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Originally read into Congressional Record as a repeat on should have been

John Stewart X Selvice

John Stewart Armice

Haldore E. Honson

Buctaro Duran

Froderick Lewis Schuman

Harlow Shapely

Geven J. hattimore

Mary Jane Kouran

Haldoke E Hanse

Gustavo Dukani Frederick Lewis Schuman Harlowa Shagely Gura J. *Lattimore MARY Jane* KEE HEY

bK

DATE: March 22, 19. SUBJECT: State Departme cant - Quartermaster General War Department Washington, D. C. LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES PURPOSE: To record telephonic conversations held this morning of IDA regarding the above-captioned case. called the BACKGROUND: Late yesterday afternoon, Correlation and Lisison Section concerning the above-captioned case and referred to the Army's letter of January 5, 1948, requesting an investigation of was being considered for employment by the Army. the Bureau had ever replied to this letter. This morning of the Correlation and Laison Section called back and advised him that our file reflects that the Army's letter was acknowledged on January 12, 1948, at which time the Army was advised that an investigation had been instituted and that upon completion the results would be furnished through channels. acknowledgment and wanted to know if any further reply had ever been made, pointed out to the Civil Service Commission in accordance with established procedures under the Loyalty Program on April 19, 1948. Curther pointed out that our files show that individual copies of the loyalty reports were given to the Army through limison channels on April 20, 1949. Indicated that this was true and he was in possession of these reports. This satisfied his inquiry indicated that concerning the general evaluation in this regard and thereafter he asked informed him that in each of informants by the Buresn in Loyalty cases. instance confidential informants are evaluated as to their reliability in loyalty reports, and suggested if he wanted to talk to someone familiar with the Loyalty of the Loyalty Sections, Program to discuss the matter with that he was intereste thereafter pointed out to in knowing whether the Bureau's loyalty investigation had proved or disproved the informed him that we had conducted E original allegations against the investigation at the Army's request and that we had forwarded the reports reflect ing the regults of that investigation to the appropriate authorities and that the question as to shother the allegations were proven or disproven was a question for the then asked whether, in those Board adjudicating the matter to decide. instances where an informant is evaluated by the surear as of known religiblity, the statements of such informants could be taken as foliable) in Lightson is sed that when the Bureau evaluated an informant as of known reliability, we did so basis of our past experience with that informant and that we had no reason to ...

question the reliability of the informant. He further pointed out to the Colonel that it was a matter for the Army to decide as to what evaluation they felt should indicated that he be given to the statements of such informants. then indicated to that if the recognized this fact and Army had any question concerning the reliability of any particular informants in this case, if he would direct a letter to the Bureau we would endeavor to furnish any additional information regarding our experience with the informant consistent indicated he appreciated this fact but stated that with security. he did not have time to direct such a letter to the Bureau since he was engaged in reviewing the matter apparently for the purpose of writing a summary on the case which "had to be out immediately." He further indicated that his inquiry had been satisfied.

As you will recall, the floor of the Senate as reported in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950. It appears from the Army is aware of this and may be concerned over the fact that he is apparently still employed by the Army.

It is noted that was investigated by the Bureau at the Army's request but as an applicant for a position with the Quartermaster General of the War Department. Our file shows that the Regional Loyalty Board of the Fourth Civil Service Region had jurisdiction over the adjudication of the loyalty case pertaining to Meigs since he was an applicant apparently for a classified position. We received a disposition from the Loyalty Review Board under date of April 15, 1949, reflecting that the Army had been "retained" as an economist and educational specialist for the Department of the Army. This disposition, according to subsequent information set forth in file, was based on an adjudication of the case by the Fourth Civil Service Region Loyalty Board. Thus, the Army did not in fact adjudicate the loyalty case pertaining to

ACTION: None. There is attached a copy of a summary of the information developed during the loyalty investigation regarding which was furnished to the Director by memorandum dated February 24, 1950, in connection with the original identification by the Bureau of 68 of the individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy.

It appears that the only purpose for call is the probability that the Army is concerned over Senator McCarthy's allegations regarding call and is looking for an "out." It further appears that the Bureau has fully discharged its responsibilities under the Loyalty Program in this case by providing reports to the Civil Service Commission in the first instance for further dissemination to the Army and in subsequently providing individual copies of the reports directly to the Army through Liaison channels.

67C

Wr. Gladden 661 Waxwell Boulder, Co Dear Wr. Ja received.

ECORDED 1950

Wr. Gladden William James -/661 Waxwell Avenue
Boulder, Colorade
Dear Wr. James:

Your letter dated March 22, 1950, has been received.

I thought you might like to read the copy of a statement I made before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950. This statement contains my views in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enclosure Statement before Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, March 27, 1950.



MAR 30 1950

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\$ S APK 25 1250

for Taxwell Ave.. Toulder, Tolo.. March 12, 1950.

Non. Tagar Hoover, 7. 0. 1. Department of Justice, inshington, 7. 7.

Dear Sir:

14

' am a natural born citizen of the United States, and a tompoyer, also a hater of Communism.

I would like for you to tell me why it is necessary for the Fresident of the United States to give his consent before the members of Congress or any of its committees can have access to Loyalty Records of the Executive branch of the United States. I mant to know what laws, customs or the like regulate these matter of they are laws you dont need to quote them verbatim, only cite them.

Thanking you very kindly for a short letter to advise me,

i am

Sincerely,

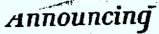
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Gladden Aframes

INDEXCO

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AFR G 1950



GLADDEN WILLIAM JAMES

As Candidate for Nomination
FOR CONGRESS
2ND DISTRICT
COLORADO

Don't withhold your vote today and let me on the ballot for the Primary Election. If you do, I will tour this district and show you the serious threat that Russia and Communism are to the welfare of the United States of America and to the World, according to the Bible; also what God intends to do with Russia, and what we the people of the United States must do also. The children of Israel had something to do in connection with the atheism of ancient Egypt.

I will propose a perfect working plan to avoid labor strikes every year when new contracts are wont to be made. I will show you a way to make new contacts and strikes unnecessary. Many other helpful plans I have for the welfare of the United States. This is still democratic America. Give me your vote and insure me a place on the ticket. Thank you.

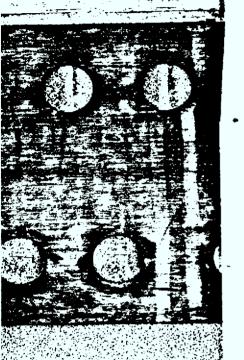
GLADDEN WILLIAM JAMES

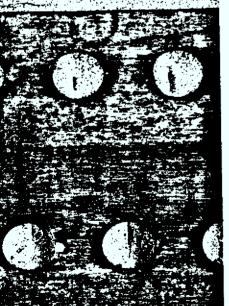
661 Maxwell Ave. BOULDER, COLORADO

For twenty years Evangelist and Missionary-at-Large. Also candidate for Congress in the State of Pennsylvania.

FNCLOSURE

121-23278-59





March 27, 1950

RECORDED 26 INDEXED . 26

121-23278-60

Bultimore 12, Karyland

Dear

Your letter dated March 22, 1950, has been received and I do want to thank you for your kind comments relative to the manner in which this Bureau has discharged its responsibilities.

I appreciate your letting me have your thoughts with regard to making FBI reports available in certain instances, and I thought you night like to know that this is not a matter within my discretion

FBI files are maintained as confidential in accordance with instructions of the Attorney General of the United States. For your information, however, I feel very strongly that his policy in this regard is essential to the effective functioning of the FBI.

> Sincerely yours, J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover

AJULSIN AU LIGHT POTOR 18 6341333R

MAILED MAR 28 1950 COMM - FBI

March 22, 19

Hon. Edgar J. Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

First of all, let me congratulate you and your Bureau on the magnificent job you have done for many years in the interest of our great country. Nothing but praise for you and your men is in order.

Now comes the matter of F.B.I. reports in the case of the accused personnel in Senator McCarthy's charges. I feel that Senator Tydings' Committee investigating these charges should have the f.B.I. reports on the State Dept. officials named. There is too much evidence that the Far Eastern Division of the State Dept. has acted consistently contrary to the interests of the U.S. How else can we get the truth, except by your reports?

