department's own security unit furnished detailed evidence showing that this man was furnishing secret material to known espionage agents. He had top-secret clearance.

In September further information was requested. On October 15, 1947, nearly

year and a quarter later, there was nothing in the file to indicate whether the individual was with the Department or what the final action was in his case. I later learned that 6 months after the original recommendation of dismissal was made, he finally resigned. He was not discharged. He resigned on December 13, 1947. For what Federal agency he is working at this time, I frankly do not know. I have attempted to get that information from the Civil Service Commission. It has been very helpful, but there are so many individuals of the same name that the Commission has had difficulty in furnishing the information.

Case No. 17. This individual signed an affidavit saying that he was a member of the Communist Party. He did this on several occasions. This was not a non-Communist affidavit; it was a Communist affidavit. This file is rather significant, in that the reviewing officer in this case indicated that if this employee had testified to a change of heart, he would have received top-secret clearance. In other words, if this man had said, "I have now reformed," the security officer felt he was bound to give him top-secret clearance. This, of course, seems unusual to us, but a Communist, who has, of course, no respect for the oath, which consists of swearing before the Creator that he will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is educated to the idea that there is no Supreme Being, so, obviously, an oath means nothing to him. I think the reviewing authority in the State Department should bear that fact in mind.

Case No. 18. This individual was thoroughly investigated before being hired on December 26, 1946. While the file indicates that this woman was a Communist, I am not too sure that she was not a psychopathic case. She was hired when the file showed a great deal of Communist activity on her part.

Case No. 19. This file is rather a lengthy one. It shows many Communist Party connections. The individual is working for the Government today. I have been able to secure that much information. Whether he is in the State Department I frankly do not know.

Case No. 20. This individual's file shows close connections with a number of Communist-front organizations. The individual, his sister, and his father spent some time in mental institutions. The report, which is dated July 7, 1947, shows that his mental health is unstable. This man is still in the Department as of today.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. DONNELL. Does the Senator have any information as to the type of responsibility the last-named individual has in the State Department? In other words, does he do janitorial work, or supervisory work, or just what kind of work does he do?

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not know. The information was not in the file. I was curious about that particular question myself. I was told that he had top-secret clearance. That would indicate that he was handling rather important documents. Frankly, what he was do-

ing, I do not know. Let me check on the case, if I may, so that we may have an information on it that may be available. He is in the Office of Information and Educational Exchange. What he is doing there, I do not know.

Cases Nos. 21 to 26 are rather typical of many of the employees in the New York office of OIE. That is the Voice of America broadcast. The picture in the seven cases is substantially the same. First, the character reference is from another known Communist. In other words, the file shows, in effect, that it is a case of "You recommend me; I'll recommend you." So it is a case of Communies, or persons with Communist connections, recommending each other. There is nothing in the file which indicates the employees' activities beyond a period several years prior to the employment.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.
Mr. DONNELL. Does the Senator mean that he does not know what the activities are of these persons in the Department of State, or that he does not know their prior activities?

Mr. McCARTHY. I know that their activities in the Department were with the Voice of America in the New York branch.

Mr. DONNELL. I mean, in what type of work are they engaged?

Mr. McCARTHY. As to this particular case, I do not know. I shall come to one, case No. 31, but let me read that now for the benefit of the Senator.

Mr. DONNELL. I was wondering whether the Senator would permit me to ask another question.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. DONNELL. Will the Senator be kind enough, if he thinks it advisable, to give us from time to time, as he goes through the cases, information as to the type of work or the type of responsibility with which the individual is charged?

Mr. McCARTHY. I can say to the Senator that it would be extremely difficult to do that, because all the records are completely secret except what I could get from loyal State Department employees. I can tell in a great number of cases what particular branch the individuals are working in, whether in Research and Intelligence, or in other activities. Incidentally, Research and Intelligence is a favorite office for fellow travelers to get into. A short time ago I cited the case of one individual who succeeded in going from Research and Intelligence to CIA. He is with CIA today.

One of the principal cases is Case No. 31. It deals with one of the top officials in OIE, the Voice of America, and I shall reach that shortly. Referring again to the previous case, the individual is still either working in this branch of the State Department, or has succeeded in transferring to some other agency having to do with information. All these individuals try to get into some branch having to do with information or research.

Case No. 28. This individual has been with the State Department as a Foreign Service career officer since 1936. He is still holding a high salaried job with the Government, and to the best of

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my knowledge he is now stationed at Frankfurt, Germany. A report of June 23, 1947, indicates that he is a member of the Communist Party, that he attended the Youth International in Russia in 1935. While working in the State Department, the file indicates, he showed an intense interest in getting information on anything pertaining to Russia, including any figures and records, whether or not the information had any connection with his particular job. He had been discharged previously from the AFL Federation of Government Employees, on the charge of communistic activity. Both he and his wife have been members of a number of Communist-front organizations, and he has been very closely associated with known Communist-front workers. The file discloses the interesting information that he is a member of the central group, whose task it is to spearhead an attack on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. These fellows do not like J. Edgar Hoover at all. The man is a member of the central group which is the spearhead of such an attack. This is all in his file. He is still working for the Government.

Case No. 28. This individual, according to the State Department's own Security division, is a known Communist member. A file dated April 13, 1947, shows that he is a member of an underground Communist group in Washington, D. C. Both he and his wife have been in close touch with a functionary of the Soviet espionage ring in Washington, D. C. I want to be sure about this. He is still working in Government work. Whether he is in the State Department or not I have not been able to find out, but I know he was in the State Department not too long ago, and he is still in the Government service. Let me repeat that for the benefit of the Senate. The intelligence agency's file shows that this man is a known Communist Party member, and another file, dated April 13, 1947, shows that he is a member of an underground Communist group in Washington, D. C. Both he and his wife have been in close touch with a functionary of the Soviet espionage ring in Washington. His brother, who either was or is in the State Department, was a member of the Jackson Heights, Long Island, N. Y., branch of the Communist Party. There was considerable additional material in the file of this individual which I cannot give to the Senate this time, because it is all tied up with the source of the information. The file indicates that this man is not only very active as a Communist, but is a very dangerous Communist.

Case No. 30. This man was a production supervisor of motion pictures for the OIE, that is, the Voice of America. He also had previously signed an affidavit to the effect that he was a member of the Communist Party. That is pretty much the picture of all that OIE crowd in New York.

I might say that there has been some cleaning out. As we get down to case 31, Senators will see that one of the top people was temporarily transferred, and while away something else happened, and there are some good loyal people in

the office in New York. Otherwise, I would not be able to get the information I am giving the Senate.

Case No. 31. This individual has been in Government service since July 1942. He was stationed in the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. The information was not in the file, but the hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee showed that he had signed a petition in New York in 1940 to the effect that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Case No. 32. This individual has been with the Government since July 1942. He was stationed in the Office of Education and Information in the State Department. It will be noted as I go through that highest percentage of these individuals were stationed in some information branch of the Government. According to the Un-American Activities Committee, he had signed a petition in 1940 to the effect that he was a member of the Communist Party. The State Department took no action whatsoever upon this case, and so far as I know, the investigative unit there conducted no further investigation as to him, unless it was fairly recently.

Case No. 33. This man has been in the Government service since July 1942. The picture is pretty much the same as in the last case, except that he is in a high-salaried position at the present time in the Office of Information and Education. This man, I know definitely, is in the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. He signed an affidavit in 1940 that he was a member of the Communist Party. He has been in the Government service since 1942. Apparently no check was made on him as to his other Communist activities, and I have no further information about him.

Case No. 34. This individual was born in Russia in 1896, and became a naturalized United States citizen in 1938. From July 1934 to April 1940 he worked for Amtorg Trading Corporation. The Senate will recall that that is the corporation that was visited by the FBI shortly after the last session ended, and they picked up five or six of the Amtorg officials in connection with espionage activities. This man worked for that corporation until 1940. He worked with the Maritime Union from June to August 1941, was with the OWI from February 1945 to February 1946, then was transferred to the State Department. His file shows that he has very close connection with the Communist espionage agents. As to this man, I frankly do not know whether he is still in the State Department or not. He went with the State Department some time after February 1946.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HILL in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.
Mr. DONNELL. The Senator referred, a moment ago, I think just before the last case, to one individual as being a high-salaried employee. Does the Senator have information as to what the man's salary is?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have not. I think he was a CAF, class 9 or 10. He was up in the \$7,000 or \$8,000 bracket. I did not pay too much attention to that. He was in a fairly high-salaried position, I could get the information for the Senator, I think. In looking over the papers I have I do not find information as to the salary he receives.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I notice in several of the cases the Senator has mentioned it was not clear whether or not the officials mentioned were still employed by the State Department. The State Department issued a news release last week in which Mr. Feurifoy stated that 202 Communists and security risks have been dismissed from the State Department since 1946.

I wondered if the Senator has asked the State Department to let him see that list of those who may have been dismissed because of disloyalty reasons, which would greatly simplify the Senator's task in determining whether they are still there? Inasmuch as so much has been said about making information available, it would seem to me to be proper to make a direct request of the Department for a list of those whom the Department has dismissed for disloyalty reasons, to which the Department could not very well make any other than an affirmative reply.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.
Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from South Dakota know whether Mr. Feurifoy said that they were dismissed for disloyalty reasons, or dismissed and allowed to resign?

Mr. MUNDT. I think Mr. Feurifoy's statement said that their relationships with the State Department were severed because of security reasons. I think frequently they are permitted to resign after they have been singled out and their attention has been called to the fact that the State Department has caught up with their disloyalty records, but whether they have been permitted to resign or whether they have been severed, since he has given us the definite figure of 202, there would be an ideal check list for the Senator from Wisconsin to use in finding out whether these persons are still with the Department of State.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.
Mr. FERGUSON. I agree with the Senator, but I think it makes a difference whether they have resigned or are discharged and obtained employment in other departments of the Government.

Mr. MUNDT. One of the great difficulties we confront in trying to get Communists out of Government is that apparently once they have been removed from one department there is no alert given to the other departments so they simply drift from one department to another. So if there were some such list made available to all the employment chiefs, then, assuming that the employe-

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ment chiefs do not want to hire Communists, they could use that list as a screen.

Mr. FERGUSON. In the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee dealing with foreign affairs, I may say it was indicated that these persons in the majority of cases were permitted to resign rather than to be discharged.

Mr. MUNDT. They were permitted to resign after, I believe, they had been told that the State Department had made an examination of their loyalty status and found it questionable.

Mr. McCARTHY. And permitted to resign so they would find it easier to secure another job.

Mr. MUNDT. Perfectly true.

Mr. McCARTHY. I may say in that connection, Mr. President, that the whole picture seems to be—and you recall I cited some cases along that line—that where they can get one top man in an important position, that then very shortly we see them dragging in their fellow Communists. When that is done we may be sure they will not be discharged for Communist activities. They are allowed to resign so they can be taken over by another department. The disturbing thing is that they are resigning from the State Department and then going into the other branches which, while not technically under the State Department, are to all intents and purposes under the State Department. When they are allowed to resign it does not give them a bad record and they can move into another position.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the Senator is putting his finger on a very important deficiency in the President's so-called security program, because if a Communist is found to be guilty in the eyes of the State Department or any other department of Government and then permitted to resign so as to secure employment in some other department of Government or in some other bureau, or a place in private employment, the general public has had a fraud launched against it, and it is the policy of giving the benefit of the doubt to the Communists instead of the benefit of the doubt to the Government. Certainly when we come to the place where we have discovered a Communist I see no reason why all the departments of Government should not be alerted, and for that reason, when the evidence is complete, the general public might well be alerted so the individual cannot sneak his way into some college faculty, some farmers' organization, some labor organization, or some women's club. Once the security check has pointed out that here is a man attempting to sabotage freedom in this country and trying to sell us out to a foreign tyranny, Government departments are notoriously weak, in my opinion, if they fail then to alert the general public to that fact.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think that is an excellent idea. I may say that merely alerting the new potential boss sometimes does not do too much good. The Senator was not present when I recited a very unusual case, the case of a man who is now one of our foreign ministers. The case was that of a man who is one

of our ministers. His file suddenly disappeared, that is, the vast majority of it. An attempt was made to find out where the file went. The keeper of the file, if one can call him that, said it went to one of the top brass, and it is in his safe, and has been there for 2 years. However, he did not obtain all the material. Some of the remaining material shows that certain secret material was prepared for transmission to a foreign government. The material was prepared for a foreign government. It showed up in Moscow before it even left Washington. Does the Senator follow me? Of course, the Security Agency was very much concerned with that. They apparently had suspicions ahead of time. Their report—and their report of this matter is all in the file, the Senator understands, was to the effect that this man who is now one of our ministers, was shadowed by the Security Agency; their men physically saw him make contact with a known espionage agent. The agent was shadowed to the Soviet Embassy, and that is where the material disappeared, and then showed up in Moscow. When this man's superior officer cleans out his files, I am very curious what that man's file contains.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I left the Senate Chamber at 7:30 p. m. What number of case is the Senator now on?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am now on case No. 34.

Mr. McMAHON. In the cases the Senator has recited, has the Senator simply read the derogatory information that was in the files or has the Senator attempted to give the full contents of the file in each case?

Mr. McCARTHY. I may say that I am only giving the Senate cases in which it appears clear that there is a definite Communist connection. If there is evidence in the file to show that a man was not a Communist, frankly, those files have not come to my attention.

I am not sure that I get the Senator's thought fully. This man may have been good to his wife and children and all that sort of thing. What I am interested in is: Does the file confirm what we felt we knew about him? In other words, does the investigative agency's file show that this man was in contact with Communists? Did he belong to Communist-front organizations? Did he belong to a Communist organization? Was he a foreign agent?