Surely, with proper safeguards, you could make this information available to the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee who are investigating Senator McCarthy charges.

Many good wishes and thanks for your wonderful work.

RSAPR21 1000

Sincerely

102-50 BI

127-5 Balto. 12, Md.

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Communists IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Office Memi andum TO THE DIRECTOR FROM D. W. Ladd SUBJECT: Peyton Ford advised me that he was going to adopt the strategy of trying to get the committee to agree to let the Loyalty Review Board review the charges of the cases involved in Senator McCarthy's allegations and thus take the matter out of the hands of the Committee. He did not know whether this would meet with any success. DML: dad 121-23278-60X March 23, 1950

.2:50 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

MR. LADD "

MR. NICHOLS

The second second Senator Brien/McMahon called to advise me that there was some talk to on the Hill as to how Senator Joseph McCarthy was getting into our files and that the suggestion is never made that he is getting it from the State Departmen but that it must be coming from the FBL. Senstor McMahon stated that unfortunately Senator Hickenlooper had asked/fessup, while he was on the stand, If he had not said to Owen Lattimore "will you go to China with me?" and of course that indicated a tap. He also commented that he felt the question as to whether the files should be made available will be stubbornly pressed as time goes on as he understands that McCarthy wrote something for this afternoon's release to the President in which he tells him that he is undermining the security of the custry by not producing the files. I stated that of course my position was that it .. was up to the Attorney General to decide this issue; that I had previously expressed Enyself on the over-all policy as far back as the Coplon Case, and other cases that and arisen, that the files should not be made available. Further, I commented that Thesically felt that when a person makes charges as have been made in this instance that it is certainly not incumbent upon the administration to prove the tharges, in other words, if a man makes an allegation he should certainly be called m to prove it himself, otherwise he should not have made the allegation. I stated hat very serious accusations were made and now they were calling upon the FBI produce its records and files to prove these allegations. I added that I falt this fould set an over-all bad precedent; that if this can be done in one case, anyone else, ofther on the House side or the Senate side, can get up and make charges and mend that we produce the files, and if they are produced one time and refessed : : Mother time then the assumption is going to be made that we are afraid to preduce hem. I stated it did not necessarily follow that if the files were produced they would pastain these allegations; that, as a matter of fact, I did not know what cases cCarthy was referring to except the nine that he has publicly named. Senstor McMahon interrupted me at this point to comment that of course I knew who McCarthy meant by the top espionage agent and I stated that I assumed he was talking out Owen Lattimore but I was purpled as to some of the statemants first

Senator McMahon then advised me that a stenographic transcript had been made of the proceedings and he thought I might like to look it over. I commented that I would very much like to see this especially in view of the general assumption that McCarthy is getting his information from the FBL. He stated he would send me the

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TIME 4: 15 AND DATE 4 - 28-57

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transcript.

In regard to the speculation as to the source of McCarthy's material I advised Senator McMahon that yesterday the newspaper woman, called and in my absence talked to Mr. Nichols. I informed him that she inquired as to whether McCarthy was getting his information from here and she was told that this was a perfectly outrageous question as obviously we would not do that, and then she queried Mr. Nichols as to my friendship for McCarthy and as to my supposedly Republican background and she was informed that many of the Senators were considered as my friends but that I hadn't seen AlcCarthy for weeks since this thing happened because I had purposely refrained from being any place where I might come in contact with him. She was also advised that I had been appointed in the Department under a Democratic administration and had served under both Republican and Democratic Attorneys General. I advised Senator McMahon that was quite hostile toward the Bureau and explained to him generally the basis for the seme.

In regard to the general assumption that this information was coming from the FBI I told the Senator that I, too, was very much puzzled as to where this was coming from; that I had certain suspicious but did not know whether they were wery well founded. However, I stated that I believed McCarthy had either employed some ex-Agents of the Bureau or had been in contact with them. McMahon interrupted me at this point to state that McCarthy had said he had three ex-Agents working for him. Further, I commented that I understood that

The Senator was advised that I had requested a complete summary on the Lattimore case so that I would know what the facts were in back of it. I stated that we had never made a loyalty investigation on Lattimore because the Siste Department had never asked for one

McMahon stated that of course as a matter of fact he, Lattimore, has never been in the strictest sense an employee of the State Department. Senator McMahon stated he was very much concerned because McCarthy had stated he had the facts and he was willing to stand or fall on this one particular case, the Lattimore Case, though when he was saked if he had actually seen the files he said no and he was very evasive when asked if he had seen photostatic copies of the file or evidently! had talked with someone who had seen the copies. McMahon told McCarthy that if he had open access to the file then certainly his committee would want access to the file.

I stated very confidentially to Senator McMahon that last Sunday night in his broadcast Walter Winchell mentioned a fellow by the name of Adams; that he said the FBI had Adams in custody and the State Department ordered the FBI to release him and that Adams was a top Russian spy. I stated that this was not correct at all; that we had not had Adams in custody at any time; we had him under surveillance and while he was under surveillance an ex-Agent of the Bureau went to the New York Journal American and told them the story about Adams and they printed it over my protests and Adams disappeared. I further commented that Winchell called me last night and stated that someone in Washington had called him for details regarding Adams and he was advised that his information on Adams was incorrect, and that if the person in Washington who was sking for this information was some Member of Congress or in a position where they think they can use such information and he did not want to disclose his source of information he ought to tell them so. I stated his source was a party in New York. City who, I thought, had gotten it from an ex-Agent and I did not know whether this ex-Agent was deliberately lying or whether by lapse of time he had gotten his memory twisted because these statements were not true. I stated it was merely a surmise but I felt probably the same thing had happened to McCarthy and of course if was even possible that some disgruntled State Department employee could be feeding him a lot of stories.

I commented that I did not know McCarthy had staked all on this particular case and I was only assuming it was Lattimore. I stated that when these cases were mentioned in the papers they were unnamed and we tried to match them with our information but did not know how successful we were and that at first we thought McCarthy was referring in this particular case to the figured it must be Lattimore. I stated that I felt in this case as I did in the Coplon Case that any material in our files should be kept confidential; that if one committee were permitted access to our files then there was no reason why another committee should not have access to them, and of course there was the possibility that they

might be used as a political football. I stated, however, that of course if the President, who has the final decision, decides it has to be done then it has to be done. I then discussed with him generally the various aspects of our problem regarding the confidential status of our files.

Very truly yours,

S/ Sel

John Edgar Hoover Director

cc-Mr. Nease

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg()
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen ()/
Mr. Tracy()
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont (OL)
Mr. Mohr (9 de was furnished
Mr. Mohr () was furnished
Miss Gandy () by Den. memohow
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See Me ()
Note and Return ()
For Your Recommendation()
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121-23278-62
ENCLOSURE /
ENCLOSURE 62 17 17 17 17

UNITED S'IAIES GOVERNMENT DATE: March 24, 1950 THE DIRECTOR FROM MR. D. M. IADD SUBJECT: PROPOSAL BY SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS TO OBTAIN FBI FILES PURPOSE To review the discussion at an Executive Session of the Senate Subcommittee, Committee on Foreign Relations, held on March 21, 1950, under chairmanship of Senator Tydings. Others present were Senators Green, McMahon, and Hickenlooper of the Committee, and Senator McCarthy. On a routing slip attached to a transcript of the proceedings you wrote: "Review at once. Congressional motival to It was furnished by Sen. McMahon. FACTS ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE RECORDED - 34



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

	indicated, explain this deletion.
	Deleted under exemption(s) with no segregable material available for release to you.
	Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
	Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
	Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies), was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you
_	Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.
	Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):
Œ	For your information: This is conquesced natural -
4	The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX

PHILIP CARTL JES UP Deputy U. S. Representative United Rations Security Council New York Lity

Buokgrounds

Philip Caryl Jessup was born at New York, Hew York, on January 5, 1887, as the son of Henry Bynamo Jessup born in Syria and Mary May Stotesbury born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Jessup attended Columbia University where he received a Deptor of Philosophy degree on June 1, 1927. He was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar in 1925, and to the New York State Bar in 1927. From 1927 to 1948, he was a member of the Law Firm of Parker and Duryee, New York City. Since 1928, be has been a member of the Faculty of Columbia University at New York City. During 1926 and 1926, he was Assistant Solicitor for the U. S. State Department. In 1928, he served as Assistant to Elihu Root at the Conference of Jurists on a Permanent Court of International Justice. He lectured at the Academy of International Law at the Hagus during 1929, and in 1950, was Lagal Advisor to the American Ambassador to Cube, Jessup held the pecition of Chairman of the Office of Poreign Relief in: the U. S. lepartment of State from Yebrusry watil December, 1948. During 1948, and 1944, he also served as Assistant Secretary General at the United Matiens Relief and Fehabilitation Administration Conference and the Brottom Woods Conference. Jessup is the author of numerous books dealing with International Law.

Pasis for Investigations

On May 28, 1948, a Loyalty of Gevernment Employees investigation was instituted on Philip Caryl Jessup for the position of "Hember, U. S. Mission to the United Estions, U. S. Department of State" on the following basis:



670

ENCLOSURE

121-23-77-62



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

4	Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.
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	Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
	Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
	Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies), was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.
	Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.
	Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):
	For your information:
B	The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Tasposition:

The Puresu was advised by the Lavalty Davies Board by Disposition the date! February 4, 1949, that Jersup had been "retained."

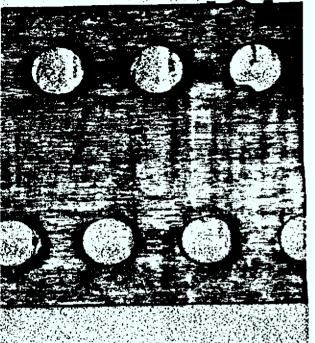
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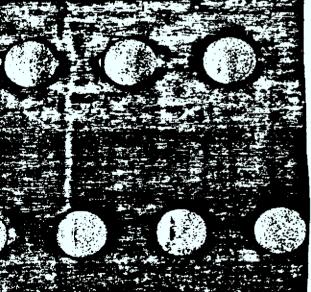


DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK Mr. Tolson _ Mr. Clegg __ Mr. Glavin _ Mr. Ladd ____ Mr. Nichols _ Mr. Rosen Mr. Tracy _ Mr. Gurnea ___ Mr. Harbo ___ Mr. Belmont _ Mr. Mohr ____ Mr. Nease ____ Miss Gandy ____ See Me _ Note and Return ____ () For Your Recommendation() What are the facts? () Remarks:





STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Mer

idum • United 51....25 GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

a : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

DATE: March 24, 1

For record purposes, it should be noted that I attended a conference with you in the office of the Attorney General on the late afternoon of Earch 23. Also present were Eessrs. Peyton Ford and James EcInerney. On that occasion, the Attorney General called attention to the demand by the Congressional Committee on the President for the production of the files in connection with Senator EcCarthy's charges of State Department employees.

position with reference to the production of such files, ice that it would be an extremely bad precedent, that in the event any change was made from previous rules with reference to the production of files that the matter would continue to plague the Department and the Bureau on every case that came up for discussion on the Hill. You further pointed out that every President since George Washington had refused to produce files and had been upheld by the Courts. The Attorney General indicated that he thoroughly concurred in your views and Mr. Peyton Ford indicated that he had, as previously advised, pointed out to Senator Tydings and others the position of the Department and the Bureau.

The Attorney General, however, exhibited a note to you which he had received from the President in Florida, which indicated that the President thought that the position of the Department was peculiar and that he, the President, might have to take some other action. The Attorney General indicated that in light of this, he thought that it was necessary to immediately make some definite ruling. You concurred and pointed out that time was of the essence that a definite position should be maintained.

The Attorney General indicates that one of three positions could be adopted;

(1) The Department could make 3the liles available to the Committee, in accordance with their required.

in Executive Session, have the Committee call at his office and read your summary memorandum to the Committee, after securing assurance that it would be treated in strict confidence. The memorandum would not be made available to the Committee.

(3) The Attorney General could ask the Committee to

submit questions that they were interested in in connection with this matter and the Attorney General could prepare a letter back to the Committee giving the answer to those specific questions.

The Attorney General stated he thought in the light of the President's letter, it would be necessary that he talk to the President and make some definite recommendation, otherwise he was fearful that the President would be advised by his advisors in Florida to make the files all available. In view of that, the Attorney General indicated that he would be inclined to adopt the second, namely, to read the memorandum to the Committee in Executive Session.

You advised the Attorney General that your position was still the same, that you felt the files should not, under any circumstances be made available, that you would defer to his judgment with reference to Item #2; that, however, if this was done, a definite position should be taken that the files would not be made available at this time and in no circumstances would that position be altered once the memorandum had been read to the Committee.

You suggested the desirability of a statement being issued by the Department advising of the position adopted by the Department and including a statement that the files would not be made available.

The Attorney General indicated that he thought this was a good idea and suggested the desirability of a joint statement.

During the time that you were in the Attorney General's office, the Attorney General received a call from Senator Tydings who informed the Attorney General that he felt that the administration was losing ground in this argument with McCarthy and that a decision should be made by the Department one way or the other immediately; that if the decision was that the files would not be made available, it would be necessary for the committee to request the appearance of the Attorney General and yourself either by subpoena or by letter to appear before the Committee and explain to them why the files could not be made available.

The meeting concluded with the Attorney General indicating that he was going to propose to the President the reading of the memorandum, as set forth in Item #2 above. SUBCOZE1.

THE SENATE CONVITTEE ON FOREIGN PALATIONS 4:30 P.W., MAICH 27, 1950

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your Committee today, together with the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in order to discuss with you a serious problem that has arisen in the course of the investigation that you are conducting pursuant to Senate Resolution 231. There has been a great deal of talk about the production before your Committee of loyalty and investigative files relating to the persons against whom Senator &cCarthy has brought charges of disloyalty. I think that it is well that we should discuss this matter together at this time in the interest of clarifying some of the issues.

I need not remind you that it is only a matter of months since I myself was a member of that great body of which this Committee is a part, the United States Senate. Having had the privilege of serving in the Senate, as well as in the Executive Branch, I am fully sware and indeed extremely sensible of the degree of cooperation that must exist between the legislative and Executive branches of the Government if we are to make our tripartite system of government work.

Cooperation, however, is but one facet of the key to the solution of our problem. If our tripertite system is to work, each branch must also corefully avoid encroaching upon the prerogatives of the other.

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TO COLL-PLEND IN C 6-72.2 S.

This is such a besid principle that it was recognized as early as the administration of our first President. On February 22 last, the very day on which the Senate agreed to the Res lution under which this Committee is proceeding, the Ferenell Address of President Vashington was read in the Senate chamber. I call your attention to one paragraph of that Address, which appears on page 2158 of the Congressional Record of February 22, and which to me aptly states the principles by which we must be governed. President Eachington stated:

It is important likewise, that the bebits of thinking in a free country should inspire coution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respensive eccetitational spheres, swolding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to emercach upon another. The spirit of engrosenment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to preste, whatever the form of government, a real decootion. * * * * If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates .- But let there be so change by neurpetion; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the enstonary weepon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must elesys greatly overbelance in persenent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

President Rashington was speaking from personal experience with the very problem so now have before us—namely, a request by a congressional Consittee for the production of documents which in the opinion of the Executive branch must be held confidential in the public interest. The problem, you see, is as old so the Government itself.

In March of 1792, the House of Representatives adonted a resolution establishing a Committee to inquire into the exuses of the failure of the expedition under Esjor General St. Clair, and empowering that Committee to call for such papers and records as night be necessary to assist the Com-

mittee in its inquiries. The House based its right to investigate on its central over the expenditure of public sansy. Then the Counittee saked the President for the papers relating to the compaign, President Eastington called a meeting of his Cabinet. Present were Thomas Jefferson, Scaretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Enox, Secretary of War, and Edmond Randolph, the Attorney General. The President stated that he had called his Cabinet together because this was the first demand on the Executive for papers within his control and he desired that in so far as the action taken would constitute a precedent, it should be rightly conducted. President Washington readily shalited that he had no doubt of the propriety of what the House was doing, but he did conceive that there might be papers of so scaret a nature that they ought not be given up. The President and his Cabinet came to a unanisous conclusion as follows:

First, that the House was an inquest, and therefore might institute inquiries. Becord, that it wight call for papers generally. Third, that the Executive ought to consumicate such papers as the public good would permit, and ought to refuse those, the disclosure of which would injure the public.