I assure the Senator that this is not a game. I am trying to give the Senate as clear a picture as I can. I do not give the Senate anything that would indicate the source of the information.

As I said earlier this evening, I think it is impossible and very unwise for us to pass any legislation providing that we could subpoena, for example, the files of the FBI. I think if we did that we would set the FBI back 10, 20, or 30 years. The only way we can safely use these files is with complete cooperation and understanding. So, for example, when the FBI has cleared the staff of the Senator's committee, they can work with the Sena-

tor's committee and give the committee the benefit of its investigation.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes, I am glad to.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator understands that what I am trying to find out is whether the Senator has in his possession the complete file that is in the State Department, either the original file—I take it the Senator does not have that—or a copy of it. Has the Senator both the derogatory information and any good information that is in that file.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator asks whether I have complete State Department files. The answer is "No."

Mr. McMAHON. Has the Senator the complete files in any one of the 34 cases?

Mr. McCARTHY. Eighty-one cases.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator said he had presented 34 cases so far.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. McMAHON. I take it the Senator is going through all 51. I merely say that when the Senator reaches case No. 51 I hope to be home in bed. That is beside the point. I want to find out from the Senator if in the cases he has read or in the cases that are to be presented, the Senator is able to give the Senate both the derogatory information that is in the file and any contradictory information that indicates that the derogatory information may be in question.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me answer the Senator.

Mr. McMAHON. That is a yes-or-no question. Would the Senator give this information if he had it in his possession?

Mr. McCARTHY. Does the Senator want the answer?

Mr. McMAHON. Yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. The answer is that I obviously do not have photostats of all the files.

Mr. McMAHON. Has the Senator got—

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me finish. I do not have a counterespionage group of my own. All I can do is pick up the information, check, and make sure it is confirmed by something in the State Department file. The Senator understands I do not have complete State Department files in these matters. I very greatly wish I did. That is one of the things I hope one of our committees will succeed in getting.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. In a moment, if I may. If we are going to have a staff to work on these files the FBI should clear the members of that staff first to make sure that we do not have Communists among its members. When that is done, I hope the State Department will cooperate fully, and will say, "Here are the files. Take a look at them."

I do not have that now.

Mr. McMAHON. At last, that is the answer.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator does not have in his possession any information which will indicate that that derogatory statement is true. Does not the Senator realize that if I were to send

investigators into his State, perhaps I could obtain 105 or perhaps 1,005 witnesses who would make statements about the Senator that would be totally untrue and incorrect, and the same investigators might go to 2,000 other persons who would say, "Those 105 people are not telling the truth at all. They are very angry with the Senator because he voted for this bill or that bill that they did not like."

Did the Senator ever think of that? Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Connecticut had been in the Senate Chamber earlier this evening, he would have heard that question answered.

The Senator from Illinois demanded, loudly, that I furnish all the names. I told him at that time that so far as I was concerned, I thought that would be improper; that I did not have all the information about these individuals. I have enough to convince me that either they are members of the Communist Party or they are giving great aid to the Communists. I may be wrong. That is why I said that unless the Senate demanded that I do so, I would not submit this publicly, but I would submit it to any committee—the Senator's committee or any other Senate committee—and would let the committee go over these in executive session. It is possible that some of these persons will get a clean bill of health. I know that some of them will not.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator has made my point for me, however, namely, that in the files that he has, there is only derogatory information.

Mr. McCARTHY. No.

Mr. McMAHON. And that he is not able—

Mr. McCARTHY. No.

Mr. McMAHON. That he is not able to give to the Senate the information which contradicts the derogatory information.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is not true.

Mr. McMAHON. Because if the Senator has it and if he is not giving it to the Senate at this time, it would appear to me that he is trying to present a one-sided picture.

I say to the Senator that there is no desire on my part to prejudge a single one of these cases. I do not need to tell the Senator that I am as much opposed to communism in the State Department or in any other Department as he is.

But I tell the Senator that in the course of my career I have examined many Government files and many investigation records, and I have seen in the files statements that, "This man McCarthy" or "This man—

Mr. McCARTHY. Make it "Jones."

Mr. McMAHON. Or "This man Smith is a terrible person. He is not to be trusted. He defrauds his creditors. He even beats his wife. He has been seen going around the corner with suspicious-looking persons."

And then if we go to other persons in the community, they say, "I am not at all surprised that you have been told

that, because Smith had a fight with a man named Jones, who lives down the street. I will bet that you got an interview with him, and that in it he said that this fellow Smith is a terrible man."

I call attention to the possibility that if we had the whole file before us, as undoubtedly the State Department has, the information the Senator from Wisconsin is giving the Senate might be contradicted to the point where credible witnesses or credible evaluators of the files would say, "In that event, we cannot believe that information."

I do not say to the Senator that that is so; I merely point out the possibility of its being so.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think I have a fairly good digest of the files. However, in such a case as this, I think we must give the American people the benefit of the doubt. Instead of there being 57 Communists in the State Department, let us say that there are only one or two. If there were one or two Communists who were serving as top officials in our State Department, that alone would be fully sufficient to keep the opposition informed about the operations of the Department.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I ask the Senator to permit me to finish my statement, please.

I have said to the Senator that I am not indicting the 81. I have said there is sufficient in the files to show that there is something radically wrong. If the Senator will remain here and will listen to some more of the cases, I am sure he will be convinced. After all, he came to the floor after I had been speaking for some time.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Will the Senator advise the Members of the Senate now present whether he is presenting to the Senate a series of personal opinions about the persons or whether he is presenting matters of record?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am not presenting anything except what is confirmed by the files of the individual concerned. In other words, in one case the intelligence department said, "Get rid of this man. Six professors, some at the University of California and some at Harvard, say this fellow is a fellow-traveler, a Communist, a close friend of Friedman, secretary of the Communists in California, and a close friend of Harry Bridges."

But the "top brass" in the State Department say, "No, because he has not committed any overt act."

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I certainly would not judge the case upon the basis of what the Senator has just said. I certainly think—and I think it is the American system—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I yield for a question, not for a speech.

Mr. McMAHON. Does not the Senator think it is the American system that when a man is accused, he shall be given a hearing, that all witnesses for him and against him shall be heard and ad-

judged; and then, upon that judgment and upon that evidence, does not the Senator think the judgment should be rendered?

Mr. McCARTHY. I say to the Senator—

Mr. McMAHON. I say to the Senator, if I may continue my question—

Mr. McCARTHY. Certainly.

Mr. McMAHON. I say to the Senator that what we have to be careful of is that we do not imitate the very thing we are against. Star chambers are not for the United States of America, nor are trials ex parte, on the basis of part of the files of the persons concerned, on the floor of the United States Senate, the way to handle this matter.

That is my question.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I ask the Senator from Maine to permit me to answer the Senator from Connecticut first.

If the Senator from Connecticut had been here a little earlier, he would have heard the majority leader demanding that we do exactly that. He demanded that I present the names and indict these people before the country, without giving them a chance to be heard.

I said, "No, I will not do that unless the Senate demands it." I said, "I have the information. I want to present it to any Senate committee, and have the committee decide about it."

This information is nothing new. It has been there a long time. If the Senator or anyone else who is interested had expended sufficient effort, he could have brought this to the attention of the Senate.

I do not fancy at all this condemnation of an attempt to bring this matter before the Senate. I intend to give all the facts. From the information which I have before me, I agree with the intelligence agencies which have said, "These men should not be in the State Department." I agree with the intelligence agencies who said, "Do not give these men top-secret clearance."

I may be wrong. That is why I am not naming them. But I think that soon—tomorrow—the proper Senate committee that is actually interested, not in investigating people who may be Communists, but in investigating as to whether or not the State Department is overrun with Communists, should examine into these matters.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. Is not the essence of star-chamber proceedings that the public are not permitted to know the facts? Is not the essence of the kind of government which we here are fighting the kind of executive government which refuses to permit the legislative authority to know the truth?

After the revelations in the Hiss and the Fuchs and some other cases would it not seem that the Congress should be permitted to exercise its historical authority, never denied until recent years; and does it not seem strange that the Executive would refuse to permit those in the Senate and in the House of Repre-

representatives the right to know what is going on in Washington?

I do not see how any defenders of democracy, in view of the Hiss and the Fuchs cases, can still maintain the right of the executive department of government to refuse—as has been occurring repeatedly in recent years—information from the files to be authorized to be seen by the committees of Congress.

Mr. McCARTHY. I may point out to the Senator that the Constitution gives the Congress the right to get the information which we have been demanding for some time. Under the Constitution, of course, the Congress has a right to that information. How we can force the President to give the information to Congress I do not know.

On August 4, 1948, the day Hiss was exposed by the House committee, and the day of the President's famous "red herring" statement, the President signed an order saying, "No more departmental information shall be given to congressional committees."

At that time there might have been a reason for it; at that time the Congress was controlled by the Republican Party, and I can see why the President, with an election coming along, might have felt that the information might have been used for some political gain.

However, the President's party has had control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives for over a year now, and it seems that the President should be able to trust his own party. His party is in control. He should be able to say, "This is information to which the Congress is entitled, under the Constitution. My own party is in power. I will let them have it."

Frankly, Mr. President, I think the President is making a terrible mistake. If I may suggest something to the Senator, let me say that I think he and I certainly should be on the same side in this matter. The Democratic Party certainly is going to suffer because of this, but it should not. I think the Democratic Party has lost control of the executive branch. An unusual group of people—a group of twisted-thinking intellectuals—has taken over in the State Department, in recent years. They think they are right, that is what makes them dangerous.

If the Democratic Party, as we see it represented here in the Senate, had control, I do not think this sorry situation would exist.

So the Senator should work with us in trying to clean house.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator's observation is entirely beside the point, as was the observation just made by the Senator from Maine. I do not stand here to defend anyone. I simply wish to point out to the Senator that there was a complete file on these persons, and the Senator obviously was giving only the derogatory information.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is not correct.

Mr. McMAHON. I pointed out to the Senator that fairness demanded that the full files be made available, and certainly that should be done before judgment of

the case is had. That is my position, and nothing else.

Mr. MUNDT, Mr. CAPEHART, and other Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall yield in a moment.

First, Mr. President, let me say that the Senator from Connecticut just indulged in an erroneous assumption when he said I was indicating only the derogatory information. This is a résumé of the file.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at this time?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope the Senator will not follow the suggestion of the Senator from Connecticut and discontinue his effort to purge Communists from the Government.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut made no such statement.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator should wait until I finish.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I demand the regular order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin has the floor. A Senator who has the floor can yield only for a question. Senators who wish to ask questions must first be yielded to for that purpose.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, may I first make it clear that I will yield to every Senator present, as often as he wants me to yield, but for the present I am yielding to the Senator from South Dakota, and I will yield to no one else until he has finished his question. I shall be glad then to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MUNDT. I want the Senator from Connecticut to listen to this statement. I think I am quoting him exactly. I think he suggested that the Senator from Wisconsin should not continue with this effort of his, until the full files are made available to him. Is not that correct? Was not that the Senator's statement?

Mr. McMAHON. That is exactly correct.

Mr. MUNDT. I thought it was correct.

Mr. McMAHON. It is.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope the Senator from Wisconsin will not yield to that kind of argument, because, had the argument of the Senator from Connecticut been followed, Alger Hiss would never have been convicted, for Alger Hiss was convicted after the President gave his freeze order denying us the right to see the full file. That would be a complete way to cover up every Communist in the Government.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me answer first, and then I will yield. I say to Senators, let them take their time. I will yield to everyone here, and all night if necessary. I want to say I definitely will not follow the suggestion offered by the Senator from Connecticut that I do nothing until I have the complete file of the case. The President said, "You shall not see the file." In fact, I never know when I have the complete file. I have infor-

mation from the State Department files, information to which we are entitled. I am giving it to the Senate.

The Senator from Connecticut has said something about my convicting someone. Although even the leader of the Senator's party has said, "You must give us the names," I have refused to do so. I have said, "I will give it to any committee. I will go before any committee. I will be sworn. I will do anything." I want to get some action, and I may say to the Senator, I think he is the type of man who should be working along with me on this matter. I have a great deal of respect for the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I am not trying to work against the Senator. What did I point out to the Senator and to the Senate? I pointed out that the Senator apparently has been giving the derogatory information contained in files of which he has secured possession. I further pointed out that in those files, if there was information which disproved the derogatory information, it was the duty of the Senator to present it to the Senate. Certainly no investigation of these persons could be consistent with American methods unless there were an evaluation both of the derogatory information and the information which went to disprove it. If we adopt any other theory than that, I claim we abandon one of the fundamental guaranties which underly our form of government. And if we are going to take the attitude that simply because someone says so—and so is a Communist, or was seen talking to a Communist, it therefore, ipso facto, settles the matter, then I say we have adopted a theory which I do not understand to be in consonance with our form of government.

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. McMAHON. I want to further point out to the Senator that, in fairness—

Mr. McCARTHY. Is this a question?

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator has listened to speeches from some of his other colleagues. I am sure he will indulge me in this observation.

Mr. McCARTHY. Go ahead.