The presedent there set by President Washington and his Cobinet was followed in 1796 when he refused to comply with a resolution of the House of Representatives which requested him to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the United States Minister who negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, together with the correspondence and documents relating; to that treaty. In declining to comply, President Washington stated: "As it is essential to the due administration of the Government that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the various departments should be preserved, a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office * * * forbids a con liance with your request."

It was because of such experiences that President Kashington felt exiled upon to refer, in his Farewell Address, to the importance of maintrining the independence of our separate branches of government. Later, President Jefferson refused to allow two members of his exbinet to supply documents at the trial of Aeron Burr. In 1825 President Monroe declined to comply with a request of the House of Representatives to transmit to the House certain documents relating to the conduct of naval efficars. President Juckson refused to comply with a Senate request that he communicate to it a copy of a paper purporting to have been read by him to the heads of the executive departments relating to the removal of the deposits of public money from the Bank of the United States. In 1886 President Cleveland supported his Attorney General's refusal to comply with a Senate resolution selling for documents and papers relating to the removal of a District Attorney. Similarly, in 1843, a resolution of the House of Representatives called upon the Secretary of War to communicate to the House the reports made to the War Department by Lt. Col. Hitcheook relative to the affairs of the Cherokee Indians, together with all information communicated by him concerning the france which he had been charged to investigate. The Secretary of Mar edvised the House that he could not communicate information which Col. Hitchcock had obtained in confidence, because it would be gressly unjust to the persons who had given the information. The House, however, claimed the right to demand from the Executive and bends of departments such information as may be in their possession relating to subjects of deliberations of the House. President Tyler, in a message

dated January 31, 18/3, said in parts

And although information comes through a proper channel to an executive officer, it may eften be of a character to forbid its being made public. The officer charged with a confidential inquiry, and she reports its result under the pledge of confidence which his appointment implies, ought not to be exposed individually to the resentment of those whose conduct may be impugned by the information he collecte. The knowledge that such is to be the consequence will inevitably prevent the performances of duties of that character, and thus the Government will be deprived of an important means of importan

President Tyler also declined to comply with a resolution of the House of Representatives which called upon him and the heads of departments to furnish information regarding such members of the 26th and 27th Compresses as had applied for office in the executive branch. In so refusing, President Tyler stateds

Applientions for office are in their very nature confidential, and if the reasons assigned for such applications or the names of the applicants were sommaticated, not only would such implied confidence be wantonly violated, but, in addition, it is quite obvious that a mass of wague, incoherent, and personal matter would be made public at a wast consumption of time, money, and trouble without accomplishing or tending in any sanner to accomplish, as it appears to me, any useful object connected with a sound and constitutional administration of the Government in any of its branches.

In my judgment a compliance with the resolution which has been transmitted to me would be a surrender of duties and powers which the Constitution has conferred exclusively on the Executive, and therefore such compliance can not be made by me nor by the heads of Departments by my direction.

These are only a few of the precedents to be found in the constitutional history of our Government; many more could be referred to. that almost every President has found it necessary at some time during his administration to decline, for reasons of public policy, to furnish confidential papers to congressional committees. The courts have recognised this constitutional prerogative of the Chief Executive and the great constitutional scholars uniformly agree that it is for the President to determine what papers and information in the Executive branch must be retained in confidence in the public interest. William Soward Taft, following his term as President and prior to his appointment as Chief Justice, summarized the situation succinctly and accurately when he wrote in his book,

The President is required by the Constitution from time to time to give to Congress information on the state of the Union, and to recommend for its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and suppedient, but this does not enable Congress or either House of Congress to elicit from him confidential information which he has acquired for the purpose of emabling him to discharge his constitutional duties, if he does not does the disclosure of such information prudent or is the public interest.

It is against this background that we must consider President Truman's directive of March 13, 1948, concerning the confidential nature of loyalty files. Against this same background we must consider this Committee's request for the production of such files.

In his directive, the President stateds

The efficient and just administration of the Employee Loyalty Program, under Executive Order No. 9835 of March 21, 1947, requires that reports, records,

and files relative to the pregram be preserved in strict confidence. This is necessary in the interest of our national security and welfare, to preserve the confidential character and sources of information furnished, and to protect Government personnel against the dissemination of unfounded or disproved allegations. It is necessary also in order to insure the fair and just disposition of loyalty cases.

For these reasons, and in accordance with the longestablished policy that reports rendered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies of the executive branch are to be regarded as confidential, all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business.

At the time of issuing this directive, the President specifically referred to some of the precedents that I have mentioned this afternoom and called particular attention to the sound reasons of public policy requiring the maintenance of the confidential status of loyalty files. The President referred to an opinion rendered by Attorney General Jackson at a time when, at the direction of President Roosevelt, he declined to furnish certain reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the House Committee on Saval Affairs, as follows:

Disclosure of the recorts could not do otherwise then seriously prejudice lew enforcement. Counsel for a defendant or prospective defendant, could have no greater held then to know how such or how little information the Government has, and what witnesses or sources of information it can rely upon. This is exactly what these reports are intended to contain.

Disclosure of the reports at this particular time would also prejudice the national defense and be of aid and soafort to the very subversive elements against which you wish to protect the country. For this reason we have made extracrdinary efforts to see that the results of counterespionage activities and intelligence activities of this Department involving those elements are kept within the fewest possible hands. A catalogue of persons under inventigation or suspicion, and what we know about them, would be of ineuticable service to foreign agencies; and information which could be so used caunot be too closely guarded.

Moreover, disclosure of the reports would be of serious prejudice to the future usefulness of the Federal Boreau of Invertigation. As you probably know, such of this information is given in confidence and san only be obtained upon pledge not to disclose its sources. A disclosure of the sources would enterress informants—sometimes in their employment, sometimes in their social relations, and in extreme cases might even endanger their lives. We regard the keeping of faith with confidential informants as an indispensable condition of future efficiency.

Dicolosure of information contained in the reports might also be the grossest kind of injustice to
innocent individuals. Investigative reports include
leads and suspicions, and sometimes even the statements of validious or misinformed people. Even though
later and more complete reports exomerate the individuals,
the use of particular or selected reports might constitute the grossest injustice, and we all know that a
correction never catches up with an accusation.

with respect to files which this Committee has requested, their disclosure would, it seems to me, seriously injair the effectiveness of the Employee

Loyalty Program. It would subject the persons in question to a type of double jecpardy which is contrary to cound concepts of good government, fairness, and justice. It would also make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to perform its investigative duties. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducts all inv stigations under the Employee Loyalty Program. Loyalty files, therefore, are for all practical purposes F.B.I. files. Hr. Houver is here to give you him view, which he has held for many years, of the dataging effect that would be caused by the disclosure of such files. I know of no one better qualified to speak on this subject. I am in thorough secord with his views in this regard.

It is my opinion -- for the ressons stated -- that loyalty and investigetive files should be preserved in strict confidence. March 24, 1950

44:18 PM

Morandum for Mr. Tolson

MR. LADD

MR. NICHOLS

I called the Attorney General to give him the results of my conversation with Senator Joseph McCarthy. I stated that McCarthy said Senator Tydings made a statement on the Floor that I was to appear there on Monday afternoon and that information had been out that I would be there to express my views as to the release of the files. I stated that I told McCarthy that that was correct but that I didn't know it had been announced; that I understood it was a confidential matter at the present time. The Attorney General was then informed that McCarthy asked me If I was going to discuss the files and I said I was not and I then inquired of him as to where he had been getting his information about the so-called top espionage agent. I commented that McCarthy stated he could not disclose where he got but said it came from a very reliable source at which I remarked that I was gious because we certainly did not have that information. I advised the Attorney eneral that I remarked to McCarthy that I was just wondering if he was getting straight information or if someone was planting some phony material on him and trying to get him out on a limb. I stated that McCarthy insisted his information was very reliable and I suggested to him that it might be a good idea for him to get it in affidavit form. I told the Attorney General that McCarthy then asked me if I thought the files would be made available and I told him I did not know; that at the present time they were not available to asyone and commented that the opinion of the Attorney General as well as my own on this matter was very well known. I stated that McCarthy told me he was going to keep on asking for the files and I told him that was his perogative but I wanted him to be sure he was on the right track and to urge him to be very sure of his allegations and accusations. I stated that I mentioned the question of Jessup being in touch with Lattimore by telephone and that I had told McCarthy we had no such information but he, McCarthy, stated he had the information from other sources and I had commented I did notknow who else would be investigating Lattimore. I further stated that the Senstor indicated he was going to make some statements over the week-end; that he had thought the ennouncement by Senator Tydings was just window dressing; that everyone knew what I thought about the files. I stated I sgain urged him to be very sure of his thirges before making them. The Attorney General was in

> Very truly yours. MAR 80 1950 John Edgar Hoover

Little frings K. Cation & Committee

Opening The Files By Marqui Childs

Let J. Edgar Hoover Testify of

SENATOR McCarthy began by charging in his first political speech that there were 207 card tarrying members of the Com

shunist Party in the State Department. When he used this same speech a little later in Nevada, the figure 207 had been crossed out and 57 written in.

57 written in.

Up to the moment of this writing it has not been established on the basis

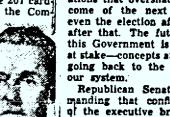
lished on the basis of McCarthy's presentation that there is or ever was a Communist Party member in the department. This is a fact that should not be lost sight of.

Childs

It becomes doubly important inview of the speech of Republican Chairman Guy George Gabrielson at Lincoln, Nebr. That speech lends considerable official party backing to the McCarthy line. It refutes those who have been saying that he is acting on his own while the party fladership looks on worried about the next move their irresponsible prankster may make. Gabrielson says, "We have to long tolerated communism... within our Government." Heays, "We must drive them out! This goes quite a way toward.

Now this may be good politics. Gabrielson directs the same kind of attack against Americans for Democratic Action, which has been a highly effective spark plug of the Democratic Party. The elections this fall will be in some measure a test of the nti-Communist, anti-Socialist ine of the GOP.

making it official.



BUT there are other considerations that overshadow the outcome of the next election or even the election after that and after that. The future form of this Government is conceivably at stake—concepts and traditions going back to the founding of our system.

Republican Senators are demanding that confidential files of the executive branch of the Government be opened to Senate inspection. Even thought presumably this would be done in executive session, the material in these files would certainly be "leaked." A concept preserved since the time of George Washington would have been destroyed and a dangerous precedent established.

On the immediate and practical side, the efficient functionings of the Federal Bureau of Investigation would be impaired. It was though he is reluctant, and toperly so, to give public testion on matters of public policy, the Senate committee should call on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for his opinion on opening the

There can be little doubt what that opinion would be. The issue arose in the first trial of udith Copion. Miss Copion's torneys persuaded the judge hat the FBI files should be bened.

After the first three or four files were spread on the record Hoover made a strenuous project to the then Attorney General, Tom Clark. He pointed out that sreious injustice was being done to individuals by putting under public gaze hearsay and rumor—the raw material of the FBI files—intended only for confidential use. He also pointed out with great emphasis that if this practice were to be followed in other cases, the usefulness of the FBI would rapidly diministrative.

AT THE first Coplon trial it will be recalled, the Department of Justice went so far as to suggest that if it came down to making the files public in relation to vital evidence in the case, the evidence might be withheld. That is a measure of how seriously the FBI took this

It may be, of course, that the Republicans do not really want the confidential files opened. They may want to have their request refused so they can say ithat the refusual cloaks the guilt of individuals, who have not been successfully tagged as "pro-Communist" by random accusations.

action.

But if the request is granted, those who have forced the decision should at least have a clear understanding of its immediate and practical consequences. The man who can make that unmistakably clear is FBI Director Hoover.

As was pointed out in this space, his opposition to the Smith amendment attached to the National Science Foundation bill was stated in a letter sent to Congress by the assistant to the Attorney General. That amendment would make the FBI detective, policeman, judge and dury. Hoover gave it as his opinion that the FBI does not wan lowers which would create state police organization."

The raw material of the FBI files may be compared to a newspaper reporter's notes. Material that cannot be verified or that is plainly libelous is not included in a news story. Government must be permitted the same responsibility of privacy for the raw material of confidential Government investigations.

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Only one were editorial on Recartly charges. Hitalads of Hagpur communited: "recall of Gersur, who was patiently building up anti-Communist front in Asia will not strengthen US diplomacy. So the Republicans all in See that no not reactionary. Democratic Party has repeatedly trounced Republicans but they determined never to Learn. US masses not so much enamoured of private a temposes as Republicans would have it. Every Liberal in US now under fire and apparently policy of Arpholican Party is to try to return to power on were of anti-Russian, anti-Communist hysteria angeniance by their reactionary veterans. Loyalty check up of Store Department employees will yield little more than yorbil pyrotechnics".

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ice Memorundum • **JOVERNMENT** MR. NICHOLO 3-24-50 F. C. HOLLOMAN FROM : MORRIS SUBJECT: In regard to the letter from Senator Hickenlooper regarding the proposed appointment of Robert J. Morris as Assistant Counsel to the Investigation Committee, pursuant to your instructions I called ASAC Whelan in New York regarding Morris and he advised that he was a member of the Law Firm of Hochwald, Morris and Richmond who have offices at 40 Exchange Place, New York He stated that Morris was a New York secretary of Congressman Condert and was formerly a secretary for Congressman Coudert when Coudert was a Senator wat which time he was engaged in Communist investigations. Morris was a Lieutenant Commender assigned to the Third Navel District, O.N.I. assigned to Communist Investigations during World War II. Whelan stated that Morris was a member of the "Anti Communist Intelligencia" of New York. who stated that Morris Morris is personally known to Agent has always been most cooperative with the Bureau and holds the F.B.I. in highest esteem. Whelan stated that no investigation had been made on Morris and there was nothing derogatory concerning him in their files. ||

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3:08 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON MR. NICHOLA MR. LADD

received a telephone call from Senetor Joseph-McCarthy requesting to see me and I had told him that of course I would be glad to see him and speak to him, or anybody else that dropped by at any time. I told the Attorney General that McCarthy said he would come down this afternoon and I wondered if he, the Attorney General, would have any objection to my asking McCarthy point blank as to where he is getting his information. I further stated that I imagined he wanted to talk about something on the Lattimore case. The Attorney General stated he had no objection and in fact thought perhaps I could give him some good advice. I told the Attorney General that I would call him after I had seen Senator McCarthy.

Very truly yours,

Stehn

John Edgar Hoover Director

MAR 30 1950

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cc-Mr. Nease

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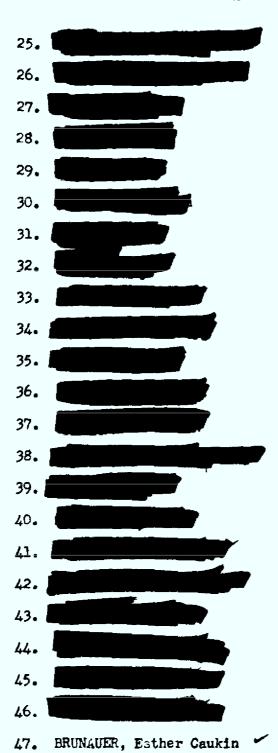
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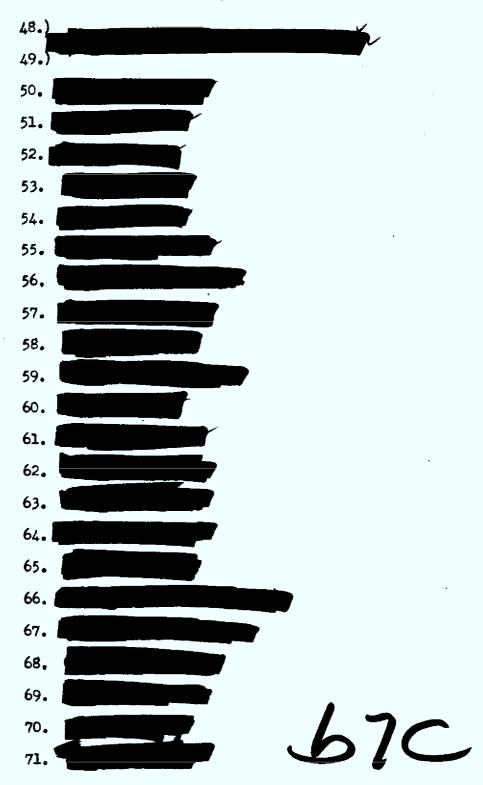
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To: Mr. Tolson Miss Gandy Mr. Ladd Mr. McGuire Mr. Clegg Mr. Jones Central Hold ₩#Mr. Belmon Mr. Harbo Desk Room 7235 Mr. Glavin Mail Room Mr. Nichols Foreign Service Mr. Rosen Desk Mr. Tracy Code Room 4642 ROOM AHB:tle Attention: Memo dated 3-30-50 to the Attorney General forwarding copy of letter from Mage Thomas J. O'Connor Please note on copy of letter from dge O'Connor that the word While (first word in para. 2) was corrected here from White.