Mr. McMAHON. I thank the Senator. If he wants to be fair, and has full and complete files on a man, he ought to read not only the derogatory information but anything else that is said. After it is read I might agree, especially if I could hear the witnesses, with the Senator's contention that a certain individual ought to be kicked out of the Government and perhaps be put in jail. What I do not see is how anyone can form an intelligent judgment simply by reading what a half dozen people say, because perhaps they are rogues, scoundrels, and thieves. Perhaps they have some ulterior motive in making the statements they do. I do not know. I do not judge this case and say the Senator is not right, that the Senator does not have derogatory information, which, if true, would warrant the full penalty of the law. He may be entirely right about

it. What I am pointing out is that there may be other facts which we ought to hear in connection with those cases. That is my point.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think the Senator flatters me when he says it is my duty to present the entire file to the Senate and to give the Senate all the information. The President has said we shall not get that file, and, as of the present moment, we are not on a "Dear Joe, Dear Harry" basis. I cannot go to the White House and say, "Harry, give me this file, because Senator McMAHON insists that you give me the information." All I can do is to give Senators what I can dig up. I have given Senators the fullest, most complete, fairest résumé of the files that I possibly could.

For the Senator to speculate that I have other information which I will not give him, is, I think, completely unfair. I have already asked for the complete files. I sent the President a telegram. I said, "Mr. President, here are 57 names. You may have them. But, in fairness to the Senate and the country, let us get the information on these people."

Mr. BREWSTER rose.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me yield to the Senator from Maine, first.

Mr. BREWSTER. Is the issue not as to who is to do the evaluating of which the Senator from Connecticut speaks? Is it to be done by the executive agencies that demonstrate in every way a determination to refuse what has always been considered the constitutional right of the legislative body to find out, or is the evaluation to be made in the historic method, by a duly authorized committee of the Senate? I do not understand that the Senator from Connecticut is denying the right of a senatorial group, nor do I understand him to be admitting it. I am very much interested to know whether he agrees with the executive viewpoint, asserted for the first time, so far as I know, in any substantial way in very recent years, that the executive would not give to committees of the Congress the right to look at files.

The first case I knew of was when, during the war, President Roosevelt refused Senator Truman, then chairman of the Truman committee, the right to examine the so-called Stettinius report. The first action which I took as chairman of the committee afterward was to ask President Truman for it, and he turned that report over, which conclusively demonstrated that we had been very much misled during the course of the war as to the mobilization, and the records thereof, demonstrating that Senator Truman was right in demanding the records, and the President was wrong. The new doctrine by which the President has now directed his subordinates to refuse records is novel, unfortunate, and menacing, and is at the very essence of this entire issue. As I understand, the Senator from Wisconsin is presenting what he feels to be credible evidence that the Executive is not exercising due care. We have no other way, as I understand, to find out, unless some committee will demand the records, and unless the President will release them.

How the Senator from Connecticut, himself, as chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee, could determine regarding many matters, unless he had the files from the executive department, it is impossible for the Senator from Maine to understand.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me answer the question first, if I may. I thank the Senator from Maine very much for his statement. He is 100 percent correct. Unless we can obtain cooperation from the Executive, there is no way in the world of cleaning house. I am not giving my evaluation of the evidence, I want it understood. If Senators will listen, they will note that what I am doing is to recite the facts, which the State Department's own security agency dug up, and which information acted as the basis for their recommendation that the individuals in question, because of being security risks, be discharged and not retained in the service.

I know the Senator from Connecticut has not been present all the time. He has been away this evening. Some of the most incredible cases I have read and some that I shall read of giving a man top secrecy clearance, when the Department's own agency says "He is a bad risk; he is a Communist," have been uncovered. I may say to the Senator, if the investigative agency is overly eager, if they are doing a bad job, if they are persecuting individuals, if they are naming as Communists individuals who are not such, then it is up to the State Department and the President to get a new agency.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment, that I may make a final observation?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes, I shall be glad to yield; and after that I will yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. McMAHON. It will only take me a minute. I understand the junior Senator from Massachusetts earlier said that at the next meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee he would move for an examination of these cases. I may say to the Senator, I shall be glad to second and to support the motion, because I should like to see developed not only the facts the Senator has been able to get, but also other facts that we as a committee may be able to develop. I should like to see that done. It would be quite all right with me, but I again emphasize, as I now take my seat—and I shall not participate in the debate again, so far as I know, and I shall not disturb the Senator further—that perhaps it would have been better had the Senator presented his complaint to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, in which committee I am sure he has full confidence, in order that the derogatory information might be weighed against any information which would tend to contradict it, so that we could have the benefit of that searching information before the Senator decided to come to the Senate floor with it. It is simply a personal observation. The Senator is within his rights. He has decided to do it

differently. It is the Senator's responsibility. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator need not worry about disturbing me, because there is nothing I am more willing to do than to yield to a Senator. If I may have the Senator's attention, I will answer his question. I assume it was a question. The Senator suggested a course of action which he thinks I should have followed. As I explained earlier this evening, I thought of that. I thought there was some possibility of accomplishing the desired results in that fashion. However, keeping in mind that the members of the Foreign Relations Committee and all the Senators have had substantially the same knowledge and opportunity that I have had, I questioned whether anything would be gained unless the President changed his mind and said, "I will give you the information." Then, when the leader of the Democratic Party, before seeing any of the evidence, made a speech in Chicago and said, "What the Senator from Wisconsin says is all untrue," I thought the only thing to do was what I have done, namely, to let the people of the country know what is going on, and then hope that the pressure of public opinion would be great enough to force the President to clean house. Frankly, I think he will not clean house until he determines it is politically inexpedient for him to do otherwise. I think the President is one of the cleverest politicians this Nation has ever had. I think when he discovers that the people of the country do not want a continuation of what is going on, there will be a housecleaning.

I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is the Senator familiar with the rule as laid down by the President that not only will he not permit any Member of the Congress or a congressional committee to have access to loyalty files, but that he will not permit the person in charge of them to testify before a committee as to any facts relating to a person's loyalty?

That was true in the Remington case, in which he told an admiral of the Navy, who had charge of one of the files containing disloyalty information, that the admiral was not permitted to testify in relation to it. Is the Senator familiar with that?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am.

Mr. FERGUSON. Therefore, it seems impossible for the committee which might be named to be successful unless the President of the United States should change his order. Does not the Senator feel that the proper committee to investigate the matter is the Appropriations Committee, which has to appropriate the money to pay those persons? The State Department's appropriation is now before that committee. I understand that Mr. Acheson will appear before the committee. That will be the place for the Senate actually to obtain information on those particular persons, not only as to whether they are now in Government employ, but information as to the entire record of the State Department, the FBI, and other departments as to their loyalty.

Mr. McCARTHY. I will say that any committee that looks into the matter

will have all the cooperation I can give it. I shall be more than happy to go before the Appropriations Committee and give it all the information I have. I think the Appropriations Committee should certainly look into the question especially so in the case of the Voice of America.

I think the Voice of America program is a very important program if properly conducted. I think it is almost impossible to spend too much money on it if the money is wisely spent, but I think the picture which we find in connection with the New York office of the Voice of America should be examined by the Appropriations Committee and that that committee should use a bright light and find out exactly what is going on. I shall cover that matter in some detail when I get down to the final case.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. Is it not a fact that if it had not been for a congressional committee Alger Hiss would not have been convicted?

Mr. McCARTHY. I think there is no doubt about that. The Senator will recall that at the time the House Un-American Activities Committee turned up the information on Hiss the President said, in a public statement, "We had all this information already." I do not know whether he had it, but if at that time the Un-American Activities Committee had decided to quit, Hiss might have been in Calcutta, instead of Service which might not have been too bad.

Mr. CAPEHART. Is it not reasonable to assume that in the file of Mr. Hiss there are possibly some good points as well as derogatory evidence?

Mr. McCARTHY. I think even the most fanatical Communist may treat his wife and children well; he may provide for them well. I do not think that is the question. The question is whether these persons are a threat to the United States. No matter how much good information there may be in the file regarding them, so long as they are loyal to Russia and to the Communist Party, and disloyal to this Government, I think they have no right to hold Government positions. I think it is a privilege to have a Government job, not a right.

Mr. CAPEHART. Is it not a fact that every man who has been convicted possibly had some good points about him, and there were some persons who would testify that he was a kindly and an honest man?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is certainly true.

Mr. CAPEHART. I did not quite understand the argument which was used a little earlier, that there might be some good points in the files. What difference does it make how many good points there are if the persons involved are Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers? Our jails are filled with persons who were perfectly honest up to the time they performed the acts or deeds which got them convicted. Is not that true?

Mr. McCARTHY. I take the position that it is not my task to take 81 cases and try and get all the evidence and then determine whether the intelligence unit which evaluates it was doing a good or a bad job. All I am doing is presenting enough of the picture so that I hope both the Democratic side and the Republican side will forget politics and help clean house. I think this is something in which we cannot think of politics as usual. If I were to give my Democratic friends some advice, it would be that I think we should get together and do some house cleaning. I notice the Senator from Mississippi frowning. I do not think he was present when I made it clear that if the Democratic Party as represented in the Senate had control of the executive branch I thought we would not have the sorry picture we have today.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Certainly.

Mr. WHERRY. Is it not a fact, to boil this all down, that the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin is simply asking that an appropriate committee of the Senate make a thorough investigation not only of the files but of any other source of information possible, and let that committee determine whether there are any disloyal persons or Communists, or what have you, such as the Senator has listed in these 81 cases? Is not that the whole crux of the matter?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. WHERRY. Whether there are good things or bad things to be said about them, all the Senator is doing is asking that an investigation be made by an appropriate committee of the Senate. Whether that is correct procedure or not, the Senator is within his rights in asking it.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct. I do not think a Senate committee can do a complete job unless the President will make the facts available.

Mr. WHERRY. Whether an investigation will accomplish the very thing which the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] labored about will depend on whether all the information in the files is forthcoming to the investigating committee.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct. I do not claim that all the cases I am reporting to the Senate refer to persons working in the State Department, but in view of the fact that most of them were in the State Department and had top-secret clearance, I think the Senate could call them before a committee and find out in what Government work they are now engaged, or, if they are not engaged in Government work, what they have been doing in private employment, and whether they are members of espionage rings. I am not concerned with the numbers over which the Senator from Illinois labored all night long, whether there are 205 or 87. It is a question of whether there are Communists in the State Department. As to three of them the record is so bad that I can find nothing

good regarding them. I cannot conceive of the Secretary of State keeping them on. Under the McCarran law the Secretary of State has the absolute right to clean out any debris he cares to.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Has the distinguished Senator contacted the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations relative to the files which he now has? Inasmuch as the distinguished Senator mentioned that fact, I certainly should like to pay a compliment to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and other members of the committee, who have done a pretty good job in insisting upon the departments making reports as to the progress which is being made relative to the subversiveness of persons who are in the departments, and they could do a better job. I should like to state that if all other committees fail, I believe the Committee on Appropriations would be a very good place to start, because if appropriations are withheld from a department or an agency, it can be brought around very quickly.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have unlimited respect for the ability of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR], and I should like him to know now that at any time at all, tomorrow or the next day, or whenever he wants me to do so, I shall be glad to come to his committee and give him all the information I have. I believe the committee should decide after further and complete investigation, and after they have asked the President for the files, which of the names they wish to make public.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. DONNELL. I understood the Senator to say that he had made an offer to the President of the United States. Will the Senator state what that offer was and how it was made?

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall be glad to do so. From Nevada I sent a telegram to the President. I was out there making a Lincoln Day speech. I sent a telegram to the President telling him that I had names in my possession and that they were available to him. I have a copy of the telegram here.

Mr. WITHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. WITHERS. What kind of speech was the Senator making?

Mr. McCARTHY. A Lincoln Day speech.

Mr. WITHERS. I thought the Senator said it was a Republican speech.

Mr. McCARTHY. We call it a Lincoln Day speech.

Mr. WILEY. The appellations are synonymous.

Mr. McCARTHY. I sent a telegram to the President saying, in effect, "Mr. President, I have the names of 87 individuals in the State Department who are Communists, and those names are

available to you." I suggested, however, that he dissolve the order for secrecy. Otherwise, just getting the names would be of no benefit. I heard nothing from the President, except that I read his statement at a press conference to the effect that the Senator from Wisconsin was not telling the truth.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. DONNELL. When did the Senator send this telegram to the President?

Mr. McCARTHY. It was approximately a week ago.

Mr. DONNELL. And the Senator has received no direct response whatever from the President or from the President's office?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have received no response from the President, and no acknowledgment. All I know is that according to the newspaper account the President is reported to have said that the Senator from Wisconsin was not telling the truth.

Mr. DONNELL. Did the Senator inform the President in the telegram that the 57 persons are or have been in the State Department?

Mr. McCARTHY. I did.

Mr. DONNELL. Notwithstanding the notice given to the President by a Member of the Senate a week ago by telegram, there has been no response received by the Senator from the President?

Mr. McCARTHY. None whatever.

Mr. DONNELL. If these persons are Communists—and we are not deciding that question at the moment—they have been allowed, so far as the Senator knows, to continue in whatever official positions they occupied during the intervening approximate week. Is that correct?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct. I might say that I read the telegram into the Record. I shall be glad to hand a copy of it to the Senator. Since that time the majority leader also joined with the President in reflecting upon the truthfulness of the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. DONNELL. Has the Senator already placed in the Record a copy of the telegram which he has just handed me?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have.

Mr. DONNELL. I missed that part of the Senator's address.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes, the telegram is in the Record.

I believe I was on case No. 34. This individual was originally cleared for employment in the State Department on June 2, 1946. Since that time, according to the State Department's file, he has admitted his communistic sympathies. I understand that he has resigned in order to take other Government employment. He was not discharged.

Case No. 36. This individual is 43 years of age. He is with the Office of Information and Education. According to the file, he is a known Communist. I might say that when I refer to someone as being a known Communist, I am not evaluating the information myself. I am merely giving what is in the file. This individual also found his way into

the Voice of America broadcast. Apparently the easiest way to get in is to be a known Communist.

Case No. 37. This individual has been in the United States since 1930 and was employed by the Office of Information and Education on April 2, 1947. He worked for the Russian Embassy in Turkey for 3 years. From 1944 to 1947 he was with a Russian welfare society. This individual is a very close associate of a known Communist now also with the Voice of America broadcast. The note says that this individual is still with the Voice of America broadcast.

Case No. 38. This individual is employed in a very responsible position in the Broadcasting Division of the Voice of America. As early as December 10, 1946, investigation by the State Department's security agency showed that this man was a fanatical Communist, that he was anticapitalistic, and definitely followed the Communist Party line. In this case there were reports from two different Government investigative agencies. Another Government investigative agency advised that a reliable informant reported that a well-known Communist in Newark, N. J., gave him the unqualified information that this individual was a paid-up fellow party member. While acting as a newspaper reporter prior to his present employment with the Voice of America broadcast he was reported by his superiors to have colored his news reports with Communist theory, and did not give complete and unbiased coverage to such reports. That is important because it is this individual who is now handing out news reports on the Voice of America program. A very close friend of this individual and his brother stated that both are definitely communist.

Mr. WITHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. WITHERS. What is the gentleman's name? Did the Senator call his name?

Mr. McCARTHY. No.

Mr. WITHERS. The Senator did not call any name?

Mr. McCARTHY. Oh, no.

Mr. WITHERS. The Senator does not know who it is?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have called no names. The Senator from Connecticut, I think, gave the best reason why, namely, that we should not attempt to try to convict a man, that that should be done by a committee. I am submitting the evidence without giving the names. I have avoided that in every way possible.

Mr. WITHERS. Does the Senator think all the employees in the State Department are Communists?

Mr. McCARTHY. No. I think the vast majority of those employees are being done an almost irreparable wrong by having them painted with the brush of communism. I have been a lawyer, and out of 100 lawyers there may be 99 honest lawyers and 1 shyster, 1 crook, and the 99 get a bad name. That has happened in the State Department. If there were not some good, honest, loyal men in the State Department, men who were willing to risk their positions, I would not be able to give this report here tonight. I think the vast majority of those em-

ployees are loyal, protecting the security of the country for the time being, and in honesty to those employees the shady characters should be removed.

Mr. WITHERS. Will the Senator permit another question?

Mr. McCARTHY. Certainly.

Mr. WITHERS. How does the Senator feel about attacking these men without calling names? How does the Senator feel the other employees who are straightforward feel about it, when he reflects on all of them and does not call names?

Mr. McCARTHY. I think the condition today is so fraught with danger, I think we are in a period so definitely close to war, that even if we do damage some of the honest employees, I must take the only method I know of whereby I think we can secure a house cleaning. This information is nothing new. This has been known to the Secretary of State, or should have been—it is in the files—for a long time. I have decided that this is the best way of forcing the President to give the Congress the information so that it can clean house, as he apparently is not going to. Whether it is wrong, the Senator can decide for himself. I personally feel that this is the most effective way I can do this all-important job, and I intend to continue attempting to do it in this fashion, until the Senator or someone else shows me that there is some more effective, fairer way.

In that connection, I might say that I am very happy that there are so many Senators on the other side of the aisle who so thoroughly disagree with the majority leader. The majority leader has been condemning me rather vigorously for not giving the names of the people. I have been making every effort possible to keep the information in such form that no one can detect the names, until a full hearing of each case has been held.

Mr. WITHERS. I should like to ask the Senator what reason he has for not calling names. Does not the Senator think it would be a fine thing to let the public know who the guilty are? Is not the Senator privileged?

Mr. McCARTHY. Earlier this evening the Senator from Illinois said, "You are privileged if you make a mistake. If out of the 81 there are some innocent, if you malign them," the Senator from Illinois said, "you are protected." I made the statement then that when the day comes that I ever say anything on the floor of the Senate which I will not be willing to state off the floor of the Senate, on that day I will resign from the Senate.

Mr. WITHERS and Mr. LUCAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. McCARTHY. I still yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. WITHERS. If the Senator does not call names, has he not reflected on the whole Department of State, every one of the employees?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is entirely possible, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. WITHERS. The Senator has the right in the Senate to call those names.

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Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. WITHERS. But the Senator refused to do so. The Senator asked if I could state a better way. I will say a better way is to give the Senate, the public, the press, and everyone the name of every person the Senator says labors under any suspicion.

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the Senator for his suggestion. I do not think I will follow it, however, but I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. WITHERS. I would be better satisfied if I could go along with the Senator in that way. I would hate to follow the Senator only in part.

Mr. McCARTHY. I was not trying to be humorous. I respect the Senator's judgment. I have given the matter a great deal of thought, however, and the way I am presenting the matter is the way I think it should be done, and I intend to present it in that fashion.

Mr. WITHERS. The Senator simply tells us there are persons who are Communists but does not tell us who they are. Is that correct?

Mr. McCARTHY. I believe the Senator was not on the floor of the Senate all evening. I have stated repeatedly that I would go before any Senate committee and divulge names. I have said further that if it were the feeling of the majority of the Senate that they did not want it done in that fashion, that they feel we can do it in a better way, that we can do a better job by making the names public on the floor of the Senate I will be glad to abide by that decision. However I think that would be a mistake. I have dug out information which I think is of the utmost importance and I think we should get down to the job of trying to clean out these unusual people.

Mr. WITHERS. Does the Senator indict or accuse or what is he doing in this speech?

Mr. McCARTHY. I did not understand the Senator's question.

Mr. WITHERS. Is the Senator indicting those whom he claims are guilty of the charges he makes?

Mr. McCARTHY. Am I indicting those who are guilty?

Mr. WITHERS. Yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am not indicting those who are guilty. I am giving the Senate information about persons whom I consider to be Communists in the State Department.

Mr. WITHERS. In other words the Senator is suspicious that something is wrong without calling the names?

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator is a smart man. I know the Senator is. I have had many conversations with the Senator and I respect his intelligence. The Senator knows exactly what I am doing. The Senator knows I am giving the Senate what the State Department's investigative agency has said about these investigations. When the State Department's investigative agency has said that this man is a Communist, and that agency says he should not be working in the State Department, I am telling the Senate that. When the officials of the State Department say they will not discharge the individual, anyway, I am giving that to the Senate. I am giving all the information I can to the Senate.

The Senator from Kentucky knows exactly what I am doing.

Mr. WITHERS. Does the Senator know that I, like all others, am curious to know the names? When the Senator gives the cases, the press and country at large would like to know who they are.

Mr. McCARTHY. First let me say that this matter is too important for me to use it as a utensil whereby I can satisfy someone's curiosity, no matter how much I would like to see his curiosity satisfied. I do not intend to satisfy anyone's curiosity. I intend to do everything I can to try to clean up what I consider to be a bad mess.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, does the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. Is it not possible that the Senator from Kentucky might learn the names of these people sooner than he might like to?

Mr. WITHERS. I would like to know them if the Senator would tell me. I will make this observation. The Senator from Kentucky certainly could not learn the names too soon. If the individuals in question are guilty, I should like to say to the Senator from Indiana that no American could learn their names too soon.

Mr. McCARTHY. If I may suggest to the Senator, he is a member of the majority party, and I trust he is on much better terms with the President than I am. All the information I have given the Senate is in State Department files. There are several ways the Senator can obtain the names. No. 1. He can go to the President and say, "Mr. President, how about this case number so-and-so? Let me obtain the further facts on it."

Another way is to sit in when the proper committee asks for the names.

A third way, I will say to the Senator, is simply to come over to my office tomorrow morning and he can see the names, and I will satisfy his curiosity.

Mr. WITHERS. I shall be glad to. Does the Senator object to my divulging the names, if I see them? Have I that privilege?

Mr. McCARTHY. I think it is up to the proper committee—

Mr. WITHERS. I think we should tell the people who they are.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think it is up to the proper committee to decide whether it wants to divulge the names. Let me make myself clear to the Senator. If the majority of the Senate want me to divulge them in that fashion, yes. But I am not going to follow the Senator's advice and say, "Here you are, Senator, divulge them." Period.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. The Senator divulged four names in his speech in Reno, Nev. Why does the Senator refuse to divulge others before the Senate?

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator knows that he is not stating the facts correctly. I read the speech I made.

Mr. LUCAS. Oh—

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me finish. I read the speech I made.

Mr. LUCAS. Oh—

Mr. McCARTHY. Do not read to me from the Washington Post.

Mr. LUCAS. I have the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune, and a few other newspapers.

Mr. McCARTHY. I read to the Senate the speech I made at Reno, Nev. That speech was recorded. If the Senator wants a copy of that record I shall be glad to write to the Republican committee there and ask them to send the Senator a copy of the record. I think it will cost about \$3 or three and a half. The Senator can play that record if he wants to. Otherwise, he can read what I read today into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I said there was a man, John Service, and I did not say he was one of the 57. An AP reporter called me and asked, "Were you naming the 57?" I said, "No. I did not say these people were Communists. They are not part of the 57." I said, "Here is John Service." I gave his record. Now I may think he is a Communist, but I do not have his file. His file for some mysterious reason has disappeared and is locked up in the safe of the top brass of the State Department. I discussed Service, who was picked up by the FBI when turning over State Department documents. I pointed out that while he was in China he recommended that communism was the hope of China. I commented, as I recall—and it is all in the RECORD here—on the fact that he was now on his way to Calcutta, India, to establish an Indian policy. I made it very clear that he was not one of the 57.

Then I took two other names and I said, "Here is what happens when you clear them out of the State Department." I gave the name of Mrs. Kenney, who had been listed by the FBI as a courier of the Communist Party while working for the Government. I pointed out that when she was forced out, because of public pressure and the FBI statement, that then she ends up where she is today, in one of the educational organizations or in some part of the UN Organization. I pointed out that the other one—and the Senator was present, and I should not have to repeat this again—who had been in the State Department as secretary to an Assistant Secretary of State. He was labeled as an outstanding Communist. When he was forced out of the State Department he went to work for the UN. I think both those individuals are Communists. Certainly if they are not, they look like them, they talk like them, and they walk like them. As one of my farmer friends once said, if a fowl looks like a duck and quacks like a duck and eats like a duck we can assume it is a duck. Those two individuals certainly answer that requirement.

Then I referred to a fourth one. I made it very clear that he had never been with the State Department. He is a man called Shapley. He headed up the peace conference in New York.

I pointed out to the Senate that Shapley had headed up this outfit that the State Department called a tool of Russia and a sounding board for Communist propaganda. That was in April. The State Department issued a press release in July, to the effect that they appointed this man on the advisory com-

mission—I do not know the name of it—which advises the State Department on UNESCO. So I wish the Senator from Illinois would not plead ignorance of that. He knows it. I went over all this for the Senate earlier today.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes, I am glad to yield.

Mr. LUCAS. The only reason I ask about these four is that it is my understanding the Senator did name them in his speech at Reno, Nev., and that the Senator said definitely—and I am now quoting only from the newspapers, and that is all I have been able to find out other than what the Senator has said tonight—in reply to a question by a reporter if he called these people traitors, he said, "I did not. I did not call them Communists either."

Is that what the Senator said?

Mr. McCARTHY. If the Senator wants to argue about the four, I will say, so that his mind will be at ease, that if he wants me to make it 59 instead of 57 I shall be glad to include two individuals who were named, one by the FBI and the other by the Un-American Activities Committee as being a courier for the Communist Party.

I do not get the Senator's argument. Does he say these people are Simon pure and that I maligned them? I talked about them publicly. If anything I said was not true, they can sue me for libel and slander. If it will make the Senator happy, I will be glad to say that all of them except Service are part of the 57. The only reason I do not include Service is because his file has disappeared, and I am trying to confine myself solely to information which is confined by the State Department's own investigative agency.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I do not have any quarrel with what the Senator says. The only thing I am trying to do is to reconcile the Senator's speech here with the speech reported in the newspapers, and I have not received a satisfactory answer.

Mr. McCARTHY. What would the Senator like to know?

Mr. LUCAS. I should like to know how he reconciles what he has said in the speeches he has made at Republican rallies with what he is saying here tonight. In other words, he named four persons when he was in the West. I agree with the Senator from Kentucky that the sooner the Senator can name these persons, the better off we will all be. So far as I am concerned, it will not be in executive session. If I have anything to say about it, it will be in the open, where every individual in America, every newspaperman can attend, so that they will know definitely, as soon as possible, just who is being charged and who is not being charged with being Communists. That is only fair, as the Senator from Kentucky has so ably pointed out, because every individual in the State Department tonight is under a cloud, he is under a shadow as the result of what the Senator from Wisconsin is doing. I want to get the honest-to-goodness Americans from under that shadow, and

whatever Communists are there, the majority party on this side of the aisle will be found to be just as strong in demanding that we clean house, if the Senator has the proof, as is anyone else. The Senator does not need to worry about that.

But the Senator has been moving around here—

Mr. McCARTHY. I ask the Senator to wait a minute, please; I do not yield any further at this time.

The Senator from Illinois says it is my job to prove these things. Since when has it been the job of a Senator who is a member of the minority, Mr. President, to clean house for an executive department? That is the task of the majority, and I hope they take that task on their shoulders.

Nothing the Senator from Illinois has done here tonight indicates that he even remotely realizes the seriousness of this problem.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, let me say that when he makes that statement, he simply does not know what he is talking about. I appreciate the seriousness of the situation the Senator is discussing. No one understands it better than the Senator from Illinois and the country as a whole do, as a result of the speeches the Senator from Wisconsin has made upon this question. If the Senator thinks there is anything frivolous about this, or that we are not trying to cooperate with him in this matter, he simply does not understand the situation.