> (Reading Room 5531) Extension 348

Views of Judge Thomas JAU Connor concerning Confidential Nature of PBI PN es .

In view of our recent appearance before the Subcommittee of the S-nate Committee on Foreign Relations on the matter of the confidential nature of the files of this Bureau. I thought you would be interested in receiving a copy of a letter sent to me by Judge Thomas J. O'Connor, Court of Common Pleas, Lucas County, Ohio.

I think you will agree that Judge O'Connor's lette is highly appropriate, and because of his experience and position, his views are worthy of note.

Respectfully,

J. Bagar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

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MAR 3 1 1950

Lucas County, Ohio

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Tolode, Ohio

March 25, 1960.

Non. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Pederal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.

Dear Er. Hoovers

prom January 1958 to January 1957 I served as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney in this County, and in January 1957 and up to February 9, 1945 I served as Prosecuting Attorney of this County. On February 9, 1945 I took office as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and am now serving my second term of six years. I was born in this city in 1891 and have resided here all my life, so that I am personally acquainted with a lot of people.

while I was serving in the Prosecuting Attorney's office I was interviewed many times by agents of your department and also agents of the Treasury Department and the office of United States Post Office Inspector. During the course of these interviews I was questioned about certain people who were under investigation, and I answered those questions truthfully and gave the interrogator such information as I had, some of which would be supported by legal evidence and some of which was based upon what we know in law as hearsay evidence.

According to the newspaper a counts of investigations now being conducted by the Senate and House Committee, demands have been made for a disclosure of the contents of the files in your department and even a preduction of your files.

Tam sure the American people have complete confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I am very much disturbed about the result of a disclosure of the contents of your confidential files, and as a responsible citizen I feel certain that you will resist and positively refuse to lay your files epen for the inspection of any member of Congress, whether he be of the House of Representatives or the Senate. I know from experience that your Department has persisted in preserving the confidence of those who have been interviewed from time to time. On the other hand, if it should be determined that your files are available for inspection, I can forsee much difficulty in investigations by your agents for the apparent reason that citizens will be hesitant to talk when they realize the danger that at some time or other their names or their reports may be made public.

121-23278-70 FHOLOSURI CZ-91923-3 I am notivated to write this letter to you this morning after numerous discussions with members of the Bar and other citizens who come into my office, and I feel certain that you will concur in these ideas.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Thomas J. O'Connor Judge.

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COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

LUCAS COUNTY, OHIO V

TOLEDO, OHIO

March 25, 1950

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Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

JUDGES JOHN M. MC CARE

PAUL W. ALEXANDER JOHN Q. CAREY THOMAS J. D'CONNOR HARVEY G. STRAUS

JOHN W. HACKETT

From January 1933 to January 1937 I served as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney in this County, and in January 1937 and up to February 9, 1943 I served as Prosecuting Attorney of this County. On February 9, 1943 I took office as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and am now serving my second term of six years. I was born in this city in 1891 and have resided here all my life, so that I am personally acquainted with a lot of people.

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I am motivated to write this letter to you this morning after numerous discussions with members of the Bar and other citizens

advisited by

John J.

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to the

JOHN M, MC CABE PAUL W. ALEXANDER JOHN Q. CAREY THOMAS J. O'CONNOR HARVEY G. STEAUB JOHN W. HACKETT

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

LUCAS COUNTY, OHIO

TOLEDO, OHIO

-2-

who come into my office, and I feel certain that you will concur in these ideas.

STATEMENT OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, BEFORE BUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FUREIGN RELATIONS, 3:30 P.M., MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1950

2/2/50

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 INDEXED.

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 apportunity 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.

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.

RECORDED . 130

121-232-18-72

New Haven 11, Connecticut

Dear

Your letter dated March 27, 1950, has been received and I do want to thank you for your kind comments.

I appreciate also your letting me have your views on the subject you mention, and it occurred to me that you might like to read the enclosed copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Statement before Subcommittee of the Senate
Committee on Foreign Relations, March 27, 1950

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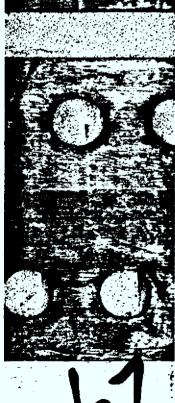
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March 7,18.50

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Assistant Attorney General, Tax	Mr. Bosen floret
Assistant Attorney General, Claims	Mr. Trocy
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Assistant Attorney General, Criminal	
Assistant Solicitor General	Test the second
Assistant Solicitor General	Mr. Necose
Director, FBI	
Director of Prisons	
Director, Office of Alien Property	
Commissioner, immigration and Naturalization	
Administrative Assistant	
Division of Accounts	
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Division of Supplies	
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Beston 15, Bassachusetts J. A. M. March

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received. Your letter dated Karch 27, 1950, has been received. You may be sure that I appreciate your confidence in the FBI.

the statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which contains my views with reference to the files of the FBI.

Sincerely yours, J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enclosure

NOTE: January, 1950, a card was received from correspondent, who congratulated the Director and stated no holest person should fear wire tapping if the evidence is not admissible in court as evidence.

Source Town

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57

APR 3 1950 COMM-146

BY Arazzona

1 Min

Mar. 7.1950 Deer Mr. Hoover, I have great faith and confidence in the F.B.J. But, frankly, I am puzzled. If gover files eaut be shown au investipling committe, in executive persion, and if the duclosure of certain evidevie to ensure convictions in court is harmful to your pources of information, why in this data collected when will it be used? If every There may be good and sufficient answers and rectors but maybe din not syftigeed to understand. Naybe its 700 Confidential Jurepeler 37 JAS S I feel there are many Russian this in our Country and you don't want to whom too much of your hand a system.

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closure, has been received and I want to thank you for furnichi g your observations to me.

I on happy to know that my views with reference to the files of the IBI are shared by you, and I am enclose ing a copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Countities on Foreign Relations on Merch 27, 1950, which I thought you night like to have.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover Director

ure: Director's statement of March 27, 1950. reflects that Burecu files Harmony, Pennsylvania, wrote to the Eureau in 1943, furnishing miscellaneous information which was referred to Military Intelligence Division of the Far Department. Inasmuch as it is impossible to definitely identify wis individual with the correspondent, the latter is being addressed in the absence of data concerning her riant al status.

Buffalo, 9N.Y.,

March ,27th.,1950.

Mr. Edgar Hoover Washington D.C.

4488

Dear Sir,____

I have been following Sen.McCarthy's Communist accusations to our State Department people. I have my own deductions of all this. It may not interest you but as a loyal faithful citizen of this good old U.S.A I feel it my privelage to write what I think.

Hurrah for you not allowing your files to be interviewed by the commies a thing they are after.

Here is what I believe. No one loyal American citizen is going to stir up such accusations unless they are well planed obversive schemes laid by others to him to put across. No man would defy all America for such accusations as he has made unless he feels losing faith with his country people is done for an organization that has made him feel he will forever be a hero doing for his cause if it means ostracization, anniliation or even death if he carries on for the cause. This is my idea of Sen. McCarthy. I believe he is the head of communists here in U.S.A. Who better to put on this exposee than the head man himself? Who would be the least suspected? The head himself.