We are going to help get the facts, and the Senator from Wisconsin is going to help us get the facts. He says he has the evidence there. All that needs to be done is for the Senator to come forward, along with the persons in the Intelligence Department from whom he has been able to get the information in the State Department. We will have them here. The Senator will have to tell us that, of course, and we will ferret this out, from top to bottom.

Mr. McCARTHY. Do I correctly understand that the Senator from Illinois now demands that the President allow the State Department to bring to a Senate committee all the information in the files on these individuals? Or does the Senator feel that that should be kept secret, and that it is my job to probe behind the iron curtain and get the information?

Mr. LUCAS. The Senator from Wisconsin has already been behind the iron curtain.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator from Illinois says it is my task to get the information. Does not he realize that is the task of the majority party and the majority leader? Does not he agree with me that the President should say to the Congress, in all honesty and fairness, "Here is a serious situation. I will open the files and let the proper committee examine them and learn what the facts are?"

Mr. LUCAS. That is the old argument which has been advanced ever since the days of John Marshall in respect to controversies between the executive and legislative branches of Government relating to the opening of the files. We

have had that question over and over again.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I decline to yield further.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, does the Senator decline to yield to any Senator?

Mr. McCARTHY. No; I simply do not wish to prolong what is completely pointless on the part of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. The whole evening has been rather pointless.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. I understood the Senator to say, in referring to two men, that they walked like Communists, looked like Communists, and talked like Communists. I think if we could spot Communists by their looks—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, if the Senator from New York is asking a question, I yield; otherwise I do not yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. I will come to the question in a moment.

I think that if we could spot Communists by the manner in which they walk, our task in fighting communism would be far simpler than it is.

I would very much appreciate it if the Senator would tell us—and he would make a real contribution if he would—how he could spot any man as being a Communist, by his looks or by his walk. If he can do that, he certainly must have powers of perception which go far beyond anything known in human history.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator that I think it is a great mistake to take something that is so very important and try to make a farce of it. The Senator from New York is intelligent enough to know that if I say a man looks like a duck, eats like a duck, and walks like a duck I mean that in a figurative sense. The Senator likewise knows that if I say a man looks like a Communist, walks like a Communist, and talks like a Communist I mean that if a man associates with Communists and talks as Communists do and is very friendly with Communists, praises communism, attacks and belittles American democracy, joins Communist-front organizations, contributes money to them, and praises the Russian Communist system above our own, he probably is a Communist.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, let me observe—

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I call for the regular order.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I think I should let the Senator from New York observe what he has in mind.

Mr. LEHMAN. I wish to point out that the Senator's answer certainly is not responsive to my question. He tried to identify these men as Communists—and they may be Communists—because, as he described them, they walk like Communists, they look like Communists, and they talk like Communists. That is an issue that is not new in politics. The accusation is made by the Senator—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, let me make clear that I have not seen them physically walk; I have not looked upon

their faces; but when I speak of their looking like Communists and acting like Communists and walking like Communists, I am speaking of the record of those men and how they look in that record. The Senator from New York knows that.

I do not know whether those men are tall or short or fat or lean.

Mr. LEHMAN. I did not think the Senator could describe a Communist by the way Communists look.

Mr. DONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. DONNELL. Referring to the request for secrecy in regard to these names, I ask the Senator whether he has tried to keep these names secret from the President of the United States?

Mr. McCARTHY. No; I have not. I have offered the names to the President.

Mr. DONNELL. I ask the Senator whether in the telegram he sent from Nevada about a week ago to the President, there appears this language:

In the Lincoln Day speech at Wheeling, Thursday night, I stated that the State Department harbors a nest of Communists and Communist sympathizers who are helping to shape our foreign policy. I further stated that I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists who are in the State Department at present. A State Department spokesman promptly denied this, claiming that there is not a single Communist in the Department.

Then, omitting some intermediate portions of the telegram, does not the telegram to the President resume as follows:

Despite this State Department black-out, we have been able to compile a list of 57 Communists in the State Department. This list is available to you.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. DONNELL. Did the Senator so telegraph the President?

Mr. McCARTHY. I did.

Mr. DONNELL. Did the Senator then continue in his telegram to the President, as follows:

But you can get a much longer list by ordering Secretary Acheson to give you a list of those whom your own board listed as being disloyal, and who are still working in the State Department.

Is that a part of the telegram the Senator sent?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. DONNELL. The Senator referred to having spoken at Wheeling on Thursday night. That was Thursday night, February 9; was it not?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. DONNELL. Where did the Senator speak the next night?

Mr. McCARTHY. I did not speak anywhere the next night. The telegram was sent on Saturday, the 11th, in the afternoon.

Mr. DONNELL. So 9 days have elapsed since the sending of that telegram to the President of the United States, signed by the Senator from Wisconsin, I assume. Is that correct?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. DONNELL. And the Senator has not yet received any response?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have not.

Mr. DONNELL. Did the Senator ever at any time indicate to the President of

the United States that he would not reveal the names of the 57, upon the President's request?

Mr. McCARTHY. In order to keep the Record absolutely clear, let me say that the telegram places no conditions upon my offer to reveal the names. However, in talking to some members of the press several days later, I told them I did not think I would feel free to give the President the names if he were going to maintain the iron curtain of secrecy, and merely say, "57 more red herrings," and claim that the men were simply pure, with no investigation made.

At that time I did indicate that a condition in connection with giving him the names would be that he draw back the iron curtain of secrecy. That condition was not stated in the telegram, but in fairness to the President I say that I assume that the condition was brought to his attention.

Mr. DONNELL. And if it does draw back the iron curtain of secrecy, of which the Senator from Wisconsin spoke, the Senator from Wisconsin is perfectly willing to give the President the names of every one of the 57 persons; is he?

Mr. McCARTHY. There is no question about that. Furthermore, I urge that the proper Senate committee convene, and I shall be glad to give the committee the names.

Mr. DONNELL. And the Senator from Wisconsin will give that committee every name; and the Senator offered a few moments ago, did he not, to give to the Senator from Kentucky, himself, personally, the names, tomorrow morning, if he wants them.

Mr. McCARTHY. I withdrew that, however, because the Senator said he wishes to make the information public.

I have been a lawyer for a long time, as the Senator from Missouri has; and I am convinced of the communistic connections of these persons—although it is true that some of them might not have paid dues to the Communist Party. But the reports are so convincing that I am confident those persons are working closely with the Communist Party.

Nevertheless, I do not think that, as a general proposition, one Member of the Senate should rise on the floor of the Senate and should make public the names of 51 persons in that way. If the matter were so urgent that that would be the only way to proceed, the names could be gotten, that would be another matter. But all of us will be back tomorrow, a committee can be convened tomorrow, and I am perfectly willing to give the names to a committee.

Mr. DONNELL. The Senator from Wisconsin is perfectly willing to give the names to a Senate committee. Is that correct?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. DONNELL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the majority of the Senate thinks it is proper to make them public on the floor of the Senate, I shall be glad to do so.

Mr. NEELY. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. A moment ago the distinguished minority leader [Mr. WRIGHT], demanded the regular order.

I second that demand. The Senator from Wisconsin is discussing an unsurpassably important question. He should be permitted to conclude his address without further interruption, and we should be permitted to hear all that he has to say without being required to sit up all night like wild cats and having to sleep all day tomorrow like hoot owls. Therefore I purpose to object to any further yielding by the Senator to anyone, for any purpose except that of asking a question, and I shall demand the strict enforcement of the rule.

Mr. WITHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield only for a question.

Mr. WITHERS. I wish to ask one or two questions.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield for as many questions as the Senator wishes to ask.

Mr. WITHERS. The Senator from Wisconsin stated a short time ago that he would not disclose the names of the persons to the President unless the President would use the names and would pull back the iron curtain; the Senator from Wisconsin said he would give the names to the President if he would start to work on them.

Mr. McCARTHY. No, Senator, this is not a game.

Mr. WITHERS. Wait a minute. I asked the Senator a question. Let him answer it.

Mr. McCARTHY. May I answer the Senator?

Mr. WITHERS. Yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. It may not be the answer the Senator wants, but it will be an answer. I may say to the Senator, this is not a game. I have told the President he could have the names, and subsequently I indicated I felt it would be useless to give him the names and let him issue a whitewash statement, saying "57 red herrings." I felt that the minimum the American people could ask for was that he revoke the rule which, so far as I know, had never been in existence before he enforced it. He should not be worried about a Congress which has a majority of his own party, and when he does that, he can have the names. But I do not want the names buried behind a curtain of secrecy. I have enough confidence in the Senate however to feel that any committee of the Senate, when it gets the information and takes the trouble to go over it, together with the names, will insist that the President give them the information to which they are entitled. I believe perhaps the American people, both Democrats and Republicans—and I do not think, Mr. President, there will be found any party line of division—the 150,000,000 American people will say to the President, "Mr. President, you cannot hide these Communists behind an iron curtain. Give the Congress the information which is in the files; let them know; let them decide whether or not a house cleaning is in order." I am sure that if the Senator sits in on the hearings—and I hope they are extended—I am sure before he gets through he will agree with me 100 percent.

Mr. WITHERS. I want to ask the Senator this question: If I understand the Senator, he would not give the names to the President, unless the President would use them. Now, I asked the Senator for the names. The Senator said he would give me the names. I told the Senator I wanted to use them, and he would not give them to me, because I was going to use them. In other words, the Senator refused to give them to the President, because he would not use them, and he refused to give them to me, because I intended to use them. Does the Senator find himself in an inconsistent attitude in that respect?

Mr. McCARTHY. I wonder whether we have understood each other. I told the Senator if he came to my office tomorrow morning he could have all the names. As I understand the Senator—and I may have been mistaken—he said he would make them public.

Mr. WITHERS. Yes, that is using them.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is using them.

Mr. WITHERS. Yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. Then the Senator from Kentucky is correct; the Senator from Wisconsin will not give him the names in the morning.

To continue. We were on Case No. 38. This individual is employed in a very responsible position in the Broadcasting Division of OIE, the Voice of America. As early as December 10, 1946, an investigation by the State Department's own security agency was to the effect that this man was a fanatical Communist; that he is anticapitalistic and definitely follows the party Communist line. Another investigative agency advised that a reliable informer reported that a well-known Communist in Newark, N. J., gave him the unqualified information that this individual was a paid-up party member. I believe I have commented on the fact that here we have two Federal security agencies, each reporting the same thing. I believe I have read this, in regard to his activities as a newspaper reporter.

At the time he organized a strike and picket line, he had repeated conferences with a well-known New York Communist whose name is, of course, in the State Department's report. The State Department's own security agency recommended that this individual not be retained. However, as of today he is in the extremely important position in the broadcasting division of the World-Wide News Unit of OIE, in New York City, thereby to at least some extent controlling information which we are giving to the balance of the world. Do Senators follow this? This is a man who in 1946 was reported, not by one agency but by two, and the security agency recommended that he be dismissed. That was 3 or 4 years ago. The man is still in that very important position. This seems to be one of the most dangerous cases we have. In view of the Secretary's statement that he would discharge before sundown any Communists now in the State Department whose name was brought to his attention, I suggest that he immediately take action on this individual. He can start on him. The Sec-

retary has about 12 hours more or less, in fact, about 18 hours, before sundown. He can show his good faith by discharging this man. He should have no trouble whatever finding him. He will find that two Federal investigative agencies said, "This man is a Communist, do not keep him; get rid of him." He will find that the man is still working. The Secretary, in case he has not acquainted himself with the McCarran bill, will note that he has the absolute right to terminate this man's services tomorrow. I should like to hope that we would get word from the Secretary to the effect that he had done so.

Case No. 39. This individual was appointed on January 2, 1947, as an economic analyst in Research and Intelligence. Again we find the old pattern back in Intelligence. He had been employed by the Soviet Purchasing Commission for a period from 1932 to 1945. In other words, he worked for the Soviet Purchasing Commission for 13 years. It was established by the State Department's own investigator that this individual could not have qualified for a position with the Soviet Purchasing Commission unless he were a member of the Communist Party. Despite this fact, this individual was given a job in Intelligence; which, as may have been noted, seems to be a favored spot for the Communists.

As to this individual, I frankly do not know whether he is now in the State Department or not.

Case No. 40 is that of another individual in Research, in the State Department since 1947. I do not have too much information on this, except the general statement by the agency that there is nothing in the files to disprove his communistic connections. He is still with the Government.

Case No. 41 is that of an individual born in 1910 in Cleveland, Ohio, appointed to a high position with the State Department, drawing the sum of \$8,478.75 as an Assistant Chief in the Division of Occupied Areas. He is still in a high-paid position in the State Department. Investigation by the State Department's own security agency disclosed that most of his close associates and friends have records as fellow-travelers and Communists. He admitted having contributed money to a Communist-front organization.

There is a memorandum in the file to the effect that Joe Panuch had made considerable efforts to get this man out of the State Department. He was unsuccessful, however, and, incidentally, the information I get—and this is not so much from the files—is that this man Panuch tried to do a job of housecleaning and was given somewhat of a free hand under Jimmy Byrnes in starting to accomplish the job. However, when Byrnes left and Marshall took over, Senators will recall Acheson was then Under Secretary—the first official act of General Marshall was to discharge the man, Panuch. Obviously, General Marshall did not know anything about the situation. Some one of the underlings said, "Get rid of this man." It would seem to be only the logical thing that he

would not, as his first official act, discharge a man, unless the Under Secretary said, "Get rid of him;" which is rather unusual. Here is one man who had tried to do the job of housecleaning, and the ax falls.

Case No. 42. This individual came to the United States in 1940, and was naturalized in Alabama in 1943. He returned to Germany as a civilian employee of the War Department in November 1946. He was appointed by the State Department to one of our intelligence departments. Both his brother and sister are listed as possible agents of the Comintern, and are active in Communist circles. There was evidence recommending dismissal. The report is that the evidence is sufficient to recommend dismissal. There is no information that indicates anything other than close Communist connections. Despite this fact, this man was never fired, but finally resigned in June 1947.

Case No. 43 is that of an individual who is a research analyst in the Division of Research for the Far East. He was recommended for the position by an individual who was listed by the FBI as a principal in a Soviet espionage case. The record indicates he is running very closely with a pack of Communists. This again is the old pattern—one Communist gets into a department, and he recommends another. In this case the FBI said the man who was trying to get him in is a principal in a Soviet espionage case.

Case No. 44. This is a rather interesting case of an individual who was sent to Paris to represent the State Department. A note dated September 15, 1947, listed him as cleared for Unesco placement. He was described in reports by various witnesses as interested in communism and by his room mate at the International House as a Communist. He pals around with a friend of two individuals known to be either Communists or fellow travelers. There is something in his file which I think is rather interesting. A note addressed to "David" and signed "M" inquires as to whether there is danger of this individual having another mental breakdown, which he had at one time in the past. While I do not have the exact wording of the note it, in effect, says get rid of this man, otherwise he may break and cause embarrassment if Congress gets ahold of him. The note is contained in the man's private file. It is a pencil note. Reading such stuff as this, one is not surprised at the President's action in signing the order, lowering the curtain.

Case No. 45 is the case of an individual who was a ranking official in the Office of Financial Development Policy. He was appointed in August 1946. Investigation indicates that he was very closely tied up with at least three individuals who have been named as Communists. He also recommended for appointment an individual very closely tied up with a Communist, who has been named as an espionage agent. So far as I can discover, this man was never discharged, but apparently resigned later, whether to take other government employment or private employment, I do not know.

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Case No. 46 is the case of a man who holds a high position in the State Department. He had been affiliated with the magazine *Amerasia* from May 1937 to November 1941. This magazine consistently followed the Communist Party line. It was under the direction of Philip Jaffe and William Vanderbilt Field. Field has been a leading Communist and was one of the heads of the American Peace Mobilization, which the President and the Secretary of State publicly labeled as a tool of communism. Jaffe, as Senators will recall, was convicted and fined in connection with the John Service incident. It will be recalled that the FBI picked up Service for having delivered secret State Department documents to *Amerasia*. The State Department files show that this individual has been working very closely with these two men. On March 22, 1946, the State Department's own security agency recommended as follows:

It is recommended that action be instituted to terminate subject's service with the State Department. It is suggested to achieve this purpose that an appropriate officer of the Department should inform him that his continued presence in the Department is embarrassing to the Department and that he be given an opportunity to resign. If he should not resign voluntarily, action should be instituted under Civil Service Rule No. 12, to terminate his services with the Department.

The Department, however, took no action upon this recommendation.

After that recommendation, the files show that this individual requested a fellow traveler to seek a position with the Board of Economic Warfare. The file further shows that this individual has been visited on several occasions by an alien fellow traveler. He has also recommended two former employees of the *Amerasia* Editorial Board to positions with the State Department. In other words, Mr. President, the usual tactic of getting into an important position and then bringing in fellow Communists.

A report dated August 18, 1947, recorded an interview with a former member of the Editorial Board of *Amerasia* who labeled this individual as "far to the left—awfully close to a fellow traveler." This individual was a subscriber to the *Daily Worker*. The file names a Communist Party member who has twice worked for this individual. The Biographical Register of the State Department shows him to be still in a position of importance there.

Case No. 47. This individual was employed in March 1944, as Division Assistant in the Division of Internal Security. The House Un-American Activities Committee advised on August 18, 1947, that an admitted former Communist Party member was formerly associated with this individual in Communist activities in Washington, D. C. This individual's husband admitted having been a member of the Communist Party. The husband now has a highly confidential position with the Navy Department. The file indicates that this individual has been associated with a group of known Communists.

Keep in mind, Mr. President, that she was given a job in the Division of Internal Security.

A report dated July 18, 1947, states that in 1941 a Senate investigating committee had found that both this individual and her husband were members of the Communist Party. A report dated September 15, 1947, by a Government investigative agency, advised that a reliable informant reported this individual as a Communist, and that she has been recently contacting a member of the Soviet espionage ring. This individual is still in a highly paid job in the State Department.

Cases Nos. 48 and 49. One of these individuals is in the State Department in the Division of Occupied Areas. The wife is with the State Department in the Division of Research and Intelligence. The file shows that both the husband and wife are known to be close associates of individuals linked with Soviet espionage activities. Nevertheless the wife was approved for top-secret material on the 11th of February 1947. The order approving her is rather unusual. In that it states, in effect, that the reason for her being approved for top secret material was that there was insufficient information to warrant her discharge on grounds of disloyalty.

Case No. 50. This individual is an executive secretary in the State Department. He has been reported by another Government investigative agency as having been in contact with a Soviet espionage agent. He is also a close friend of two employees of the State Department who are under investigation because of Communist associates.

Case No. 51. This individual agreed that he was responsible for the State Department's having employed an individual in one of the cases which I covered earlier today. It will be recalled that No. 14 was the case of an individual having furnished material to a known secret espionage ring and who had consistent contacts with long lists of Communists and suspected Soviet agents. He is still holding an important position in the State Department.

Case No. 52. This individual works for No. 16—I think that is the correct number—who, the State Department files indicate, was one of the most dangerous espionage agents in the Department. This individual was also temporarily employed as a correspondent of another individual listed as a Soviet agent by a Federal investigative agency. He and his wife are also close associates of two other alleged espionage agents who are named in the State Department files. He is presently holding a high-salaried and important position in the State Department and has been given top-secret clearance.

Here is another case. In fact, they are all important. This is case No. 53 involving an individual who has been named by a confessed Communist spy as part of his spy ring. Prior to that time, on August 19, 1946, another governmental agency received information to the effect that he was a recognized leader of the Communist underground. This individual is, in my opinion, Mr. President, one of the most dangerous Communists in the State Department.

Case No. 54. This individual has been connected with a number of Communist-front organizations and was active in attempting to secure the issuance of a nonimmigration visa to a French Communist leader. This individual is presently employed in the State Department.

Cases No. 55. This individual was a close friend and associate of an individual described earlier in the day. It will be recalled that he was a very close associate of Soviet agents. A previous employer of this individual described her as having been "wrapped up" in communism and that she later married a man who was also a Communist. The files of the Department show that "she and her husband are contacts of a subject in the — espionage case." The case referred to is a recent and very important Communist case.

Case No. 56. This individual was born in Russia and naturalized in San Francisco in 1929. Two former supervisors on non-Government jobs had recommended him unfavorably. The only favorable reference he had was from three Russian individuals, all in Government employment. He roomed with one of the Russians who had recommended him. The Navy Department informed the State Department that this individual had secret State Department documents in the room shared by him and the other Russian. An investigation was instituted, the outcome of which I do not know. However, this individual was still in the State Department as late as December 1949.

Case No. 57. This individual was employed by the State Department in 1946 as a P-7 consultant. On June 7, 1946, a Government investigative agency advised that this individual was the contact man for a Russian espionage ring.

This report also included information to the effect that he had played bridge and exchanged language lessons with persons in the Soviet Embassy. On June 7, 1946, the same investigative agency reported that a known Soviet espionage agent was arrested with his wife in Finland in the 1930's and that while in custody this espionage agent's wife has requested the American Consul to forward on her behalf a request for funds from this individual. This individual had been in charge of the training of Soviet marines at one time at a Russian port. Nevertheless, this individual, on September 11, 1947, was given top secret clearance. The clearance officer in this case said:

In the absence of additional highly derogatory information I feel that top secret clearance should be given.

I have been unable to find out whether this individual is working with the State Department at the present time, and, if not, whether he is in private or Government employment.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Certainly.

Mr. LEHMAN. I should like to ask the Senator from Wisconsin whether he has submitted the names represented by the reports he has read and the other approximately 250 names to which references have been made? Has he sub-

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mitted those names to the Secretary of State?

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not follow the Senator's question. Have I submitted 250 names?

Mr. LEHMAN. I asked whether the Senator had submitted to Secretary Acheson the names represented by the reports which he has read, as well as the other approximately 250 names to which references have been made. The reason I mentioned 250 names is because I am adding the 57 names to the 205 names which have been mentioned on several occasions. I ask whether those names or any substantial number of them have been submitted to the Secretary of State?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have given Secretary Acheson nothing—period.

Mr. LEHMAN. I did not understand the Senator's answer.

Mr. McCARTHY. I said I have given Secretary Acheson nothing—period. So that there may be no confusion, and I think I have explained it twice to the Senator—the Senator is not dull and knows what I am talking about—the 205 persons who were mentioned in Secretary Byrnes' letter were those whom the State Department refused to fire after the Security Agency had recommended that they be fired. I told the Senator that I did not have those names. All I have is the total number. The Secretary of State has those names, however. All he needs to do is to go to his files.

Mr. LEHMAN. I thank the Senator for conceding that I am not dull, but I still do not understand why these names have not been submitted to the Secretary of State. I can understand the Senator's unwillingness to submit to this body or to any other public body the names of men accused on somewhat unsubstantiated charges, but I do not understand his unwillingness to submit the names to the responsible official, the head of the State Department, whom he is accusing of laxness. I wonder whether the Senator will make some further explanation in order that the matter may be clear to me.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am afraid that if it is not clear to the Senator now I shall never be able to make it clear to him, no matter how much further explanation I make. I told the Senator that the Secretary of State has the names as to which I am reading the numbers. They are in the files of the Secretary of State. I am giving the Senator information which is confirmed by information in the files in the Office of the Secretary of State. It should be clear to the Senator that all the information which I am giving on the floor of the Senate has been available to the Secretary of State for a long time. If the Secretary of State does not know that the investigative agency has recommended that certain individuals be discharged, he can easily check and find out. The files are all in his possession.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield for a question.

Mr. LUCAS. Does the Senator know, or can he tell Senators, whether or not the Loyalty Board has checked any of these persons whom he is describing here by numbers?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have just told the Senator I do not know.

Mr. LUCAS. I thank the Senator. I do not believe that the name "Loyalty Board" has come into the debate as yet. But I am not sure. I was not clear as to what agency the Senator was referring to.

Mr. McCARTHY. The name I used was "investigative agency." When employees from temporary war agencies were transferred to the State Department, a board was set up to screen them. Whether that was called the loyalty board, I do not know. It was an investigative agency. I do not know that at any one time there were two investigative agencies. There may have been.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. If I understand the Senator correctly, the persons who are represented by the numbers which he has now given to the Senate, without giving any names, have been recommended to be discharged by the Loyalty Board selected by the President of the United States.

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not know whether that is correct. I have tried to make this clear. I do not have the names of all the individuals the Loyalty Board recommended be discharged. I found in the reports, however, a sizable number whom the investigative agency has recommended should be discharged. Let me make that clear. There was one group of 205, back in 1946. Since that time the investigative agency recommended that other groups be discharged. The treatment which was given to those recommendations was substantially the same as was given to the recommendations in 1946. In 1946, Secretary Byrnes said, out of 285, 79 were discharged. That is the first group. With subsequent groups the same action was taken. I have never had the names of all the groups. I do not even know how many there are. I know 206 is the definite number in the first group, because the Secretary of State has said there were 206.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Is the Senator familiar with the personnel of the Loyalty Board?

Mr. McCARTHY. Frankly, I am not.

Mr. LUCAS. If it should turn out that some of the individuals whom the Senator has named by number have been cleared by the loyalty board, would that affect the Senator's opinion with respect to those persons?

Mr. McCARTHY. I would have to know something of the personnel of the loyalty board. When Communists are able to get their men into the Central Intelligence Agency and into the highest spots in the State Department, I assume that a prize target would be the loyalty board. So I cannot tell the Senator what I would think of this board's recommendations. If I had an FBI report on the loyalty board, and if it were a good, competent board, certainly that would mean something to me. However, when I find that some individuals who have

been reported by the investigative agency to be Communists were given top-secret clearance, and if the loyalty board is in charge of giving top-secret clearance, it would indicate that the loyalty board is not too competent.

Mr. LUCAS. I do not know what part the loyalty board has played in this investigation.

Mr. McCARTHY. Nor do I.

Mr. LUCAS. But I am sure they will be in it, because undoubtedly they have checked and double checked these individuals who are now identified by numbers. The Senator will find that the President's loyalty board is headed by a very capable and competent lawyer by the name of Seth Richardson, who is a very representative Republican and a tremendously loyal American. I see two Senators on the Republican side rising.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NEELY. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Magnuson in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Illinois for a question?

Mr. LUCAS. All I say is that I hope the Senator will look at the names of the members of the Loyalty Board.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I intend to object to any Senator making a speech in the time of the Senator from Wisconsin. I made that statement before. He will either hold the floor or lose it.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I might say that I thank the Senator from West Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Michigan for a question?

Mr. McCARTHY. I will yield in a moment. I thank the Senator from West Virginia. The hour is getting late, and I am very willing to yield for a question, but if I am to finish these remarks tonight, I do not care to yield for any more speeches.

I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I merely desired to ask the Senator whether he knew that Seth Richardson was the head of the Loyalty Appeals Board, and not the board which might be operating in the State Department.