Where would the communists try to over

throw our government but in the most amportant to us and the World? Our State department. It is destroying the other part of the World in their faith to U.S.A. If they have communists

in their very core they must be sympathisers, will be their

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World. They do not want war as much as they want time to undermine our very government workings and our relations with other countres.

4489

We better demand Sen. Mc Carthy's arrest and nip it in the middle of his dirty work, anyway a thorough investigation of all his moves would be a fine act and do it swiftly. I would like to see his expression when he would be accused of being the communies head man. My hobby is to read expressions. He should give enough away when confronted with his being the head man. I bet you would hear loud wild retorts along that line. That would be your answer. For a truly good U.S.A person would of course deny but not rave and rant. Why would he be having others investigated if he were one? There you have my theory. No one would expect the head man to be the accuser.

Why is he pulling all these people home to accuse them? To stall for time and get their dirty work in where these men were going. To defame them and the U.S.A. To underground.

Some years ago I mursed at a home in an apartment building in Pittsburgh. The people on the third floor were commies. I found that out by facial study. I saw truck loads of books going out from the home. A large book about8by IO inches and about 2wo and a half thick. A white book with large red letters. "When Russia rules the world." This was just before the second World war.

They have been planing long before the Kaiser or Hitler ever thought of so doing. The devil is very clever. He moves slyly and smoothly. Better if the other side did sqin their good way. We better awake before it is too late. Read your Bible on the futile of the world after: the flood. It is all recorded there. It behoves us to read and learn. At this time

face with conditions there in stated. Our sible can be our guide to save us only we must awake and use it. The solution is all in the Holy pages.

The communies are laughing up there sleeves how asleep we are. How they are putting it over on us. The flying disks are no mith to me. They are real. They are what I have been suspecting. Russia is a few jumps ahead of us. They are her work. She planed and used her means for it while we gave her war supplies so she could save hers for us later. Of course at the time this could not be seen. It grieved me to see us as her allies.

The flying planes are a Russian devise very cleverly made up. They have something in those planes so when they are seen, as they can see our planes, they explode and throw a mist between them and a plane to make their get away.

They are not from other planets. The mist between the other planets will stay there until God does His wonderous works of taking it away so we can go there and they here. I them believe we are not necessary to the or they to us only when the World is destroyed for wickedness as it once was by water, this time by fire. Those saved will go to one of the unhabitated planets. No those Flying saucers are only a new type of plane the Russians are using to freighten us into thinking they are supernatural and will destroy us. There damge is not greater than any other plane we used during the war. No sir they do not want war. They want to tare us apart in our middle and by Sen. M cCarthy they are making a good start.

Let's stop him Mr. Hoover. You are the core man of this great nation so put yourself forth to stopped before our people lose faith within them-

selves.

I would be in for it here in Buffalo if my name were mentioned I wrote this as they tell me Buffalo is lousy with Commies. I was told to be careful what I said and who I said anything to concerning Commies.

I am from Pittsburgh Penna. I assure you there are in Pitts.
plenty. There I am not liked by them. My two daughters nearly got into one of their organizations as a Youth movement for young Americans. Luckily I was told in time to investigate and I learned what they were. I exploded to one of their members and was told to keep my mouth shut or it would be shut for me. This was fifteen years ago. Some start they have on us poor unsuspecting people.

Let's get busy and catch them in their own traps laid for us. Let's not talk so much but work. Sometimes I feel our press is a little tobopen with our affairs.

Well-- Mr. Hoover I got off my chest what I feel is my duty to say. Take it or leave it but my hope is take it. Do something about it and above all stick like the soldier you are to your guns and do not open your files to the head communist as he wants. This is his way of getting us exposed tx into their hands.

This is long I know and hope I have not taken too much of your time if you ever get to read this.

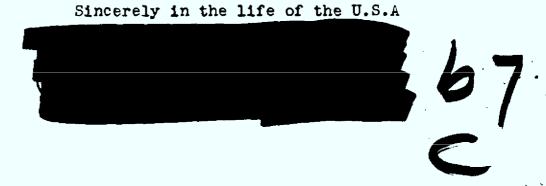
I am one American who thanks God for all my grandparents who had the foresight to come to the best country in the world the good old United States of America. They were thankful so am I even more than they as they could not see the awful future ahead which has been my time to live.

Mr. Hoover can't you urge people to go to the

A man like you will have more effect on a world hock up than any one or many ministers. The rabble would say they are fanatics. You, they will believe because you are dear in every loyal American's heart today and are looked up to greatly.

Won't you try. ? This is the only way we can win over the communies. Be on God's side and have Him with us.

Thanks you Mr. Hoover. Don't let us down, Yours is a great work done and to be done.



P.S. I Am sending Mr. Barkley and Mr. Truman a like letter.

WHICH IS IT, SENATORS?

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has told a Senate foreign relations subcommittee that turning over to the subcommittee State Department "loyalty files" demanded by Sen. McCarthy of Wisconsin would bring about "complete collapse" of the FBI system of obtaining confidential information. Mr. Hoover added that "a foreign power" (and he obviously meant Russia) has been seeking "intimate personal details concerning many of our leaders in government and industry."

"They should not be aided by having these creails made public for their use and advantage, thereby crippling the important work of the FRI" he said

thereby crippling the important work of the FBI," he said.

But Sen. McCarthy keeps up his hue and cry and he has been joined by Sen. Bridges of New Hampshire. This leads any logical observer to one of two conclusions—either (1) the two senators won't take Mr. Hoover's solemn word, despite the country's confidence in the FBI chief, or (2) they are willing to "cripple" the FBI and bring about "complete collapse" of its system, in order to get a little more ammunition for their smear-Acheson campaign.

Well, which is the answer, Senators? Speak up!

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STATEMENT OF
ATTORNEY GENERAL J. HOWARD MCG. ATH

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
3:30 P.M., MARCH 27, 1950

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your Committee today, together with the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in order to discuss with you a serious problem that has arisen in the course of the investigation that you are conducting pursuant to senate Resolution 231. There has been a great deal of talk about the production before your Committee of loyalty and investigative files relating to the persons against whom Senator McCarthy has brought charges of disloyalty. I think that it is well that we should discuss this matter together at this time in the interest of clarifying some of the issues.

I need not remind you that it is only a matter of months since I myself was a member of that great body of which this Committee is a part, the United States Senate. Having had the privilege of serving in the Senate, as well as in the Executive Branch, I am fully aware and indeed extremely sensible of the degree of cooperation that must exist between the legislative and Executive branches of the Government if we are to make our tripartite system of government work.

Cooperation, however, is but one facet of the key to the solution of our problem. If our tripartite system is to work, each branch must also carefully avoid encroaching upon the prerogatives of the other.

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This is such a basic principle that it was recognized as early as the administration of our first President. On February 22 last, the very day on which the Senate agreed to the Resolution under which this Committee is proceeding, the Farewell Address of President Washington was read in the Senate chamber. I call your attention to one paragraph of that Address, which appears on page 2158 of the Congressional Record of February 22, and which to me aptly states the principles by which we must be governed. President Washington stated:

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. * * * * If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates .-- But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

President Washington was speaking from personal experience with the very problem we now have before us--namely, a request by a congressional Committee for the production of documents which in the opinion of the Executive branch must be held confidential in the public interest. The problem, you see, is as old as the Government itself.

In March of 1792, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution establishing a Committee to inquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition under Major General St. Clair, and empowering that Committee to call for such papers and records as might be necessary to assist the Com-

mittee in its inquiries. The House based its right to investigate on its control over the expenditure of public money. When the Committee asked the President for the papers relating to the campaign, President Washington called a meeting of his Cabinet. Present were Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and Edmond Rendolph, the Attorney General. The President stated that he had called his Cabinet together because this was the first demand on the Executive for papers within his control and he desired that in so far as the action taken would constitute a precedent, it should be rightly conducted. President Washington readily admitted that he had no doubt of the propriety of what the House was doing, but he did conceive that there might be papers of so secret a nature that they ought not be given up. The President and his Cabinet came to an unanimous conclusion as follows:

First, that the House was an inquest, and therefore might institute inquiries. Second, that it might call for papers generally. Third, that the Executive ought to communicate such papers as the public good would permit, and ought to refuse those, the disclosure of which would injure the public.