Mr. McCARTHY. I understand that Mr. Richardson has no jurisdiction whatsoever over any State Department employee, unless a State Department employee feels he has been badly treated, and appeals to Mr. Richardson's board. But Mr. Richardson does not pass upon any of the cases originally. If the State Department fails to fire a man who should be discharged, then nothing comes to Mr. Richardson.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is it not true that the Senator is speaking about a security committee, composed of State Department employees, rather than a loyalty board, and that he is speaking about a committee that was in existence prior to the loyalty board?

Mr. McCARTHY. I might say that I do not know what the technical name of the investigative agency is. I know that within the State Department investigations are conducted. Some of those investigations may be conducted by

the FBI; I do not know. I find, however, that in some cases information is received from several investigative agencies. What the technical names are, I frankly do not know.

Case No. 58. This individual was a research analyst with OSS from July 1944 to September 1945, when he was transferred to the State Department, where he is presently in the Research Division. He has been a member of at least one Communist-front organization. For many years he has been a close friend of an important subject in a Russian espionage case, both residing in the same apartment building. A Government investigative agency reported on July 11, 1947, that he was a member of the Communist Party. Now I ask the Senate to listen to this. He is holding an important position in the State Department today, even though he was reported on July 11, 1947, to be a member of the Communist Party.

Case No. 59. This individual was employed by OSS in the Division of Research, from June 1942 to September 1945, at which time he was transferred to the State Department. He is now a branch chief in Research and Intelligence. One of his former supervisors stated that he was a Communist.

For some time he has resided with another State Department employee, previously mentioned herein, whose investigation was requested because of communistic activities. Nevertheless, this individual has been cleared and is still working in an important position where he handles top-secret material in the State Department.

Case No. 61. This individual is employed in Research and Intelligence in the State Department. He has been very active in UPWA, and one of his references has been closely affiliated with Communist-front organizations. A Government investigative agency has indicated the very strong possibility of a close tie-up between this individual and another Communist. The file indicates that additional investigations in this case are necessary. He is still in the State Department.

Case No. 62. This file is not important insofar as communistic activities are concerned, but rather is important because it sheds light on some rather unusual mental aberrations of certain individuals in the Department. In this connection, it perhaps should be mentioned that the types of individuals described in this file are regarded as bad security risks by most investigative agencies for the reason that they are rather easy blackmail victims. This file I recommend to the attention of any committee that cares to investigate it. It goes into some detail in regard to the peculiar—how can we put it—the peculiar mental twists. I was trying to handle this matter delicately. I think this will be of interest to the committee in that it gives a rather interesting picture of some rather unusual mental twists of these gentlemen who are tied-up with some of the Communist organizations.

Also it is confirmation of what I believe I mentioned earlier this evening

when I was talking about one of the top investigators in Washington. I said to him, "Why do you find so many people fanatic about communism? Is there something that is so inviting about it? Is there something mentally wrong?" He said, "You will find if you search deep enough that there is something mentally or physically wrong with every one of them." There is certainly something wrong with this group. I might say that the new security officer has recommended that they get rid of all that type of individuals regardless of whether they are shown to have any communistic connection or not.

Case No. 63. This individual is employed by the State Department in Research and Intelligence. He was with Army Intelligence from 1944 to June 1946. In April 7, 1947, he was given a security clearance from the State Department. The files of the State Department investigative agency show that he is a very close associate of a former War Department employee who was dropped because it was believed he passed information and material to Soviet agents. One of his associates at the War Department, with whom he has since been in contact, is an individual who has been very active with communistically inclined groups. He has been a very close associate of another known Communist sympathizer. He has been given top secret clearance despite association with other known Communist sympathizers.

Case No. 64. This individual is presently employed in Research and Intelligence in the State Department. Again we find them in Research and Intelligence. The investigative agency files show that informants stated that he and his wife maintained a communistic and Un-American attitude. The file indicates that the wife admitted being a member of the Communist Party. The file further shows that he is a close friend of a number of Russian agents connected with a major espionage case.

The investigation of this case was held up because the investigation at that time might have upset the investigation of what was considered a major espionage case, which was in the process of investigation. This individual apparently still enjoys clearance to top-secret documents.

Case No. 65. This individual is also still in the State Department in the Office of Information and Education and holds an important position. It would appear from his activities that he is very definitely communistically inclined. However, it is entirely possible that this individual is merely a left-winger who has been dominated by No. 81, who will be covered later, and a group of Communists and fellow travelers who have surrounded No. 81, to the extent that he has received credit for many of the Communist activities of No. 81. By No. 81 I refer to the case which I shall cover shortly. For that reason, while the work flowing from his office would indicate that he is sympathetically inclined at least toward Communists, I would hesi-

tate in labeling him as such. In any event, however, I feel that he certainly is a bad risk in that position.

Case No. 66. This individual is also employed by the State Department as a music director in the Voice of America. He was listed on the draft classification as 4-F because of being a psychoneurotic. He and his mother, with whom he lived, provided a coffee kitchen for communistically inspired protest groups. He also worked for a time for a Communist-dominated organization. He studied for a time in the New School for Social Research under Hans Eisler, who, Senators recall, appeared before the House Un-American Committee. This individual is mentioned principally because he seemed to be representative of the group which accumulated around No. 81, whom I consider one of the big shots.

Case No. 67. This individual was employed by OWI in March 1942, and transferred to the State Department when that agency was taken over by the Department. After a meeting of Communists and Communist sympathizers, he was arrested for disorderly conduct. Two members of the Soviet underground attempted to get him out of difficulty and hush up matters so he would not lose his position in the State Department, which indicates that he is of importance to the Soviet underground. This information was set forth in detail in a memorandum, dated June 17, 1946, by an investigative agency, and brought to the attention of the State Department. However, this individual was still with the State Department in June 1947, and still had top-secret clearance. On July 16, 1947, a hearing was finally held. I am not aware of the outcome of this hearing. However, my best knowledge is that he is no longer with the State Department, but whether he resigned, was discharged, or whether he received a job with some other Government agency I do not know. I feel this case is important, Mr. President, for a number of reasons; one of them being that after it was definitely proven that the Communist underground had a deep interest in this man, and wanted to help him out, he still was given access to top-secret material for more than a year.

Case No. 68. This individual was with the OIE. He signed Communist Party petitions in which he testified that he was a member thereof, as did his parents also. On November 4, 1941, the Civil Service Commission recommended his removal from the Government. This was never acted upon. He is still in the State Department and has been given top clearance.

Case No. 69. This individual was also employed by the OIE. However, little information is available on him except that he is a Russian, and that his sister is a known Communist and that he associates closely with Communists.

Case No. 70. This individual again is the typical Voice of America employee. The investigative agencies have indicated that he is affiliated with Communist-front organizations and has communistic sympathies. He is still with the State Department.

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Case No. 71. This individual was employed by OIE in February 1943. He entered the United States in 1942 illegally. He is a Bulgarian. He lived 6 months with the editor of a Communist-controlled Bulgarian newspaper. He is a close associate of known Communists. The Government investigative agency reported that the subject was reluctant to bear arms during the war, and that he faked inability to understand or speak English so as to avoid the draft. He was issued a certificate of naturalization on October 8, 1945, on a false petition which stated that he entered the United States on May 6, 1941. He is still working for the State Department, despite a rule that aliens shall not work therein, and while I have not been able to go into the matter completely, I have been informed that he also has top-secret clearance.

Case No. 72. This case, Mr. President, is interesting in that it is the direct opposite from the cases I have been reading. I cite it to show that unless one has a communistic background one cannot qualify for a position with the Voice of America, at least in the New York office. This man applied for a job with the Voice of America. He was investigated in the fall of 1946 for a position on the Russian desk of OIE. Investigation showed he was a refugee from the Red revolution. He was naturalized in 1927. He has a reputation as an expert in Russian affairs, having studied them for a period of many years. He was employed with OSS from February 1942 to December 1942, and then was requested to resign. He was forced to resign because of Communist pressure. A known Communist and a NKVD agent in the United States openly stated, according to the Intelligence files, that he was too anti-Communist to be employed by OSS. This man's immediate superior with OSS told him he was forced to fire him because of circumstances beyond his control. A high State Department official confirmed the reason for this man's dismissal from OSS.

This individual was very highly recommended by several witnesses as a high type of man, a democratic American who supported democracy for Russia and opposed communism. However, he was turned down and was never employed by OIE. This was at a time when they were taking on all the other debris I have just described. Fortunately, however, his services are being presently made use of by McCloy in Germany, where he is acting fiscal adviser and, I understand, doing a good job. I believe I overlooked stating that he was born in Kiev, Russia, in 1877. I do not confuse this man, as I said, as being a Communist. The reason I cite the case is to show that the one good, sure way not to get into the Voice of America is that one is a loyal American and not an anti-Communist.

Case No. 73. This individual is in the Foreign Service. He was born in 1913, practiced law from September 1936 to September 1942. He was with the Board of Economic Warfare from November 1942 to September 1943. He has been with the State Department as a senior economic analyst from September 1943 until the present time. He was an ap-

plicant for a position as Foreign Service career officer. An investigative report dated June 1947 disclosed that he has always associated with known leftists and was highly recommended by four well-known fellow travelers. While in California his close associates for several years were two active Communists. A former law associate for this individual refused to recommend him for Federal employment, stating he was extremely far to the left. A memorandum in his file dated December 12, 1946, requested investigation of black-market activities on his part in Spain. No report on this point, however, has been made available. A superior court judge in California, who has known the subject well, stated that under no circumstances would he recommend him for a Government position because of his extreme leftism, and that he would not have him in any responsible Government position. Another California judge said this individual associated closely with fellow travelers, and he would definitely not recommend him. This individual, to the best of my knowledge, is still in Foreign Service, stationed in Madrid, Spain.

Case No. 74. This individual was employed on an American mission to the Far East during 1947. Intelligence units indicated that he was furnishing information to a Russian agent, and two sources of information reported that he was representing himself as an American intelligence agent. At that time he had been given clearance to confidential information. He was relieved of his particular assignment and transferred to different work within the Department.

Case No. 75. This individual was employed in December 1946 in the Foreign Service in the State Department. According to the files in the Department, he is a known contact of two suspects in the investigation of Soviet espionage activities in the United States. The investigative report dated March 1947 showed he sent material to one of the Soviet espionage suspects who had previously given him the names of two well known Communists whom he could contact abroad.

Case No. 76. This does not involve communistic activities, but does shed some light upon the possible reasons for some individuals' being employed by the State Department. This involves the case of a young man who was very patently incompetent and who had made gross misstatements in his application. He was turned down for employment. One of the superiors in the Department then wrote a note to the officer who had the task of deciding whether or not to employ this young man. That was after pressure had been applied from above to get him a job. The following is the comment made by the employing officer: "If _____ is so little concerned with the quality of Department personnel, there is little we can do. I believe he is more interested in the politics of the situation."

That is signed and dated.

Case No. 77. This young man applied for a position in the State Department. The file indicates he is a very close friend of reported Communists, and that he is closely associated with members of Com-

munist-front organizations. The file indicates that his wife belongs to an organization listed as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and that a relative of his has a financial interest in the Daily Worker.

Mr. President, I believe I have covered this case before, and what I have just said seems to be a repetition. This is the case of a young man who ended up as a speech writer in a well-known house in Washington.

Case No. 78. This individual has made application for a P-8 position in the State Department. He has been employed by the Treasury Department from April 1940 up to the present time, except for military release from July 1942 to December 1942. State Department files show that he was highly recommended by two individuals engaged in Soviet espionage activities. Another Government investigative agency indicated that he was one of the contacts of the subject of a Soviet espionage case. One of his references refused to recommend him because of his association with pro-Communists. This individual is still holding a high-salaried position with the Treasury Department, in work, as I understand, directly with the State Department.

Case No. 79. This individual is on the special project staff at the State Department. The intelligence report in his file indicates that numerous informants reported he was pro-Communist, radical, and of dubious background. However, I understand he has been given top secret clearance.

Case No. 80. This individual is a chief in the Division of International Labor. The Department's investigative agency indicates receipt of information in October, 1946, to the effect that this individual was a member of at least one Communist-front organization and is a fellow traveler. He, however, still retains his position in the State Department.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator from Wisconsin have a case No. 37 among the cases he is presenting?

Mr. McCARTHY. I cannot tell at the moment, because the reporters for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD have been using some of my papers. But I assume I had a case No. 37.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wondered why the Senator took them out of order. Is there any reason why he did not take them in order, beginning with No. 1, and going down through them?

Mr. McCARTHY. I did take them in order.

I get the impression that the Senator may have a file of his own, and apparently I do not have the same cases he has. I am very glad to know the Senator has, if that is the answer. However, I have taken them in order.

Mr. FERGUSON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. McCARTHY subsequently said: Mr. President, some of the papers have just been returned to my desk; and if I may do so, I shall give the Senator from Michigan the information that I do have a case No. 37.

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(See Case # 9)

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Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator does?
Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.
Mr. FERGUSON. May I see it?
Mr. McCARTHY. Certainly.

Next, Mr. President, I come to case No. 81. I think this individual has been doing this Nation untold damage because of the high position she holds in the Voice of America. This individual was in the Voice of America project, in the New York office, until some time ago. She was transferred to Europe, technically under control of the Commanding General, in the same type of work as the Voice of America, and subsequently the entire project was transferred back to the State Department, and she is today in the State Department.

I should like to read this material. Incidentally, this is the last case we have.

The file in this case contains a wealth of information indicating that this individual is an extremely dangerous and active Communist, completely disloyal to the United States, and loyal to Soviet Russia. Much of the information here, however, was given in strictest confidence but I shall try to give somewhat of a picture of this person.

It is perhaps sufficient to point out that the witnesses without exception have stated in essence that this individual has collected in her office a mixture of fellow travelers and pseudo liberals and outright Communists. These witnesses indicate that the group is close knit and attempts a vicious character assassination of anyone who attempts to disagree with them, and apparently rather successfully so.

All this information comes from the files of the investigative agency, and, as I have just said, shows that the witnesses indicate that the group is close knit and attempts a vicious character assassination job of anyone who attempts to disagree with them.

The witnesses without exception seem to feel that this individual has exerted a great deal of control over the information used on the Voice of America, and is doing the United States immeasurable damage.

I understand that this individual is now in Europe, and, although technically under the control of the Army, is in effect, to all intents and purposes, under the control of the State Department, and is still doing the same work as that involved in the Voice of America, formerly worked on in New York.

Mr. President, since this paper was dictated night before last I find that she is back in the State Department.

Immediate steps should be taken, in my opinion, to obtain not only the discharge but the prosecution of this individual.

Mr. President, I may also say that I feel very strongly that cases Nos. 1, 2, and 81 should not only be discharged but should be immediately prosecuted. However, unless the President will cooperate with us in that, the possibility of a successful prosecution is rather remote, because of the complete iron curtain of secrecy.

I wish to thank very much the Senators who very patiently have remained here and have listened to what may have

been somewhat tedious during the last 8 hours.

I assure them that I tried to keep my remarks as brief as possible, while at the same time giving Senators all the pertinent information from the files.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate only a moment, and then I shall move that the Senate take a recess.

I do not know whether the newspaper clippings which have come over my desk are correct or incorrect. However, I know that the reporters for the wire services and other reporters for various newspapers who heard the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin in his latest tour across the country have reported many things he said which alarmed me, to say the least.

When the Senator from Wisconsin was at Wheeling, W. Va., the newspapers reported that the Senator declared he had a list of 205 persons working for the State Department, who were known to the Secretary of State to be members of the Communist Party. When I read that statement I was shocked, and alarmed, as I had a right to be. It seemed to me that if the Senator from Wisconsin had a list of 205 persons whom he knew to be working in the State Department, and he waited to go on a Republican tour in West Virginia in order to tell the people of the country the fact, it seemed to me to be slightly out of order. If he had the information, he should have reported it directly to the Secretary of State or to a committee of the Senate of the United States.

Not satisfied with that, in Reno, Nev., when he was making another political speech, the Senator from Wisconsin said he had compiled a list of 57 Communists in the State Department. Later, in another speech, he named four individuals, three of whom, I understand, have not been with the Department for some time, one of whom was never with the State Department. In that statement the Senator from Wisconsin said he hastened to say he did not charge any one of the four with being a Communist.

Mr. President, the only thing the Senator from Illinois has been attempting to get, and it is information, which the Senate and the country are entitled to have—is a statement of the names of these individuals in the State Department, and to get the names as fast as possible, in order to clear up any cloud that may be hovering over every member of the State Department at this very moment.

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin has done an injustice to members of the State Department who are loyal and patriotic, and who are attempting to carry on in the great world crisis in which we find ourselves. Instead of doing so on a political tour, it would have been much better and much more in keeping with the best interest of the Nation, had the Senator submitted the names directly to a committee of the Senate or to the State Department, instead of making political propaganda out of it from one end of the country to the other.

Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois can speak for the majority party in saying there is not a single Member on

this side of the aisle who is not as much interested as is the Senator from Wisconsin in determining where Communists rest, if there are any within the Government departments, and we will do the very thing the Senator is requesting. I guarantee him that a committee will be formed at once, and the Senator from Wisconsin will have an opportunity to come before the committee to tell who these persons are. Before the committee, he will not be able to hide behind numbers. He will have to tell the facts and disclose the names of the persons within the State Department who are Communists. It ought to be done, Mr. President. If such charges can be made against a group in the State Department, without naming them, they can be made against almost any group in any department. Therefore, in view of what the Senator has said upon his political tour over the country, and in view of what he has said on the floor of the Senate tonight, it becomes absolutely necessary to clear this matter up as soon as possible.

So far as I am concerned, if, as the Senator said in his Wheeling, W. Va., speech, if the press quoted him correctly, there is a single person in the Department carrying a Communist card, the Senator from Illinois wants to know about it, and every other Senator wants to know about it. We shall find out. We shall not find out by innuendo and by half truths and distorted facts. The facts, if there are facts, will be produced. We shall not go around talking about No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and so on to No. 83.

Mr. President, that is all I have to say at this time. I repeat what I said in the beginning, that all the Senator from Illinois was trying to find out was as to who the persons in question are. I think the Senate and the country are entitled to know as speedily as possible just who in the State Department is being charged with being a Communist. If the facts produced show that the persons on the list are Communists, the Senator knows that the President of the United States, as well as the Senator from Illinois and every other Member on this side of the aisle will not rest until such Communists are discharged from office. Moreover, if there have been any traitorous acts either of espionage or anything else connected with it, having in mind the numbers the Senator has given us, they, too, will probably be ferreted out.

But, Mr. President, to assert that 205 persons are card carriers of the Communist Party, or that even 87 are card carriers, is to reflect seriously upon the FBI. The FBI knows practically every Communist card carrier in this country. I say the President of the United States and the FBI would not knowingly permit such a card carrier to remain in any Government department. If they would, I should want to find out about it myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the pleasure of the Senate?

RECESS

Mr. LUCAS. I now move that the Senate stand in recess until tomorrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 21, 1950, at 11 o'clock a. m.

SUBJECT Joseph McCarthy
FILE NUMBER: 121-23278
SECTION NUMBER 97 Enclosure behind file

54 pages

1-10-91

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STATEMENT OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, 3:30 P.M.,
MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1950

In the 26 years during which I have been privileged to serve as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I have always maintained the view that if we were to fully discharge the serious responsibilities imposed upon us, the confidential character of our files must be inviolate.

A cardinal principle of success for any agency having a responsibility for investigations is its ability to secure information. To do that, it must be able to maintain confidences. Any person furnishing information must have the security of knowing that when he furnishes information on a confidential basis, he will not at a later date find that confidence broken. When that occurs, the ability of the investigative agency to discharge its responsibilities in the future is materially lessened.

The public record clearly proves that the FBI because it does maintain confidences has been able to develop valuable sources of information which have a direct bearing on the internal security of the nation. I need refer only to the government witnesses who testified in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders in New York last summer. Seven of these witnesses risked their lives as undercover employees of the FBI.

The question of opening the files of the FBI involves a grave matter of principle. In taking the position that the files of the FBI should remain inviolate, I would not, of course, presume to discuss files other than those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

These files contain complaints, allegations, facts, and statements of all persons interviewed. Depending upon the purpose of the investigation,

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particularly in security cases, they contain not only background data on the individual but details of his private life which bear upon the investigation. In these files also are the identities of our confidential sources of information and full details of investigative techniques. In short, they consist of a running account of all that transpires.

A file is maintained in each case because the FBI has received information, allegations, or a complaint which if proven comes within the sphere of our responsibility, in pursuance of either Congressional or Executive Directives. After the investigation is completed, when indicated by Department procedure or judgment, a summary of the facts developed is furnished to the Department of Justice or United States Attorneys. In other types of investigations, the reports of Special Agents are submitted to the interested agency of the government. Details and information dealing with administrative operations and confidential sources of information remain in our files. The contents of these files were never intended to be disclosed and, unless we drastically change and circumscribe our procedures, they should not be disclosed.

The question of divulging contents of the files of agencies of government is not a new one. When confronted with the question of divulging the files of an Executive Department of the Government in 1909, the late President Theodore Roosevelt said:

"Some of these facts.....were given to the Government under the seal of secrecy and cannot be divulged and I will see to it that the word of this Government to the individual is kept sacred."

The disclosure of the contents of the files of the FBI would reveal confidential procedures and techniques. If spread upon the record, criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others would be forewarned and would seek methods to carry out their activities by avoiding detection and thus defeat the very purposes for which the FBI was created. Each exception undermines this principle, establishes a precedent, and would inevitably result in a complete collapse of a traditional policy which has proven its soundness.

A disclosure of FBI reports would reveal the identity of confidential sources of information and, if it did not place the lives of such persons in actual jeopardy, it would certainly ruin their future value and effectiveness.

The disclosure of FBI reports would make otherwise patriotic citizens reluctant to furnish information. Already, as a result of some unfortunate disclosures of our files in court proceedings, our Special Agents frequently are being told by persons from whom they seek information that they will decline to be interviewed for fear the information will be misused by some agency other than the FBI.

In the conduct of official investigations, information of a highly restricted nature having a direct bearing upon national security often finds its way into the files which, if disclosed, would be of considerable value to a foreign power. Increasingly, we have observed efforts of a foreign power to seek intimate personal details concerning many of our leaders in Government and industry. They should not be aided by having these details made public for their use and advantage, thereby crippling the important work of the FBI.

So far, I have directed my remarks against a disclosure of FBI files on security grounds. There are other compelling reasons why the files of the FBI should remain inviolate. For the want of a more apt comparison, our files can be compared to the notes of a newspaper reporter before he has culled the

printable material from the unprintable. The files do not consist of proven information alone. The files must be viewed as a whole. One report may allege crimes of a most despicable type, and the truth or falsity of these charges may not emerge until several reports are studied, further investigation made and the wheat separated from the chaff.

I, for one, would want no part of an investigative organization which had the power of discretion to decide what information would be reported and what would be omitted. An item of information which appears unimportant today may provide the solution of a case when considered with information received at a later date, or it may later establish the innocence of the accused.

Should a given file be disclosed, the issue would be a far broader one than concerns the subject of the investigation. Names of persons who by force of circumstance entered into the investigation might well be innocent of any wrong. To publicize their names without the explanation of their associations would be a grave injustice. Even though they were given an opportunity to later give their explanation, the fact remains that truth seldom, if ever, catches up with charges. I would not want to be a party to any action which would "smear" innocent individuals for the rest of their lives. We cannot disregard the fundamental principles of common decency and the application of basic American rights of fair play.

The FBI has the obligation, within the scope of Federal law, not only to protect the rights, lives, and property of our citizens, but also to protect the confidential relationship of the citizen when he patriotically serves his Government by providing information essential to our security.

FBI reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If those details were disclosed, they could become subject to misinterpretation, they could be quoted out of context, or they could be used to thwart truth, distort half truths, and misrepresent facts. The raw material, the allegations, the details of associations and compilation of information in FBI files must be considered as a whole. They are of value to an investigator in the discharge of his duty. These files were never intended to be used in any other manner and the public interest would not be served by the disclosure of their contents.

In taking this stand, I want to reiterate - a principle is involved. I would take this same stand before the Attorney General, as I already have, or before any other body. The fact that I have great respect, confidence, and a desire to be of assistance to a committee of distinguished Senators, however, in no way detracts from a principle. I say this because I do not want any misinterpretation of my remarks, nor do I want it said that this and other committees of Congress do not have my respect and confidence. I would be derelict to my duty, untrue to my conscience, and unworthy of my trust to take any other position.

62-71923-45
BUREAU OF CORPORATIONS
STATEMENT

March 24, 1950

MEMORANDUM

RE: Documents of the Bureau of Corporations

President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909 forcibly and successfully resisted the acquisition by the United States Senate of records of the Executive Departments of the Government and thereby established an unequivocal policy in relation thereto.

On January 4, 1909 the Attorney General was directed by a Senate resolution to advise whether legal proceedings had been instituted against the United States Steel Corporation on account of the absorption by it of another corporation and to advise his reasons for non-action if in fact there was none.

Thereafter, on January 6, 1909, President Roosevelt in a special message to the Senate stated the Attorney General had advised him there was insufficient grounds for legal action against the Steel Corporation.

The Senate thereafter being unable to secure documents from the Attorney General in regard to this matter summoned Herbert Knox Smith, Head of the Bureau of Corporations before it and ordered him to produce certain papers and documents under penalty of imprisonment if he refused. Mr. Smith reported this to President Roosevelt who ordered him in writing to turn

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the papers over to him.

President Roosevelt then declared he had the papers and that the Senate should not have them; that his impeachment would be necessary in order to get the papers and that he had so informed Senator Clark. He said the Senator had told him that the Senate wished to exercise its prerogatives but if the papers were of such a nature they should not be made public then the committee was ready to endorse the President's views. President Roosevelt stated "Some of these facts which they want, for what purpose I hardly know, were given to the Government under the seal of secrecy and cannot be divulged, and I will see to it that the word of this Government to the individual is kept sacred." (The Letters of Archie Butt, Personal Aide to President Roosevelt, by Abbott, pages 305-306.) See also The President--Office and Powers, by Corwin, pages 281 and 428.

is rather a time for stern rebuke of such antics and outspoken support of the distinguished public servants against whom they are directed.

Henry L. Stimson

Huntington, L. I., March 24, 1950

Senator Tydings. Thank you, General.

Have you any questions, Senator Green?

Senator Green. No questions.

Senator Tydings. Senator Hickenlooper, have you any questions?

Senator Hickenlooper. Yes, I would like to ask a few questions.

General McGrath, you have made it clear that you in your authority over your Department will not give this subcommittee access to the Loyalty and Investigative files in the specific list of names that have already been requested.

Attorney General McGrath. I am prevented from doing so by the President's executive order. I speak in this regard for myself. The President has not directed me to turn over the files, and only on a presidential direction would I do so.

Senator Hickenlooper. I am referring to your statement. I do not want to labor this point, but I am merely stating my conclusions. On page 5, near the bottom, and it is all through there, through several pages, you refer to these precedents on which refusal has been made, and I take it