The precedent there set by President Washington and his Cabinet was followed in 1796 when he refused to comply with a resolution of the House of Representatives which requested him to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the United States Minister who negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, together with the correspondence and documents relating to that treaty. In declining to comply, President Washington stated: "As it is essential to the due administration of the Government that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the various departments should be preserved, a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office * * * forbids a compliance with your request."

It was because of such experiences that President Washington felt called upon to refer, in his Farewell Address, to the importance of maintaining the independence of our separate branches of government. Later, President Jefferson refused to allow two members of his cabinet to supply documents at the trial of Aaron Burr. In 1825 President Monroe declined to comply with a request of the House of Representatives to transmit to the House certain documents relating to the conduct of naval officers. In 1833 President Jackson refused to comply with a Senate request that he communicate to it a copy of a paper purporting to have been read by him to the heads of the executive departments relating to the removal of the deposits of public money from the Bank of the United States. In 1886 President Cleveland supported his Attorney General's refusal to comply with a Senate resolution calling for documents and papers relating to the removal of a District Attorney. Similarly, in 1843, a resolution of the House of Representatives called upon the Secretary of War to communicate to the House the reports made to the War Department by Lt. Col. Hitchcock relative to the affairs of the Cherokee Indians, together with all information communicated by him concerning the frauds which he had been charged to investigate. The Secretary of War advised the House that he could not communicate information which Col. Hitchcock had obtained in confidence, because it would be grossly unjust to the persons who had given the information. The House, however, claimed the right to demand from the Executive and heads of departments such information as may be in their possession relating to subjects of deliberations of the House. President Tyler, in a message

dated January 31, 1843, said in part:

And although information comes through a proper channel to an executive officer, it may often be of a character to forbid its being made public. The officer charged with a confidential inquiry, and who reports its result under the pledge of confidence which his appointment implies, ought not to be exposed individually to the resentment of those whose conduct may be impugned by the information he collects. The knowledge that such is to be the consequence will inevitably prevent the performances of duties of that character, and thus the Government will be deprived of an important means of investigating the conduct of its agents.

President Tyler also declined to comply with a resolution of the House of Representatives which called upon him and the heads of departments to furnish information regarding such members of the 26th and 27th Congresses as had applied for office in the executive branch. In so refusing, President Tyler stated:

Applications for office are in their very nature confidential, and if the reasons assigned for such applications or the names of the applicants were communicated, not only would such implied confidence be wantonly violated, but, in addition, it is quite obvious that a mass of vague, incoherent, and personal matter would be made public at a vast consumption of time, money, and trouble without accomplishing or tending in any manner to accomplish, as it appears to me, any useful object connected with a sound and constitutional administration of the Government in any of its branches.

In my judgment a compliance with the resolution which has been transmitted to me would be a surrender of duties and powers which the Constitution has conferred exclusively on the Executive, and therefore such compliance can not be made by me nor by the heads of Departments by my direction.

These are only a few of the precedents to be found in the constitutional history of our Government; many more could be referred to. Although I have mentioned only a few of the precedents, I might add that almost every President has found it necessary at some time during his administration to decline, for reasons of public policy, to furnish confidential papers to congressional committees. The courts have recognized this constitutional prerogative of the Chief Executive and the great constitutional scholars uniformly agree that it is for the President to determine what papers and information in the Executive branch must be retained in confidence in the public interest. William Howard Taft, following his term as President and prior to his appointment as Chief Justice, summerized the situation succinctly and accurately when he wrote in his book, The Chief Magistrate:

The President is required by the Constitution from time to time to give to Congress information on the state of the Union, and to recommend for its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, but this does not enable Congress or either House of Congress to elicit from him confidential information which he has acquired for the purpose of enabling him to discharge his constitutional duties, if he does not deem the disclosure of such information prudent or in the public interest.

It is against this background that we must consider President Truman's directive of March 13, 1948, concerning the confidential nature of loyalty files. Against this same background we must consider this Committee's request for the production of such files.

In his directive, the President stated:

The efficient and just administration of the Employee Loyalty Program, under Executive Order No. 9835 of March 21, 1947, requires that reports, records,

and files relative to the program be preserved in strict confidence. This is necessary in the interest of our national security and welfare, to preserve the confidential character and sources of information furnished, and to protect Government personnel against the dissemination of unfounded or disproved allegations. It is necessary also in order to insure the fair and just disposition of loyalty cases.

For these reasons, and in accordance with the long-established policy that reports rendered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies of the executive branch are to be regarded as confidential, all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business.

At the time of issuing this directive, the President specifically referred to some of the precedents that I have mentioned this afternoon and called particular attention to the sound reasons of public policy requiring the maintenance of the confidential status of loyalty files. The President referred to an opinion rendered by Attorney General Jackson at a time when, at the direction of President Roosevelt, he declined to furnish certain reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the House Committee on Naval Affairs, as follows:

Disclosure of the reports could not do otherwise than seriously prejudice law enforcement. Counsel for a defendant or prospective defendant, could have no greater help than to know how much or how little information the Government has, and what witnesses or sources of information it can rely upon. This is exactly what these reports are intended to contain.

Disclosure of the reports at this particular time would also prejudice the national defense and be of aid and comfort to the very subversive elements against which you wish to protect the country. For this reason we have made extraordinary efforts to see that the results of counterespicnage activities and intelligence activities of this Department involving those elements are kept within the fewest possible hands. A catalogue of persons under investigation or suspicion, and what we know about them, would be of inestimable service to foreign agencies; and information which could be so used cannot be too closely guarded.

Moreover, disclosure of the reports would be of serious prejudice to the future usefulness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As you probably know, much of this information is given in confidence and can only be obtained upon pledge not to disclose its sources. A disclosure of the sources would embarrass informants—sometimes in their employment, sometimes in their social relations, and in extreme cases might even endanger their lives. We regard the keeping of faith with confidential informants as an indispensable condition of future efficiency.

Disclosure of information contained in the reports might also be the grossest kind of injustice to
innocent individuals. Investigative reports include
leads and suspicions, and sometimes even the statements of malicious or misinformed people. Even though
later and more complete reports examerate the individuals,
the use of particular or selected reports might constitute the grossest injustice, and we all know that a
correction never catches up with an accusation.

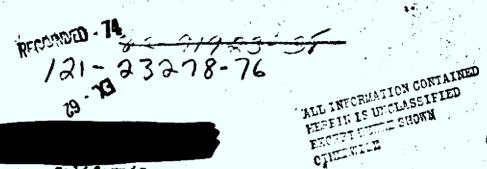
With respect to files which this Committee has requested, their disclosure would, it seems to me, seriously impair the effectiveness of the Employee

Loyalty Program. It would subject the persons in question to a type of double jeopardy which is contrary to sound concepts of good government, fairness, and justice. It would also make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to perform its investigative duties. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducts all investigations under the Employee Loyalty Program. Loyalty files, therefore, are for all practical purposes F.B.I. files. Mr. Hoover is here to give you his view, which he has held for many years, of the damaging effect that would be caused by the disclosure of such files. I know of no one better qualified to speak on this subject. I am in thorough accord with his views in this regard.

It is my opinion--for the reasons stated--that loyalty and investigative files should be preserved in strict confidence.

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Azusa, Californie

Dear

Your letter dated March 27, 1950, has been received and I do want to thank you for your comments relative to the position I have taken with regard to disclosing information in FBI files.

It occurred to me that you might like to read the enclosed copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enclosere

Report to Subcommittee of Senate Committee, on Foreign Relations, March 27, 1950

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Mr. Richola
Mr. Roses
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont
Trie Roses
Mr. Nease
Mr. Rogen

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

To the many voices congratulating you on your stand in the McCarthy affair, it is a pleasure to add my few words. I am so relieved to know that you have stuck to your guns under heavy pressure that I cannot refrain from some expression, although I am not a prolific letter writer.

It has been my feeling, and the feeling of every one I have discussed this matter with, that McCarthy's unbridied license has already caused sufficient damage. To open your files to such as he would add immeasurably to the anger and dissension already built up. Congratulations, and power to your arm.

Very sicerely yours,

Azusa, Calif.

March 27th, 1950

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